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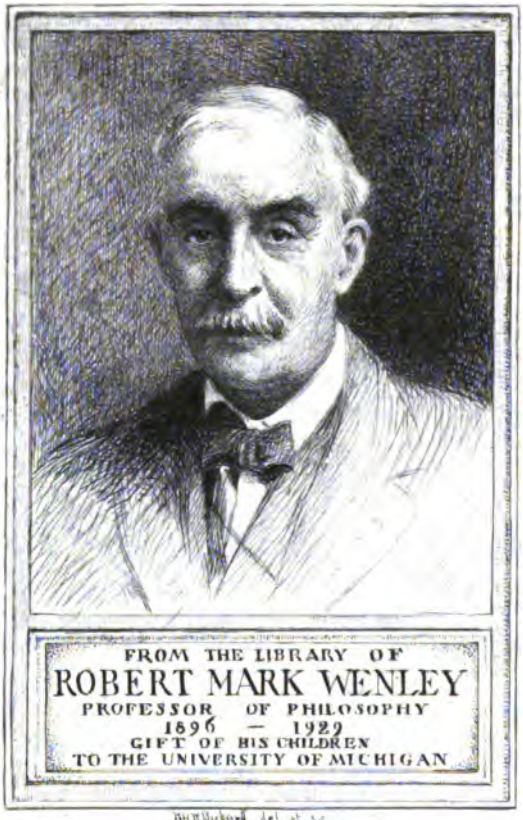

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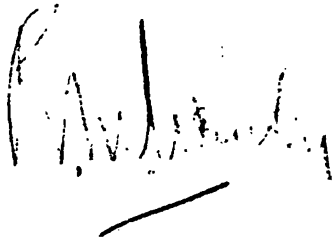

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW:

A JOURNAL

OF

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.

"Our fathers worshiped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." * * *

"The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. * * * But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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I.—PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE: 1559—1598.

AT the moment at which we enter the gloomy period of massacres and civil wars, who does not experience a lively regret at leaving behind the golden age of the Reformation, so full of instruction and salutary example? While the discoveries of science become of practical utility only after a long series of experiments, there are religious principles which are translated into facts as soon as they are apprehended by the conscience, and at one stroke almost reach perfection. Twice has this admirable spectacle been exhibited to the world, in the first and in the sixteenth centuries. To live and to die for Jesus Christ, as he lived and died for us, was then the sum-total of religion in its sublime simplicity and unspeakable depth. At those blessed epochs when truth suddenly beams upon troubled and restless souls, none but pure consciences and noble hearts embrace it; for it always presents itself as a novelty. It takes the shape of heresy, and it needs great faith freely and sincerely to become a heretic. But one such example never fails to produce its effect: heresy rapidly extends its conquests; soon the crowd, either to comply with the fashion, or, it may be, impelled by ambition and interest, eagerly throws itself into the new faith. The waters of this beneficent stream, however, lose their clearness in proportion to the distance from their fountain-head. It was at the moment when the individual faith of the first Christians was transformed into a State religion, like Paganism, that it abjured its principles at once to become a persecutor, and to lose itself in the arid and bitter disputes of metaphysics.

In like manner, it was just when the Reformation, an internal and regenerating force, desired to vindicate its right of existence, that is, to become an earthly power, that it lost all at once its original purity. We have already watched an ecclesiastical and a theological organization impose shackles upon the conscience, and prepare the way for the despotism of intellectual formulas: now the nobility are about to bring with them an element of worldliness unknown to the learned men who had propagated the Reformation, and to the people who had at first adopted it. The party which numbered among its adherents, Coligny, d'Andelot, Lanoue, Soubise, Mornay, Jeanne d'Albret, the true heroes of duty, likewise contained Condé and the Navarres, father and son, who had changed their faith without changing their morals—who were, as Brantôme tells us, "more ambitious than religious," and quite as much devoted to pleasure as to ambition. How far are we now from the spirit of the martyrs!

At the death of Henry the Second, Catharine de Medicis and all the princes of the royal blood, with the exception of one cardinal, were favourable to the new religion; but the indolent and frivolous Antoine de Bourbon, with whom lay the direction of affairs under the young king Francis the Second, suffered the Guises to seize the power of the state. Their fanaticism and their political designs concurred in recommending a furious persecution. They struck terror into the principal towns of France by their confiscations, their pillages, their capital sentences, and their atrocious cruelties (1560). Their insolence and despotism, however, armed against them, in the *conspiracy of Amboise*, the whole of the nobility, who entered into it *more from discontent than from attachment to the Huguenot party.* This conspiracy had for its object to drive from power the princes of Lorraine, to entrust the guardianship of the king to the princes of the blood, and to procure the convocation of the Estates. The plot, directed by La Renaudie, miscarried; twelve hundred of the conspirators perished by tortures, at which the ladies of the court, and the young princes, Henry the Second and his brother, afterwards Charles the Ninth, were present, as an after-dinner amusement.

It was a strange age in which the stake and the revival of letters, the *Institution Chrétienne* of Calvin and the

Gargantua of Rabelais,* Huguenot austerity and infamous dissoluteness, the adorable gentleness of the martyrs and the most execrable ferocity of their persecutors, met face to face. No age set less value on human life. The thrones of Europe were filled with poisoners and assassins: Catharine, Charles the Ninth, Mary Stuart, Philip the Second, whose servants were butchers of men; the Guises, and the Duke of Alva, who received the blessings of Popes; Paul IV., St. Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., whose single word was *extermination*, and who glorified the exalted deeds of such men as Jacques Clément, Parry, Zimmermann, Salcède and Balthazar Gérard. It was an age drunk with fanaticism, which seems to have taken for its motto the maxim adopted by the bishops at the Conference of Poissy—One God, one king, one faith, one law! Catholicism strove to drown Protestantism in blood; and Protestantism, in its turn, wherever it had the power, would not tolerate the exercise of the Catholic worship. It seems as if the people had been inspired by the training which they had received from Popery, with a rage for religious unity. Nevertheless, a new principle is about to arise even from the midst of these horrors and torrents of blood, namely, the principle of toleration.

The Chancellor de L'Hopital, a man in advance of his age, opposed persecution like a true disciple of the gospel. "Henceforth it will be necessary for us," he declared to the Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau, in 1650, "to arm ourselves with virtue and good morals; and then to assail them (the Protestants) with the weapons of charity, prayers, persuasion, and words of God, which alone are becoming in such a warfare. Example is better than precept, as the proverb tells us. *The knife is of little avail against the spirit*, unless it be to destroy the soul along with the body. Gentleness will do more than severity. Let us then away with those diabolical words, Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist, names which carry factions and seditions with them; let us abide by the name Christian."† Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Charles de Marillac, both suspected of Huguenot tendencies, held the same language,

* These two books appeared in the same year.

† Th. de Bèze, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 266.

which is also that of De Thou in the Preface to his History: "Religion is independent of commands; and torture has no effect upon it..... We are bound to confess that, in all the monuments of sound antiquity, there is not an approved example of the punishment of heretics; and that the ancient church always looked with horror on the shedding of blood." Later, Duplessis-Mornay also said, "There is neither Huguenot nor Catholic: whoever is a good Frenchman, I hold to be a fellow-citizen and a brother." Bodin, too, in his *République* (1577), asks that the state should resist the introduction of new sects, but should not attempt to force them into uniformity when once in existence.

Not only was the Reformation a living thing in France, but it had increased to such an extent as to be no longer able to conceal itself. "A fourth part of the kingdom is Huguenot," wrote L'Hopital to the Pope; the nuncio Prosper de St. Croix went farther, and said, "one half." Hitherto worship had only been celebrated in secret, often during the night, in woods and remote places; but from the year 1560, it began to be solemnized in public. The fury of the Guises burst forth at this innovation; orders were issued by them, "that the country should be cleared of the multitude of rabble who lived in the Genevese fashion." In some parts, the Huguenots even destroyed the images and the altars in the churches of which they had taken possession for their own meetings. Calvin found fault with this excess of zeal, which could only lead to an increase of persecution and barbarity.*

The death of Francis the Second happily removed the Guises for awhile from the court, and the Protestants, who had charged Coligny with the duty of claiming, from the Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau, the right of having churches of their own, and of being exempt in future from condemnation as heretics, had the delight, in April, 1561, of seeing an edict issued in favour of toleration. A crowd of distinguished personages sought for ministers to attach them as chaplains to their households. In vain did Calvin daily send forth pastors from his school at Geneva; the number was insufficient to supply the wants of the multitudes who abandoned the Church of Rome. Beza, who had

* *Lettres de J. Calvin*, published by J. Bonnet, II. 463.

come to France to be present at the conference of Poissy, preached at the Château of St. Germain to immense crowds of people, among whom might be observed the whole court. "Heresy was seen entering in triumph into the palace of the Most Christian King," says the Jesuit Maimbourg;* "and it might be said that, at that time, it exercised there a full and perfect sway. All the court appeared to be Calvinistic; and during Lent flesh-meat was served at every table." But the Guises returned to power; the edict of toleration was recalled; the country populations were excited to massacre; and by the edict of July, 1562, the Catholicism of France was saved.

On the other hand, L'Hopital continued his work as a philanthropist and a Christian, by promulgating for the first time (at the assembly of St. Germain, 1562), the idea, so beautiful, so truly religious, so far in advance of the age, of the possible co-existence of the two religions, or, in other words, of respect for the conscientious convictions of others. "Is it not possible," he asked, "to be a good subject without being a Catholic, or even a Christian? Cannot citizens who differ in their religious opinions live in good fellowship with each other? Trouble not yourselves, then, to try to find out which of the two religions is the better; we are here, not to establish a dogma of faith, but to set in order the state."† Thus, by distinguishing between the domain of religion and of the civil power, between the province of faith and of the state, L'Hopital did more than preach toleration, he rendered it possible, and set it on its true base. The separation of the two powers is founded upon this principle: two kings and two kingdoms.

In this point of view, the French Reformation lagged behind that of Zurich and Scotland. To the question, whether unjust rulers ought to be obeyed? Luther and Calvin answered, Yes;‡ Zwingle and Knox answered, No. The un-

* *Hist. du Calvinisme*, III. 190.

† *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 492; De Thou, Book xxix.

‡ Calvin thus delivers himself: "Although those who are in authority and hold in their hands the sword of justice may make a very bad use of their power, although they may be the declared enemies of God, still we must remember that God has instituted governments in order that we may live peaceably in His fear. . . . . All principalities are types of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; it is our duty to hold them precious, and to pray God to prosper them. I speak in the first place of legitimate governments." *Sermons on the Second*

conquerable mountaineers of Scotland, as soon as they felt themselves powerful enough, resisted their persecutors. In 1557, the first *Covenant* was signed for the establishment of their worship; in 1559, they deposed the Queen Regent, and with arms in their hands finally triumphed over Papacy and Anglicanism. In their view, the state had absolutely no authority in matters of religion. The ecclesiastical rights of the faithful were much more extensive with them* than among the French Protestants. Both then and ever since, the Vaudois in like manner have maintained themselves in the Alps only by resisting at the sword's point the troops sent to slaughter them.† If Calvin had been obeyed, and the people had allowed themselves to be massacred *en masse*, Protestantism would have become extinct in France, as it is in Spain and Italy, and as it must be wherever it remains purely individual and ideal, without assuming a concrete shape, and making for itself a place in the state and in society. The Reformation (we must not conceal the fact) succeeded only on condition of becoming warlike in Scotland and the Alps, autocratic and episcopalian in England, aristocratic in Denmark, princely in Germany, and communal in Switzerland. Without doubt, these are the principles which in the long run govern the world; but they only permanently triumph when they can enlist force on their side. As to the right and duty of resistance, no one would venture in our day to deny them to the Huguenots. Even if it be a nobler thing for a man to go to the stake than to take up arms in defence of his own life, the same cannot be said when the life and honour of his wife and children are concerned. The example of the early Christians bearing violation and murder in silence proves nothing for those who know that they firmly believed in the approaching end of the world: it was not

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Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, Geneva, 1563, p. 65. See also *Lettres de J. Calvin*, II. 90, 382. Luther wrote to the rebels in Denmark: "Never fight against your master, though he be a tyrant; and know that those who attack him will meet with their judge." Elsewhere he says again, "Whether a Christian may defend himself against authority, furnishes matter for much reflection. At the bottom, it is from the Pope, not from the Emperor, that I snatch the sword."

* "It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their own ministers." *The First Book of Discipline*, chap. iv. sect. 2.

† Monastier, *Hist. de l'Eglise Vaudoise.*

worth their while to resist tyranny when Jesus Christ himself was about to return to establish the kingdom of God upon a new earth. It was the nobility, accustomed for ages to appeal to the sword, and now leading on the middle classes and the artizans, who introduced into the French Reformation the element of resistance, of force employed in the service of liberty, in opposition to force employed in the service of persecution. Nor must it be forgotten that the Reformers did not take up arms till every semblance of justice and legality was, as far as they were concerned, disregarded. Against hordes of assassins, nature claimed the sacred right of self-defence: the knife of the murderer was confronted by the sword of the nobility and the despair of a whole people. "Who could be content," exclaims the author of the *Mémoires de l'état de France*, "to oppose the murderer's sword with paper or true words?"*

The first massacre occurred at Vassy in 1562. A thousand or twelve hundred Protestants were peacefully singing psalms in a barn, when, "the door having been forced, the slaughter began; urging these worse than mad tigers and lions through the poor sheep.... the Duke of Guise being present, sword in hand."† During the carnage, the Duke's brother, the Cardinal, remained in the burial-ground adjoining the barn. The massacre spread like a train of powder from Vassy to Tours, to Auxerre, to Sens, to Cahors, to Aurillac, to Nevers, to Epernay, to Bar-sur-Seine, to Grenade, to Villeneuve, to Avignon, to Marsillargues, to Abbeville, to Châlons, to Carcassonne, to Nemours, to Senlis, to Meaux, to Troyes, to Amiens, to Le Mans, to Chatillon-sur-Loire, to Gien, to Moulins, to Issoudun, to Angers, to Craon, to Mer, to Blois, and to Poitiers. M. Michelet has fitly called this the St. Bartholomew of 1562, more murderous even than that of 1572. "The Protestants perished by every

* "It is ever to be noted," says the *Histoire Universelle* of Agrippa d'Aubigné, "that so long as the Protestants were put to death according to the forms of justice, however iniquitous and cruel, they yielded without resistance; but when the public authority, the magistrate, weary of burning, gave the knife into the hands of the people, and by the tumults and great massacres of France obscured the venerable countenance of justice, and caused neighbour to put neighbour to death to the sound of trumpets and drums, who could forbid the wretched people to oppose arm to arm, steel to steel, or to catch from a fury without justice the contagion of a righteous rage?"

† Th. de Bèze, I. 454.

species of death," says M. Dargaud.* "They were stabbed, drowned, strangled, starved, stoned and buried alive. Fanaticism is a great inventor; it was inexhaustible in tortures." These abominations kindled the flame of the most frightful of civil wars; that in which fanaticism, excited by sanguinary priests, increases the natural ferocity of a foul and brutal soldiery.

When on the point of drawing the sword to protect his poor brethren, the great soul of Coligny was dismayed at the horrors which it discerned in the future. It was the courageous pity of his heroic wife, Charlotte de Laval, which turned the scale. The Admiral had just gone to sleep, after having said to his two brothers and the messenger sent by the Prince de Condé, who was already in arms, "The actual evils are great, and I am deeply grieved at them; but civil war is a thousand times more terrible; it is the evil of evils, and I will not commence it,"—when he was awaked by his wife, who exclaimed, "I am agitated with an irrepressible pity.... In spite of myself, it breaks forth in sobs and moans. While we are living in the midst of the delights of this chateau, others are being tortured in prison, or thrown into wells and rivers. Can you stand by with folded arms? That would not be duty, but weakness. Shall the uncertainty of success rob you of the certainty of right?.... You will not betray yourself, or yours, or the Lord of Hosts. You will repel violence by your arms and your character." Coligny replied, "Put your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself this question: Can you bear general defeat and private disaster, the ruin of those who are near and dear to you? Can you bear the cowardice, the reproaches, the treachery of friends; the fatigues, the wounds, the humiliation of your husband, a price fixed upon his head, his imprisonment, his body swinging on a gibbet, or drawn on a hurdle amidst the insults of a drunken mob? I give you three weeks to think of it." "My three weeks are gone," quickly replied Madame de Chatillon. "Better to suffer death and every form of ignominy than to see Gaspard de Coligny, the pride and the darling of the oppressed, infamous before men and impious in the sight of God." "It is enough, Madame," answered Coligny. "Be content; I have decided."†

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* *Hist. de la Liberté Religieuse*, II. 109. † Ibid.

In less than six weeks the whole of France was in arms. We must pass rapidly over these twenty-seven years of civil war, from 1562 to 1589, which were interrupted by fruitless truces, broken by the Catholics as soon as they were made. It was the misfortune of the Protestants to have princes for their leaders. While Coligny never fought for any other object than to conquer a solid peace, under the shadow of which the Reformation might live and grow unmolested; the princes often carried on the struggle for ambition, or for their own pleasure. One of those wars, dishonoured by the title, *the Lovers' war*, is enough to shew, in the words of Lanoue, how "wars on behalf of religion have caused religion to be forgotten."

During one of the peaceful intervals of this unhappy period, the Guises, Catharine de Medicis, and her counsellors, the countrymen of Borgia, ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), which lasted ten weeks and extended over the whole of France. The number of victims is estimated by Bishop Péréfixe at ten thousand; by De Thou, at thirty thousand; and by Sully, at seventy thousand. The noblest heads were the first to fall—Coligny, the famous president De la Place, the sculptor Jean Goujon, the philosopher Ramus, and the illustrious Goudimel, at that time engaged in the composition of music for the Psalms. At Paris, the massacre began on the Sunday, and on the following Thursday the clergy, wading through blood and climbing over heaps of corpses, made a grand procession through the streets to testify their gratitude to God for the success of the slaughter. It was decided that henceforth the 24th of August should be held as a public festival. The Pope presented a thousand pieces of gold to the courier who brought him the good news, ordered a feu de joie to be fired, a *Te Deum* to be sung, and a medal to be struck, which still exists to testify to future ages the eternal disgrace of the Papacy.

So far no opposition had been made to the royal authority.* At the same time, under the dominion of the Guises, and especially when Catharine in her duplicity empowered

* "The first book advocating democratic principles which appeared in the sixteenth century was written by an English bishop, a refugee at Strasbourg, and is entitled, *A Short Treatise of Politique Power* (1558). The author, John Poynet, had sought an asylum on the continent from the Catholic persecution of Queen Mary."—Labitte, *De la démocratie chez les predicateurs de la Ligue*, p. xlix.

Condé to take up arms against the princes of Lorraine, no one knew exactly where this authority resided. But when royalty was drowned in shame and blood, all the prestige of inviolability vanished. The people, appealing to their own consciences, condemned divine right as ever guilty of these enormities. Huguenot writers openly professed the Scotch doctrines. The loss of their chiefs had disorganized the nobility, but the middle classes boldly raised the standard, and at a synod held in Béarn at the end of the year 1572, a proposal to form a Protestant organization, which would in reality have been a federal republic, was brought forward.

"France was inundated with pamphlets, in which was proclaimed aloud what at another time men had not dared even to whisper. The *Discourse on Voluntary Servitude,** that terrible tirade of Etienne de la Boëtie, exhumed as it were from the grave of its author, burst among the people like a bomb. The *Discourse on Voluntary Servitude* was followed by *Apothegms, or notable Sayings against Tyranny and Tyrants, collected from divers authors;*† the *Alarum of the French and their Neighbours;*‡ the *Discourse of the Judgments of God against Tyrants, collected from Sacred and Profane History;*§ and the *Politica*, a dialogue treating of the *power, authority and duty of princes, of various governments, and to what extent tyranny ought to be borne.* Pamphlets and dogmatic treatises, in which the very foundations of society were investigated, were mixed up together."‖

The *Franco-Gallia* of the learned Protestant jurisconsult Hotmann (who was saved by his pupils from the massacre of Bourges), which appeared in 1573, demonstrates historically that kings may be deposed, and advocates universal suffrage

* The *Discours de la Servitude* or the *Contr'un* (written about the year 1546, and published in 1573 according to M. Henri Martin, or in 1578 according to the *France Protestante* and the *Démocratie de la Ligue*), looks upon it as a very great misfortune "to be subject to a master of whom one can never be sure that he will be good, since he always has it in his power to be bad when he pleases." Hence the hatred which it manifests toward monarchy, *that government in which everything is for the advantage of one,* one *little man alone,* who for all that has no power but such as has been delegated to him.

† *Apophthegmes ou discours notables recueillis de divers auteurs contre la tyrannie et les tyrans.*

‡ *Réveille-Matin des Français et de leurs voisins.*

§ *Discours des jugements de Dieu contre les tyrans, recueillis des histoires sacrées et profanes.*

‖ Henri Martin, *Hist. de France,* ix. 370.

as well as national sovereignty; a terrible book, which, says Auguste Thierry, "met with immense success, and exercised great influence over the men of that age." Thus the *Franco-Gallia* paved the way for the *Contrat Social* (1762): thus the massacres of 1562 and 1572 prepared the vengeance of 1793, and the scaffold of Louis the Sixteenth.

The doctrines of universal suffrage and national sovereignty were next followed by that of the refusal of taxes. The *France-Turquie*, another Huguenot book, which appeared in 1575, proposed that the Queen-Mother should be immured in a convent, and that neither taxes nor subsidies should be any longer paid, "to be carried where they may be used as a knife in the hands of her Majesty's ministers to cut our throats with."

Hubert Languet, who in saving Duplessis-Mornay had all but perished in the St. Bartholomew, took up the thesis of Hotmann in his *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*.* He considers, 1st, whether subjects are bound to obey princes who command things contrary to the law of God; 2nd, whether it is lawful to resist a prince who overthrows the church; 3rd, a prince who ruins the state; 4th, by whom, in what manner, and by what right, this may be done. He concludes that rebellion is lawful, and that it is both the right and the duty of the estates of the realm to depose and to chastise a double-dealing king.†

Assassination, unfortunately, had become so much part and parcel of the manners of the age, that it finds a place in almost all the political theories of the sixteenth century. From the first, the revolutionary writers, Poynet, Bodin, &c., had overreached or missed the mark, as the Leaguers afterwards did, in justifying tyrannicide with texts from the Old Testament. Poltrot is held up to admiration in the *Reveille-matin*, as Jacques Clément is soon to be by the Holy League. This powerful association, formed by the Guises in 1576 for the double purpose of exterminating heresy and of seizing the crown, shews us that revolutionary theories had passed from books into facts. The Leaguers, Spaniards at heart, had sold themselves to Philip the Second, who confidently expected

* *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos, sive de principis in populum, populique in principem legitimâ potestate, Stephano Junio Bruto Celta auctore* (1579).

† In the 17th century, after the dragonnades, the Protestants had so far degenerated as to condemn this book as infamous.

that he, and not the Guises, would get possession of France. The only patriotic Frenchmen of those times, the one obstacle to the schemes of Spain and the princes of Lorraine, were the Huguenots; it was therefore everywhere preached in the pulpits "that the massacre of heretics was a just, pious and useful deed, conducive to salvation."* Henceforth the question no longer is whether France shall be Protestant or Catholic. The Protestants, enfeebled by war, can no longer hope to make their faith predominant, and only ask permission to live in peace; while, on the other hand, Catholicism has proved itself unable to exterminate the Protestants. But it has not, on that account, relinquished its purpose, which the League continues furiously to prosecute.

The murder of the Duke of Guise by Henry the Third, and of the latter by Jacques Clément, changed the face of affairs by placing a Protestant king upon the throne (1589). He was, it is true, about to abjure his faith, and to carry with him in his fall the greater part of the nobility, but at least he could not persecute those by whose help he had won the kingdom. Toleration had now become a necessity; a resort to L'Hopital's idea of the co-existence of two religions was unavoidable. For a long time Henry the Fourth suffered himself to be besought in vain; and, engaged in the struggle with the last of the Leaguers, forgot his faithful friends, and suffered them to be oppressed wherever they were in a minority. "During a period of four or five years," observes Elie Benoît,† "in every province of the land the Reformers suffered a thousand acts of injustice and violence, as if the Catholics had secured impunity for all their actions by the conversion of the king, who shewed less and less consideration to the Protestants in proportion as he felt himself less dependent upon their arms." They were thus driven to hold *political assemblies*, the functions of which were to watch over the interests of religion, to raise money for the needs of the cause, and to superintend its expenditure. A permanent fund of 45,000 crowns was furnished by the contributions of the faithful. The first of these assemblies was held at St. Foy in 1594. In reality this was a private government, an *imperium in imperio;* but no other course was open to the Protestants, treated as they were like ene-

* Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue.* † *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes.*

mies, and put beyond the pale of the law. They sought only their own security, and, unlike the League, desired neither to persecute their enemies nor to overthrow the king. By the authority and power which they conferred upon the Protestant party, these assemblies compelled the Parliament to register the Edict of Nantes. In 1597, the *Grievances of the Reformed Churches of France** were presented to the king. The long enumeration of what they had to suffer from religious hatreds, embittered by civil wars, concludes thus: "The sole glory of God, the liberty of our consciences, and security for our goods and our lives, is the summit of our wishes, the object of all our petitions." France was wasted and exhausted, and in spite of fanaticism sighed for repose. The Edict of Nantes, signed in 1598, gave her fifty years of prosperity and made her the mistress of Europe.

The Edict commences by decreeing the re-establishment of Catholicism throughout the kingdom, and the restitution of the property of which the clergy had been deprived. It restricts the free exercise of Protestant worship to those places where it existed in full activity in 1597. It requires the Protestants to pay tithes to the clergy, and in return declares them eligible to public employments, and gives them admission to schools and hospitals. It grants them four academies for the instruction of their ministers, as well as special tribunals under the name of *Chambres mi-parties*, that is to say, composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. This was hardly permission to live; it was not liberty, still less equality and fraternity; for there were two nations, two laws, and two kinds of justice. Nevertheless, it was a step in advance; worship was celebrated without let or hindrance in 760 congregations, nearly all of which had churches of their own. The Reformation had achieved its first victory, but at what a cost! Seventy years of the stake, thirty years of civil war, two millions of men massacred, three thousand millions of francs —this was the price which France paid for the Edict of Nantes—too happy if even thus she had for ever put an end to religious oppression. But toleration, alas! was not to triumph till the eighteenth century; and toleration is still far short of the liberty, that is to say the equality, of the

* *Plaintes des églises réformées de France.*

churches. In this respect, more than one improvement yet remains to be accomplished.

Let us now cast a glance over the internal events of the church during this agitated period. The advantages arising from the strong organization given to the Reformation by the first synod "were counterbalanced by certain defects, the gravest of which was undoubtedly the suppression of the religious liberty of individuals and minorities. Conscience and faith being the direct means by which the Christian soul communicates with its God, no authority has a right to interfere between a man and his own conscience, to dictate to him what he ought to reject and what to believe. This truth, which appears to us in our day so simple, and which, though it be unrecognized in practice, is at least never contested in principle, was scarcely understood in the sixteenth century."* Thus our churches were not so fortunate as to be able to escape the influence of clericalism.

As early as 1559, the constituent synod had excommunicated a heretic who had been guilty of insulting both the ministers and the whole consistory, whom he characterized as *blind leaders of the blind;* declaring at the same time, that if his only offence had been the disturbance of public order, he would only have been exhorted to moderation.†

The ecclesiastical discipline, which was much less democratic than that of Scotland, where the people nominated their own ministers, was judged, a year after it had been drawn up, to be too liberal. The synod of Poitiers, in 1560, decided that the number of lay-voters might not exceed that of ecclesiastics when matters of doctrine were in question, but that this regulation should not apply to matters of management and administration. This clerical and theocratic government, a fatal inheritance from Catholicism, could not fail to come into collision with the democratic principle, which is alone in harmony with the genius of Protestantism.

In his *Treatise on Discipline and Christian Polity,*‡ dedicated to the reformer Viret (1561), Morely, a native of Paris and a refugee for religion's sake at Geneva, claimed

* Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 240.

† Aymon, *Actes éccl. et civils de tous les synodes nationaux;* De Félice, *Hist. des synodes nationaux.* Paris, 1864.

‡ *Traité de la discipline et police Chrétienne.*

for the faithful who possessed only the right of *veto*, that of directly choosing their own ministers. This right rested on the constant practice of the early church (Acts i. 15—26, vi. 2—6; xv. 22), and it must be admitted that the ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed Church was not in agreement, on this point, with biblical fact. Morely sent his work to Calvin, who returned it, writing at the same time, that "he had not time to read so great a book on a matter which had been determined by the *Word of God*."* This incident in the life of the Reformer shews that he was unwilling to have either his doctrines or his institutions criticised, and that, like all orthodox partizans, he knew, when occasion required, how to make the utterance of a sour and despotic temper pass for an act of submission to the Word of God. The most obvious facts of ecclesiastical history, no less than the Scriptures, were unfavourable to the Calvinistic system. Indeed, up to the third century, and even beyond that time, all the members of the church pronounced upon the exclusion and re-admission of members, confirmed the choice of presbyters, and nominated their own bishop.† Morely, however, was excommunicated in 1562 by the synod of Orleans. According to the *France Protestante*, many persons, and among them some of the most zealous for the cause, thought this sentence very strange. Among others, Soubise expressed himself strongly to Beza, whom he regarded as being "one of the chief pillars of the Reformed party." Having returned from Orleans to Geneva, where he resided, Morely received an order to appear before the Consistory, and to make a retractation. This he refused to do, but offered to submit to the judgment of Farel, Viret and Calvin; but the latter, doubtless fearing that his two colleagues might be on the side of ecclesiastical heresy, caused Morely to be excommunicated afresh in 1563, and his book to be burnt by the common hangman—always, of course, in the name of the *Word of God*. The author of the *Traité* prudently withdrew from Geneva, or he might possibly have suffered the fate of Servetus, if we may judge from the implacability which Calvin displayed in persecuting a man whose only fault was faithfulness to the New Testament and the history of the Church. We regret to

* Haag, *France Protestante*. † Hase, *Hist. of the Church*, I. 77.

find Beza taking a personal share* in this odious transaction, and assisting to drive Morely from the residence of Jeanne d'Albret, where he had taken refuge. Three other synods, that of Paris in 1565, of Rochelle in 1571, and of Nîmes in 1572, also condemned the innovator, orthodox though he was in a doctrinal point of view.

The synod of Paris also warned the churches to be on their guard against the *Unio quatuor evangelistarum*, the work of the celebrated jurisconsult Ch. du Moulin, as containing errors in regard to limbo, free-will, the Lord's Supper (du Moulin inclined towards Lutheranism), and *especially to the vocation of the ministers of the church and the discipline of the same.* This book was given to the flames at Geneva, like that of Morely, by the hand of the common hangman. The synod of Rochelle went greater lengths still in the way of reaction (art. 11 and 16). It constituted the clergy sole judges in theological matters, leaving to the elders the right of being present at and taking part in the discussions, but depriving them of the right of voting.†

Thus the faithful had no choice but to submit, if, under the plea of heresy, their minister were taken away from them, if he were deprived, or if they themselves were excommunicated; while the elders who were sent as deputies to the synods had only impotent words wherewith to oppose passionate decisions stamped with the seal of an intolerant theocracy. While the synod denied to the elders the right of taking cognizance of heresy, it invited the faithful, at the instance of Beza, to oppose the introduction of Transylvanian and Polish, i.e. Socinian heresies, against which we know not that Jesus Christ uttered any anathema. The narrowness of view displayed in this transaction is not more manifest than its inconsistency: here is another infallible orthodoxy, and that less and less religious in proportion as it claims to set itself up in opposition to Roman orthodoxy. This synod was still further disturbed by a sharp discussion which turned on the Lord's Supper. The deputies from the Ile de France and Berry asked for an explanation of the terms *participation in the substance* of Jesus Christ *in*

* He speaks of the "blasphemy done to God" by Morely. (*Reg. du consist. d'église de Genève*, 28 *Sept.* 1566.)

† M. de Félice passes over this fact in silence, as he does many others of the same sort, in the book entitled, *Hist. des synodes nationaux.*

the Lord's Supper, contained in the Confession of Faith. They rejected the word *substance*, which was retained by help of subtilties which made the Calvinistic doctrine of a *substantial presence* a worthy counterpart of that of Catholic *transubstantiation* and that of Lutheran *consubstantiation*. It is clear that in rejecting the word, the heretical deputies also rejected the thing itself; in fact, they abandoned Calvinism and adopted the doctrine of Zwingle (who regarded the Lord's Supper as a commemorative rite), the only doctrine which is at once rational and in accord with the teachings of Jesus.

The democratic opinions of Morely had made so much progress, that they prevailed at a provincial synod held in the Ile of France, where they were maintained by pastor Capelle, by Bergeron, and particularly by the illustrious philosopher Ramus. The liberals of the sixteenth century, subject to the same attacks as those of the nineteenth, demanded that the people should be called upon to vote not merely on "the daily affairs, the decision of which lay with the consistories, but upon general questions of doctrine, discipline and excommunication."* Ramus was a very different kind of man to deal with from Morely. The national synod held at Nîmes in 1572, did not venture to excommunicate him, but charged pastor Chandieu, who had already written a book on the question,† with the duty of answering him as well as Bergeron, "with all possible moderation and without mentioning any names." The modern historian of Synods did not shew the same moderation when he said of Ramus that he became a Protestant "from a desire for intellectual independence rather than from religious conviction,"‡ and that his love of liberty led him to put piety in

* Letter of Ramus to Bullinger, who shared his opinions. (*Apud* Waddington.)

† *La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique observée ès églises réformées de France* (1566). Chandieu was not allowed to publish this book in the name of the consistory of Paris, no doubt because that enlightened body did not approve of all the ideas which it contained.

‡ This estimate ill accords with that of De Lestre, the President of the national synods held at Verteuil and St. Foy. When giving an account to Beza of what had taken place at a conference at Lumigny in Brie in 1573, which had decided fully in favour of Ramus, with regard to the word *substance*, and which was of opinion that it ought not to be obligatory upon any one to use an expression "not usual in the Scriptures," De Lestre observes that throughout this conference "Ramus and others manifested great docility, shewing reve-

the second place. It may be feared that the adversary of Ramus has here confounded piety with respect for clericalism and orthodoxy, both of which are inexpressibly injurious to true piety.

It is delightful to see these great and steadfast men, animated with a piety so heroic, Morely, Soubise, Ramus, Coligny, supported by the authority of Zwingle and Bullinger, carrying with them the synods and the conferences of the Ile of France, that is, the whole of the north, including Paris, drawing deep the furrow of liberalism, practising, like ourselves of the present time, reform in the Reformation itself, and refusing to bend servilely to the yoke of a doctrinal system and a discipline which have never completely satisfied the wants of the church. Liberalism then extends its roots to the very origin of the Reformation, or rather it is the Reformation itself as it existed for almost half a century, before it received its too dogmatic organization and its too scholastic Confession of Faith. Even then the liberals had "at least the advantage of moderation" over their adversaries, as M. Waddington says, in speaking of the fury and the violence of Beza against Ramus.

It truly seems as if the efforts made in the sixteenth century to lead back Protestantism to its true principles, only served to excite more and more the despotism of synodical majorities. Thus the second synod of Rochelle, in 1581, wishing to deprive heresy of every means of influence and of extension, invented the *Protestant censorship*, a monstrosity which no one would expect to meet with in a church founded upon the gospel and upon liberty. It forbade both the ministers and the faithful to publish any writing treating of religious or political matters, without the express sanction of the conference of their churches.*

rence for the assembly, and always professing a holy submissiveness." *(Fr. Prot.* art. *De Lestre.)*

* M. de Félice would have us believe that this measure "would in our day be unanimously rejected by a synod." We, however, heard one of his theological friends demand precisely the same kind of measure at the last conference of pastors held at Paris. From this we may judge of the spirit by which they are actuated, and of the degree of liberty they would allow, if they were to obtain a majority in the synod—a form of despotism, the re-establishment of which they clamorously demand. It would be a liberty like that which Beaumarchais describes: "I am told that. . . . provided I do not speak in my writings of authority, of worship, of politics, of morals, of people in office, of any honourable society, or of any one who holds any opinion or any position,

The synod of Montpellier, in 1598, found means to improve upon even this noble edict. It prohibited the booksellers from printing any books which had not been approved. Here, indeed, is orthodoxy confident once more, and heresy buried in helpless silence! O the vanity of despotism! The very measures which it took to make itself eternal have hastened its own ruin by the conscientious indignation which they have excited.

The discussions on the Lord's Supper had no other result than to exaggerate the importance of the dogma which that rite embodies. The synod of Vitrè, in 1581, for instance, declared that "Jesus Christ and all his benefits are offered to us in *baptism* as well as in the Lord's Supper." This was a great recoil towards Catholicism, and a deviation from the Christian spiritualism so loudly professed by Farel: "Outward and material baptism makes no one good or bad; both the good and the bad may receive it. And we must not attribute to this baptism, as the doctors have done in their sentences, the power of conferring grace, *virtute operis operati*, as they say and fancy. For only the baptism which Jesus gives, saves, cleanses and purifies. The holy baptism of Jesus, which is internal and invisible in the soul, when the Holy Spirit is imparted, does not depend upon ceremonies, persons or times, but upon the pleasure of God alone, who bestows grace, faith and salvation."*

It would be easy to heap up from the Synodical Acts a crowd of casuistical puerilities to which the errors of the age gave a factitious importance,—decrees against the bewitchers of the newly-married, sorcerers, charmers and enchanters, all devoutly believed in by the authors of a doctrine which tended more and more to assume an attitude of infallibility. We might enumerate proofs of growing severity on the part of the consistories, yet of their powerlessness to stem the tide of worldliness, as well as strange violations of the fundamental principle of the authority of Scripture with respect to such questions as divorce and the Apocalypse.† But we will content ourselves with pointing out

I may put anything I like into print under the inspection of two or three censors." *(Le mariage de Figaro.)*

* *La Manière et fasson*, p. 12.

† Article 26 of the synod of Saumur (1596) declares, "With respect to the demand made by Bas Languedoc, that no minister shall expound the Apocalypse

a single circumstance which occurred at the synod of Montpellier in 1598, the consequences of which were immense. Of the first fifteen national synods, no fewer than eight protested against the ingratitude of the churches towards the pastors whom it was their duty to support. In addition, the Edict of Nantes required the Protestants to pay tithes to the Catholic clergy, without which in many places the latter could not have subsisted. But in order to avoid doubling these charges, Henry the Fourth, "being willing to gratify those of his subjects who professed the so-called Reformed religion, and to assist in relieving the many great expenses which they had to bear," decreed in a secret article of the Edict that a sum of 45,000 crowns should be annually remitted to them. The synod of Montpellier received and apportioned *the royal grant made for the support of the Reformed churches*, that is, for the salaries of the ministers and professors. This was the first step towards the present state of things, in which the union of Church and State is purchased at the price of the self-government of the Church. Might not this have been an occasion for consulting the history of the first ages of the Church, for remembering that no good is to be compared with liberty, and that a worship subsidized by the State virtually abdicates a large part of its independence?

Let us recapitulate. In this second period, Protestantism has been saved by the sword of the nobility, but the vices of the princes and the terrors of civil war have lowered the level of piety. The resistance of the persecuted has given birth to the idea of toleration. A radical and democratical movement has been called into existence by the crimes of royalty. At the same time, clericalism and the doctrinal exaggeration of the Confession of Faith, elevating themselves by degrees to a position above the Scriptures, have called forth the liberal opposition of Morely, Soubise, Ramus and Coligny. In reference to doctrine and the self-government of the Church, the synods have retrograded from the position taken up in the sixteenth century. The religious life, so warm and zealous at its origin, has cooled down into the mould of formulas, and has given place to a worship of metaphysical

without the advice of his conference, it is resolved, that no such exposition shall be undertaken without the advice and counsel of the conference or the provincial synod."

petrifactions. With respect to the rights and liberty of the faithful, the discipline which was formerly declared to be capable of improvement has only developed in a direction opposed to that progress which is the true conservator of all institutions and all authority. The iron age of Reformed dogmatism is already about to begin.

UN PASTEUR DE L'ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE PARIS.

II.—NICOLAS: ETUDES SUR LA BIBLE.

[The author of the following article is a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England. Although we are unable to concur in all his statements and conclusions as to the position which that Church occupies in relation to the progress of theology in England, we gladly open our pages to a thoughtful and candid student.—ED. THEOL. REVIEW.]

Etudes Critiques sur la Bible. Par Michel Nicolas. *Ancien Testament:* Paris, 1862. *Nouveau Testament:* Paris, 1864.

THE time is past in which theological studies, or at any rate theological reading, was the business of a class devoted specially to that subject. More than any other science, Theology deals with questions of the deepest moment to all, questions which men are less and less disposed to take on trust. It has been a necessary consequence of the Reformation, that most educated persons choose to know something of the grounds on which rest the creeds presented for their acceptance, and to weigh for themselves the conflicting claims of different schools of religious thought. The interest in theology, which has, in this country, increased very rapidly and remarkably, has not been an unmixed good. For nothing so deadens religious life as mere controversy for the sake of argument, and not for the search of truth, and this has naturally been one parasitic growth of general theological reading. Ignorance and carelessness are moreover always conservative, so that there have been banded together against the results of such studies, not only that large class who have a deep reverential fear of any change of belief, but those also who in their hearts care for none of these things. "Stanley," exclaimed some years since an

Oxford undergraduate, whose intellect was not the brightest, nor his morals the purest of those present, "why Stanley will explain you anything away, from the whale downwards." Such was the opinion of fast Oxford of the labours of the Dean of Westminster, while "the whale" appeared to the speaker a bulwark of the Christian faith. For some time to come there will surely be, both on the part of those inclined to welcome and of those disposed to hate and fear modern theological inquiry, much that is distressing to a reverent mind, much said and written which were best left in the silence and oblivion to which it will return.

Yet, though we may admit the evils which go along with it, we have no right and no wish to regret the fact. No phenomenon which attends the march of thought can be despised or ignored — none should be unwelcome. And, however sciolists may discredit any branch of science to which they rashly pretend, their very existence is a proof that others are working more deeply than they, striking roots of knowledge and faith firm into solid ground. No faith whose ground is not solid is worth a straw, and it is far better to be for awhile faith-*less*, seeking that whereon to rest, than to cling, however firmly, to that which increasing light proves to be altogether delusive and unstable. But, be this so or not, a fact meets us to which we cannot be blind, that thousands read, talk on, are deeply interested in matters which once were the rare studies of a few of the more learned clergy and fewer still learned laymen. The existence has thus been rendered possible of a class of books, the fruit of profound study, but written in a more or less popular manner, containing rather the outcome of research than actual research itself, summing up past criticism in a brilliant and taking style, collecting what most scholars admit, for the sake of those less learned, and drawing their own conclusions in a way which enables ordinarily educated people to follow them and test their accuracy. Nor is there any want of original research, though the ponderous modes of past days are disregarded. If a church dogma be discussed, great care is taken to discover what Scripture says on the subject, and if possible what the *immediate* followers of the apostles thought; but with regard to later fathers, we, it seems considered, are as free to judge as they. Again, the broad daylight of the

Reformation melted the authority of the traditions of the Church, and any body calling itself Protestant, striving to crystallize those dissolving traditions in new forms, has written itself down inconsistent to its own principles, and must some day be content to see the angles of these forms also rounded off, once more insensibly gliding away. There is thus in modern theological works less appeal than of old to any kind of authority; each is more self-contained, more independent. The increasing study of foreign languages has placed the works of French writers, and in a degree of German writers also, within reach of the English public, and the thought of three countries is thus fused in our theological literature.

It has been the avowed aim of certain recent English writers to place the results of Biblical criticism before the common sense of the public who are not scholars. In France and Germany the same intent has evidently had large influence over such writers as Strauss, and in a pre-eminent degree over M. Renan.

Among books which are popular without therefore being unscholarlike are also, though in a less degree than those of M. Renan, the works of the accomplished Frenchman, two of whose volumes have led to the present train of thought. The clearness of his style, through which we see his thought like pebbles in a limpid stream,—the care with which he frees the path along which he leads his reader from all extraneous obstructions,—the perfect fairness and candour with which he sees the difficulties in and possible objections to his own opinions,—carry us along with him, a most pleasant companion, veiling by these charms the real learning he imparts, elucidating points which it had seemed scholars alone could so understand as to form a judgment which would satisfy their own need. We do not know how widely the "Etudes Critiques sur l'Ancien Testament" may have been read in England, but we are sure they have produced a profound impression of force and fairness on all who have met with them, even when the readers have not gone along with the author's conclusions. No one need fear that even in the midst of the freest speculations on the Pentateuch they will find anything which need wound devotional feeling. Reasonably or not, this feeling is enlisted among us on the side of the *Old* Testament as well as on that of the New.

There are minds almost as much shocked at the suspicion that natural causes were at work in the production of the plagues of Egypt, or that the numbers of the marching Israelites have been over-stated, as they would be by a round denial of the Incarnation or the Resurrection. And as the doubts which exist as to the historical truth of *those* great mysteries are by common consent advanced with extremest caution and sincere care not to disturb a faith which rests on them, so also it would seem that even matters which *we* may see to have nothing on earth to do with Christianity or religion, should be touched reverently, if the faith of others is involved in them. It is only by slow degrees that the child learning to walk can bear to reject the finger which only seems to uphold him, and to withdraw it hastily might cause a serious fall, even though it be no true support. And it is with the intellectual as with the physical growth in more particulars than we are always inclined to admit. We say this because M. Nicolas treats of the origin of the Pentateuch, and of the influence which the system of Moses had on the religion of the Jews, and because no book we have ever read has placed the subject so firmly, yet so gently, before those who may wish to see the *unorthodox* side of the question. We use the word unorthodox because M. Nicolas himself contrasts his point of view with that of the orthodox; but we shall have somewhat to say on these terms before we conclude.

The position which the first essay endeavours to establish is this:

"The system of Moses is contained in the Pentateuch; but it is a fact, which cannot now be disputed, that this document in its present form is not by Moses. I think I have proved that the Pentateuch is a collection of writings from different sources, which, having passed through various stages of arrangement, received only very late the form in which we possess them; but that many of them in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, date from a time anterior to the establishment of the Hebrews in the land of Canaan, and allow us to reconstruct the essential features of the Mosaic plan."—Preface, Vol. I. p. ii.

He traces with rapidity and precision the growth of criticism on this point to the present day, starting with the full admission that "from the restoration of the temple and worship by Nehemiah and Ezra, the Jews have regarded the

five books of the Law as the work of Moses." But denying that "this opinion had the dogmatic precision which has been since given to it," he considers that the Jews deemed "Moses the author of the Pentateuch in much the same way as Napoleon was the author of the 'Code Français.'" He points out that St. Jerome, in the early age of the Christian church, considered it "an indifferent question whether the five books were regarded as the work of Moses or as retouched and set in order by Ezra. But later the opinion became general that they were from the hand of the great Hebrew Lawgiver. ..... It is, however, well to add that this belief was never an article of faith; the Church has decided, officially, nothing on this point, although on the whole she has implicitly adopted this belief." (Vol. I. pp. 2, 3.) From the Catholic point of view, however, it is of small importance whether the given or the supposed author of any book is really so. To the Catholic, the Church is the interpreter of holy writ; it is she who is inspired to bring out the meaning. The insistance that the author whose name is attached to any book has himself written it, is the consequence of the Protestant theory of the literal inspiration of the Scriptures. Yet while Protestantism, so often as it has become dogmatic, has been more narrow, more hard, than the Catholic Church, there have ever been Protestants who have not forgotten that free thought and not dogma was the essence and the secret of their very ecclesiastical existence. Among them were raised the earliest doubts on the opinion which gives to Moses as author or final editor the books which bear his name.

There is no need to follow M. Nicolas through his summary and criticism of each writer on the subject, from the gleams of suspicion among the early Reformers to the present day; enough to say that he is singularly fair, and, as compared with the German Ewald, and, though he does not mention him, with our own late Professor Donaldson, eminently conservative. Both of these writers attempt to distinguish more than seems possible to M. Nicolas, the exact contents and limits of some of the early traditions incorporated in our present Pentateuch.

But from any attentive study of biblical criticism, there can, we think, be no doubt that the distinction between those documents in which God is designated by the name

Elohim, in our version "God," and those others in which the word Jehovah, in our version "LORD," appears, is a very real one, which recurs again and again to the mind of the English reader of the Bible, so soon as the fact of such difference is pointed out. It is true that some would desire to restrict the discrimination between these documents within extremely narrow limits. Mr. Kingsley, for instance, a man by no means usually over-cautious, says in a note to his recent volume of Sermons, "I must say that all attempts to distinguish between 'Jehovistic' and 'Elohistic' documents, with the exception perhaps of the first chapter of Genesis, seem to me to fail; and that the theory of an Elohistic and a Jehovistic sect has received its reductionem ad absurdum in a certain recent criticism of the Psalms."* Yet not so, we think, in either case. A careful examination of the Pentateuch, to go no further, will probably, not indeed lead us, with some German critics, to consider that the Elohistic documents are the basis of the books, and that the others are but supplements; but rather to agree for the most part with M. Nicolas' classification. He says: "Only in Genesis are the Elohistic documents predominant. In Exodus, the two classes are of nearly equal extent. Leviticus is entirely Jehovistic. The word Elohim occurs in it but twice; and it may be believed that in these two passages it is employed as the prophets were accustomed to employ it, who ceased not, while sometimes using the term, to be of the Jehovistic section. And the whole book of Numbers, except those chapters which contain the history of Balaam, is composed of Jehovistic documents. In a word, all the legislative portion of the Pentateuch is Jehovistic; and it could not be otherwise, for the Jehovistic notion of God is the basis of the Mosaic law, and the term Jehovah appears in the history of the Hebrews only with Moses." (Vol. I. pp. 50, 51.)

The vast discrepancy between the two kind of documents may be seen at a glance, not only in the two accounts of the Creation, of the Flood, of the call of Abraham, but still more strikingly in the two genealogies in the 4th and 5th chapters of Genesis. And no explanation which can

* Gospel of the Pentateuch, p. 8, note.

be offered so well accounts for this fact as the supposition "that each religious party in Israel designated God exclusively by one of these two names; those who held to the old patriarchal traditions by the word Elohim, and those who had accepted the Mosaic reform by the name Jehovah." (Vol. I. p. 51.) This also serves to explain the certain yet startling fact that Moses' schemes for the settlement of his people in the promised land were never carried out; that there is scarce a trace of the Mosaic law in the books of Joshua and Judges; that its establishment and final triumph were of an extremely late date in the history of the Hebrew race; and yet that no criticism, however searching and even hostile, has to fair minds set aside the belief that, with many after modifications, the law called Mosaic was in very truth the law of Moses.

The second essay in the first volume endeavours to trace up to Moses those religious and social principles which had their origin in him, "or at least in the reform attempted in the desert after the Exodus, and which for posterity is personified in Moses, to all appearance its principal promoter." (Vol. I. Pref. p. iii.) And the third is devoted to the proof that the system so begun "penetrated Israel but slowly; and decidedly triumphed at last only when the kingdom of Judah was about to disappear for ever under the attacks of the Chaldæans." (Vol. I. Pref. pp. iii, iv.)

Whatever diversity of opinion may exist on matters of detail, we fully believe M. Nicolas will so far carry with him in the main all fair-minded men who read his book; and we commend it cordially to those who desire to see the questions involved argued with extreme care and skill, and with an absence of the personalities which disfigure so large a portion of theological literature both at home and abroad. We doubt, indeed, if he will succeed in impressing all his readers with his own firm belief that Elohism was an *idolatrous* monotheism; there will still remain those who think that, as a simpler monotheism less tied to creed and form than the later development of Jewish religion, it had its advantages even over the sublime revelations of Moses; that from some points of view the indistinct faith of Abraham was higher than the more developed convictions of an Hezekiah or a Josiah. Nor will he convince all of them that the whole religious life of the Jewish nation was

split into two so clearly distinct parties as he would have it, however it may be admitted that the words Elohim and Jehovah, as well as the conceptions they imply, are radically distinct. We think the position quite tenable that a large or the largest body of the religious public of Judæa may have been unconscious of the diversities of schools among their leaders, as in our villages at the present day the inhabitants would be quite unable to explain or understand in what way the teaching in their own church differed from that in the church of the next parish. And we also believe it to be possible and probable that the majority of the nation came, at least by the time of David, to use the word Jehovah as *the* name for God, even while many of them continued to entertain of Him the ideas expressed by the earlier word Elohim.

This notion of a strongly marked boundary, on one side or other of which each Jew was compelled to take his stand,—this conviction that the Elohistic section was idolatrous, and that each man who named the name of Jehovah was necessarily a strong upholder of Mosaic system, rite and faith,—has given rise to the fourth essay, of which, while much is most valuable, the main position seems to us only a very ingenious and eloquent paradox. It is devoted to the consideration of Hebrew prophets and prophecy, "whom," says M. Nicolas, "I consider as the advocates of the Mosaic system in the heart of the Hebrew nation, and as the chiefs and directors of the party, or, as I propose to call it, the little church which adhered to the teaching of Moses. Thanks to their perseverance, to their devotion, to their religious and moral enthusiasm, the principles proclaimed by Moses did not perish, and at last triumphed in the house of Jacob." (Vol. I. Pref. p. v.)

His whole sketch of the nature and aim of prophecy—his vindication of the far higher status of the *forth*-teller than that of the *fore*-teller—his examination of the facts that as the estimate of the dignity of the prophet's office grew in the minds of men there dropped off from it such titles as "seer" and the attributes of a soothsayer—his notice of the schools of the prophets,—leave little to be desired. A comparison of these with the discussion in the Preface of Sir Edward Strachey's admirable book, "Hebrew Politics," will give the reader all that really need be known

on these subjects at present. But we cannot follow him when he strives to prove that the declamations of the prophets against the priests were really from the mouths of those who themselves belonged to what may be called the sacerdotal party, who considered the whole ritual and law of Moses as the one barrier between their people and lawless lust or wanton idolatry. In no age have the clergy attacked the vices of the clergy while they desired to uphold the system of which those clergy were the authorized exponents. One here and there may have spoken out at times, as did Savonarola; but when a Luther attacks the monks, or a Latimer the bishops, it has been to prepare, consciously or unconsciously, the fall of monachism or episcopacy. The Hebrew prophets and priests were fully aware of the fact, put afterwards into such epigrammatic language, that "a house divided against a house must fall."

Nor do we think that a comparison, sometimes made, of the prophets to the regular and the priesthood to the secular clergy of the middle ages, will do much to explain the antagonism. Asceticism was the root of the monastic life, and though there were hermits and fakirs among the prophets, such was by no means the prevailing spirit of Judaism. The resemblance is merely superficial. We should far rather incline to see in the growth of prophecy a striving after a reformed and purer religion than was that of Moses, a further development when men were able to bear it, as the religion of Moses had been a growth out of some traditions of Egypt, mixed with the noble and pure conceptions of, or revelations to, the mind of Moses. And as all religious reforms seek not only to develop on the one hand, but claim to return to a purer antecedent ideal on the other, so it seems to us that the prophets, while using the name Jehovah, strive to return in great measure to the simple, unsymboled faith of the patriarchs and founders of the race. We do not, indeed, forget that Isaiah, the greatest of all the prophets, received his commission in the temple, when, as he tells us, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and

the house was filled with smoke." (Isaiah vi.) But it is significant that the train of Jewish priests and victims, the worshipers and the rites, disappear, and God only is present to the rapt vision of His servant.

We can, however, completely agree with M. Nicolas in his view of the cordial union between priest and prophet on the return from the captivity, when each believed that "all the promises announced of old by men of God were at once to be realized" (Vol. I. p. 441), when Messianic hopes and expectations grew clearer and clearer for a while; but only, as it happened, that Malachi should see the longed-for end was not yet, and "once more postpone to an indefinite future the great and terrible day of the Lord." (Vol. I. p. 442.)

The second volume of the Etudes Critiques sur la Bible, that on the New Testament, has lately appeared, after an interval of two years. This is of itself a guarantee that the subjects discussed, growing naturally out of and forming the complement of those in the former volume, have been carefully weighed before M. Nicolas has placed before the public the conclusions at which he has arrived. And the book itself shews, if possible, greater research, more calmness, and a more matured judgment, than the first series of essays. The author has evidently felt that the questions are of infinitely greater moment, involving as they do the original documents of the religion which has changed the course of the world—documents which claim to place us face to face with the Divine Person of its Founder, and to have been in large measure written by his immediate companions and disciples. It is possible that the gravity and caution of the book may render it at first sight less interesting to the general reader than its predecessor, and M. Renan's recent brilliant romance may incline some to turn away from this, the next book of great importance on the New Testament, with a sensation of weariness when they find it marches from its premisses to its conclusion with the precision of a syllogism. But we are sure that to those who feel that firm ground must be discovered before the attempt is made to reconstruct for our examination the early Christian life, this book will be found of the deepest interest as well as value. M. Nicolas' account of his own intent in the book is this:

"Placing myself outside all dogmatic prejudice, I have here

proposed to myself solely to replace primitive Christianity on the ground of historic reality. . . . I have not attempted to draw a complete picture of the ideas and literature of the early church. Such a task would have been beyond my power, and probably also beyond the patience of the reader, who, whatever interest he may take in religious matters, would not have been content to follow me through the long and minute discussions on which we must needs enter. It has seemed to me that to attain my end, which is simply to lead the reader to form a true idea of the history of primitive Christianity, it would be enough for me to examine a few of the more important questions bearing on the New Testament. . . . . The first concerns the Gospels, and has led me to determine the respective characters of these four documents, their relations with each other, and the mode of their composition. The second is occupied with the Christianity of the apostles. I have here studied the differing conceptions entertained by the first propagators of the new faith on the principles and doctrines of their Master. The last is occupied with the formation of the canon, and is intended to explain by what train of circumstances the twenty-seven different writings forming the New Testament, and at first independent of each other, have been joined together in a single work."—Vol. II. Pref. p. vii.

It cannot be disputed that every critical investigation which has been made of late years into any one of these subjects—and only of late years has the critical faculty been generally developed—ends in some conclusions contrary to received opinions. The fact is so notorious, that there are men who deliberately turn away from all critical study of the Bible, lest they should be led towards views they have already determined not to entertain. But, as M. Nicolas truly says, although modern criticism may resolve these questions in a different way to that in which the Church resolved them in times past, the fact of differences between the evangelists was widely noted in the end of the second century, and the difficulties thus raised have never been wholly met. And, we must repeat once more, it is not for those who have accepted the Reformation to desire to restrict inquiry, since by their adherence to its principles they admit that the truth has not been finally sealed up beyond the reach of further discovery and teaching. The Church writers in the first centuries adopted various theories to account for such facts as the discrepancy between the genealogies of the Christ, which can now excite only a smile;

for instance, that wholly gratuitous assumption that Joseph was the son of a mother who had married two uterine brothers, and that considered as the son of both he could have a double genealogy; and the well-meaning attempts of others to deny differences are futile. For all unprejudiced persons the fact is plain, that the evangelists do not agree on many very important points.

Again, it seems idle now to deny that two schools of theology existed among the apostles; "the one party considering the new doctrine as only a simple reform of Judaism, and remaining half Jews; the others understanding it in a more elevated sense, separating it from the law of Moses and the traditions of the synagogue, and rightly presenting it as an universal religion, which should extend beyond the limits of the ancient covenant, and call to itself men of all races and all tongues." (Vol. II. Pref. p. xii.) The doctors of the Church simply denied this disagreement, yet the conviction that it was there gradually grew in strength, till, at the Reformation, formulas borrowed from St. Paul and St. James became almost the watchwords of the two great sections of Christendom; and in his vehement adhesion to the one, Luther did not hesitate to deny the authority of the other. The differences between Catholicism and Protestantism are indeed differences in human nature; they have existed in a modified form in all religions; it would be a circumstance contrary to all analogy were we not to find them in nascent as in full-grown Christianity. These questions have always been debated among theologians. "But while ecclesiastical theology explains them in accordance with its own theories, criticism studies them from an historical point of view, laying aside all prejudices; and this is the only true method, since it is not for facts to bend themselves into conformity with *a-priori* theories, but rather for dogmatic theories to model themselves on facts." (Vol. II. Pref. p. xix.)

If the first difficulty which presents itself to a reader of the Gospels is the differences between them, the second is certainly their points of agreement. In the case of the first three or synoptical Gospels, this agreement is so marked as to make it almost impossible to suppose that they are independent of each other; yet the objections are scarcely less strong to the supposition that any one has been borrowed

from any other. The first step to a clear view of the subject is to discover from the evidence afforded by themselves the date at which they were written. The first and third Gospels are those which are most strikingly like each other, yet in their very likeness are some strange differences. One of these helps us to the discovery of their dates and their order of time as compared with each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke each give the Saviour's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and of his second advent. In St. Matthew, the two events are so closely linked together as to be in fact two parts of one event. "*Immediately* after the tribulation of those days" shall appear the signs which herald the returning Christ. It is plain that, the holy city once fallen, it would be impossible to take the Lord's words, whatever were the very phrases which fell from his lips, in this sense. It would follow of necessity that in reporting the double prophecy of the Lord after the dispersion of the Jews, care would be taken to leave a greater interval between the first and last acts of the great eschatological drama. St. Luke says, "These things shall first come to pass;" that is, wars and commotions and rising of nation against nation; "but the end is not by and by;" that is, *not* immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. In the first Gospel all is vague and general; it would be hard to discover the precise destruction intended were it not for the parallel passage in the third. But in the third Gospel is distinct mention made of the siege and taking of the city. The one author wrote when the prediction, still unaccomplished, was uncertain in his eyes; the other could give it a preciser form after its fulfilment. Yet, since the third evangelist still regarded the coming of the Christ as very near, as he was convinced that his generation would not pass away till all was fulfilled, it is impossible to suppose that any considerable time had elapsed between the taking of the city and the writing the Gospel. This, as M. Nicolas says, is one instance only of how little differences in likeness serve to fix the date of the Gospels; but it is an important one. To place at least two of the four Gospels, or any considerable portion of them, A.D. 90, is a conservative act in these days of criticism.

But if the Gospels, or any of them, are of so high an antiquity, how comes it that so few direct quotations from

them are found in the writings of the apostolic fathers or their immediate successors? how comes it they were not at once received as authorities in the early Christian world? St. Luke gives us in part the answer, when he tells us that there were already many writings setting forth the things surely believed, each no doubt having its own circle who looked on it as the one authentic record. But the truer answer is, that *no* written biography of the Lord had any great value while those yet lived who had personally known him or even his apostles. The tradition was a guarantee for the truth of Scripture, not Scripture for the truth of tradition. Moreover, it is certain that each Gospel was written, not for the whole church, but for a section or even an individual, and came into general knowledge only by slow degrees, and as the need of written documents was felt on account of the waning accuracy of tradition.

It would be impossible in our limited space, as well as unfair to M. Nicolas, to attempt to discuss the manner in which he sifts the various theories on the origin and interdependence of our Gospels. Enough to say that he is fair, learned and clear, careful to retain all he can, even when he refuses to allow in their present form the synoptic Gospels to the evangelists whose names they bear. That these passed through various editions is probable and even certain, and every explanation of their interdependence has been more or less based on this assumption. Of them he says, "They have not the character of personal writings. They are but the reproduction of earlier and fragmentary works, which are here condensed, re-united and combined, so as to present, in a greater or less degree of development, a connected picture of the Lord's life and teaching. And these fragmentary works in their turn are but the reproduction of oral tradition. But if this fact does not at all diminish the authority of our synoptic Gospels, which still remain the expression of primitive and apostolic Christianity, it singularly complicates the question of their origin. It places criticism before a doubly complex problem. We must first disentangle in our Gospels the different writings of which they are diverse combinations, and then seek the origin of these elementary writings. Can we ever hope to arrive at a solution which shall be satisfactory? A doubt may be allowed, however great may be our confidence in the saga-

city of the human intellect." (Vol. II. p. 126.) This modesty is very pleasant when some modern writers seem to think they know as much of the genesis of early documents as though they had sat in the authors' studies and mended the pens with which the books were written.

The fourth Gospel stands so wholly alone as an independent account of the Saviour, can be so completely dissevered from the first three, that some eminent and devout writers have not scrupled to see in it the only pure Christianity, the only true conception of the mission and character of the Christ. Fichte, for instance, says: "I regard the apostle John as the only teacher of true Christianity; the apostle Paul and his party remained half Jews, and left unaltered the fundamental error of Judaism as well as of Heathenism. It is only with John that the philosopher can deal, for he alone has respect for reason, and appeals to that evidence which alone has weight with the philosopher—the internal: 'If any man will do the will of him that sent me, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God'.... Further: of the four Gospels, only that of John contains what we seek and desire—a Doctrine of Religion; while, on the contrary, the best that the others offer to us, without completion and explanation by John, amounts to nothing more than Morality, which to us has but a very subordinate value. As to the assertion that John had the other evangelists before him, and only designed to supply what they had omitted, we shall not here inquire into it: should that be the case, then in our opinion the supplement is the best part of the whole, and John's predecessors had passed over that precisely which was of essential importance."*

Now we by no means agree with Fichte in his disparagement of the other Gospels, still less with his estimate of the great apostle of the Gentiles; but we have quoted the above as expressing in a strong form a very real and essential difference between the synoptics and the fourth Gospel. How account for this, for certain curious inaccuracies in matters of fact into which it seems all but impossible a Jew should have fallen, for the Gnostic expressions to be found in it, and yet connect it with the apostle John, as the

* The Way towards the Blessed Life: trans. W. Smith, p. 96.

whole tradition of the Christian church has connected it? The following is M. Nicolas' mode of solving the difficulty. It is almost unjust to quote it without the rest of the argument, but we trust our notice of the book may induce our readers to judge it for themselves.

"One of the members of the Christian society at Ephesus, composed, taking the teaching of the apostle John for his guide, a picture of the work of Jesus Christ. This labour, in which perhaps several others took part, was at first, as seems likely, destined for the edification of the group of the faithful who gathered round that apostle. Did John give his sanction to the work? It is quite possible. Nothing in it could seem opposed to his views and opinions. If Jesus Christ were therein described under metaphysical terms which he would not himself have used, which perhaps he did not even know before he lived at Ephesus in the midst of men accustomed to the language of the theosophy of the time, these terms would seem to him very fitting to describe the mystical idea which he had conceived of his divine Master. There was no reason that he should see in this book anything other than a learned exposition of his faith in the Saviour, and in reality it was composed only to reproduce his teaching. If things happened thus, it would necessarily follow that this writing should be generally regarded as the work of the apostle John."—Vol. II. pp. 216, 217.

We regard the fact of two schools of theology among the apostles as so self-evident, that we do not say M. Nicolas has proved their existence. Such a form of expression would imply there could be a doubt on the subject. It can only be denied by those who do not study the Scriptures in any real sense, and who are contented with that theory of inspiration which reduces it to dictation. If, indeed, the apostles were merely the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit, or inert instruments through which the voice of God spoke, the difficulty is thrust back into a region into which reverence would forbid us to follow it. But if we are to read the Scriptures critically at all, we must be content to set aside such a notion of inspiration as this, whatever other or *no* other we may form for ourselves. But the second essay places the whole matter before us in a clear point of view, and does much to bring out in a strong light the character of St. Paul—whom it does not class, with Fichte, among semi-Jews—the great apostle whose mission it was

to give infant Christianity that universalism which might fit it to embrace the world, and insinuate itself into every stream of modern thought, literature and art. The strifes which have divided men from their fellow-men, did not begin and did not cease with the apostles. They were partizans, as we are in our days; and if they yearned for peace and unity, if they saw the great vision of a future united church, it was as Falkland prayed for peace and dreamed of an united realm, while girding on his armour for the fight. The victory has as yet been gained by neither side, and it may indeed be that the balance of truth is best preserved, and will for ever be best preserved, while earnest men cling to its opposite poles; but this is certain, that a strong feeling of the need of uniformity of creed and worship does not result from an examination of the apostolic age, and that such uniformity has done much to stifle intellectual movement and life. And we believe that as the party of progress once more rises into distinct prominence, and the reform of the churches draws nearer, the theology of the great Gentile apostle will once more furnish the watchwords, his armoury the spiritual swords, which distinguish and which arm the champions of reform.

There is no room for the play of fancy and little field for speculation in a sketch of the history of the Canon, but the third essay in this volume is not therefore the less valuable. It is concise, able and readable, and is the only short summary of the formation of the Canon which is, so far as we know, likely to be read by those who are not professed theological students. For such is intended, and by such only is likely to be read, the able treatise of Mr. Westcott in our own language.

"Criticism," says M. Nicolas, "does not ally itself with an ardent faith." We agree with him only if he means *not* the belief of those who

> "— after toil and storm
> May seem to have reached a purer air,
> Whose faith has centre everywhere
> Nor cares to fix itself to form;"

but rather a passionate partizanship, and strong conviction of the need of dogma. With such ardour of faith criticism has nothing in common. But if the search for truth be the

highest pursuit of man's intellect, and the love of truth, which is the love of God, the highest exercise of his spirit, the truth-seeker and the truth-lover must welcome with eagerness all fellow-labourers endeavouring by criticism or any other way to attain to higher knowledge. He may not always agree with their methods, or hold the same estimate as they hold of the value of their discoveries, but he will not count them unfaithful or weaken his own faith in God if they contradict or even disprove his own previous convictions.

We do not indeed imagine that there is any real difference between M. Nicolas and ourselves; but the admission above is one which may alarm some minds unless the sense in which it is true be clearly understood. So, again, we regard as unfortunate, as well as untrue in fact, the use of the terms "orthodox" and "unorthodox" by many modern writers on the side of free thought. Technical orthodoxy has still theoretically so great an advantage for most minds, it is considered so absolutely necessary for the clergy of most religious bodies, that it is well to determine wherein orthodoxy consists. Now we imagine that when M. Nicolas speaks of his own views as being contrary to those of the orthodox, he is referring not so much to any standards of doctrine, such as Creeds, Articles or Liturgy, as to the popular *opinion* which may be strongly opposed to his own. But let it be remembered that popular opinion on religious matters is invariably the opinion of the less and not of the more educated, who are always in a minority; that the tendency of the uneducated is ever to harden and narrow dogma; while dogmatic forms, as drawn up by the more educated, and almost invariably as a compromise between two schools of thought, are quite certainly wider than any single expression of popular opinion. And however unwise it may be to require *subscription* to dogmatic forms in any such way as to imply a complete assent to every jot and tittle therein contained, it can scarce be disputed that the fact of some common standard of creed or worship has often proved a great safeguard against the monstrous tyranny of some mere notion of the time, which, were it not for that wider formula, would enslave, or at least burthen, the minds of men. We venture to defend M. Nicolas' faith and orthodoxy, in spite of himself, as well as our own, because with

regard to by far the greater number of subjects with which he deals or on which he touches, what he says of the authorship of the Pentateuch is true, "the Church has decided nothing officially on the point," whether by the Church he meant that of Rome or the minor societies which the Reformation has called into existence; and if the solemn utterance of the Church has still a claim to our heed and obedience, we surely have a perfect right to disregard the mere strife of tongues. To the clergy, above all other men, the question is at this day important, what position they are to take with regard to free thought, and on the clergy of the Church of England it is especially pressing that they decide, and that speedily, the attitude in which they will stand, hostile or friendly, to liberal opinion. The condition of that Church is a singular one. Among her clergy are in England the foremost in the van of liberal opinions, yet the Bishops almost to a man are hostile to them; the intellectual life of the country shrinks from enrolment among her teachers; and while the great body of the clergy are conservative or reactionary, their standard as learned men is, by the admission of the Bishops, becoming deteriorated. It will, we think, be a matter for sincere regret to men of liberal thought, not only within but without the pale of the Church of England, should those who are also liberal be prevented entering or cast out from the ranks of her clergy. For the great majority of educated Dissenters are such rather on political than on religious grounds. It would be most undesirable to narrow the boundaries of that Church which claims to be the chief exponent of the religious thought of the country. We deem it certain that if intolerance once had its way within the Church of England, each small sect which is at all bound by dogmatic statements would follow her lead, and men of liberal opinions would find no accredited society of Christians to which they could attach themselves. This is already the case to a great extent in other countries than our own, and in a measure here also. But if one who aspires to teach has no recognized position, not only has he far less influence, but, his devotional needs unsatisfied through want of a worship with which he can identify himself, his spiritual life is likely to suffer from lack of nourishment.

We desire, therefore, to discuss briefly the licence of free

thought which is the privilege of the clergy of the Church of England; for if we shall succeed in shewing that they are not bound to reject any opinion which may chance to be new, it will follow that the clergy of other bodies, less tied by dogmatic statements, have at least equal liberty; that the laity may cast aside that uneasy suspicion which sometimes arises, that however true may be the teacher's words, they contravene statements by which he is bound; that in the search for truth such writings as those of M. Nicolas are reading as wholesome and as necessary as are the works of the Fathers or of Anglican divines.

We do not wish to say much on the liberty which has been established by a recent judgment of the Privy Council. That more has been conceded than appears at first sight is very certain; but still the points yielded have been for the most part matters of detail; isolated expressions have been shewn not to be contrary to certain other expressions: we wish here rather to indicate the right of liberal opinions in general, than the freedom from penal consequences gained for certain definite statements.

Our business, then, is with the terms of communion and articles of agreement as at present imposed in the Church of England.

To put out of sight for a moment the question whether the more essential forms of belief, such as Creeds, do not and must not change from time to time, there will certainly occur crises of religious faith, during which thought will have outrun some existing forms, as expressions in a liturgy, or statements in doctrinal articles; and though we may feel sure such forms will hereafter be changed, an honest man must ask himself if he can give his assent to words which obviously were written for another phase of thought than his own, whose authors never dreamed of modern interpretations, evasions and accommodations. We must, moreover, face the fact, that these forms, to which, perhaps, he can with difficulty hold, may break down utterly, under advancing thought and further study. But we think that such an one, concerned solely with the present, is not bound to ask what was the "animus imponentis;" nor has he a right, on the other hand, "to unsettle received opinions when they may seem to be erroneous, unless he have a reasonable hope, as it appears to him, that he shall be able to

substitute something better in their place: we should not rob weak wayfarers in this worldly scene of the reeds on which they lean, unless we can strengthen their feeble knees, or supply into their right hands stronger staves to lean on."* The former of these principles is generally admitted with regard to the most important articles of faith, and it is most inconsistent to deny its application in confessedly minor matters. For instance, there can be no doubt historically that the clause in the Apostles' Creed touching the descent of Christ into Hades, has wholly changed its meaning. Most Christian Protestants who use that Creed would accept Barrow's interpretation of the words, that they are an intensification of the preceding "dead and buried," an expression of faith that the soul of Christ did leave his body, that his death was not a trance, but that wherever and in whatever state are the spirits of men after death, there and in that state was the spirit of Christ.† But the Roman Church imagines a Limbus Patrum, where Adam and Eve, the patriarchs and prophets, were waiting for the promised Redeemer; that thither the Lord descended, proclaimed the tidings of his victory, and burst the bonds which held them there. This, the Roman belief, was no doubt the "animus imponentis;" yet outside the Roman Church few doubt that we are justified in leaving such an interpretation, and finding in the words the expression of simpler and maturer convictions.

So, again, the truest sense of Scripture is that which will be placed on it by those to whom the Scripture shall come‡ when knowledge shall be fuller and clearer than now. But we do not lay the Bible aside because some passages are found to have been misunderstood, and others are gaining and will gain fresh light. As the Bible is treated, and the Apostles' Creed, that most venerable of all symbols, so may surely be treated the Athanasian Creed, Prayer-book and Articles.

But it may be thought a passage in the Ordinal requires a belief in the canonical Scriptures, with which modern research may clash somewhat rudely. That requirement of assent, however, must be taken with the definition of Holy

* Wilson's Bampton Lectures, 1851, p. 281.

† Barrow's Works, fol. ed., Vol. I. pp. 444 et seq.

‡ See H. B. Wilson's Bampton Lectures, pp. 28, 29.

Scripture in the 6th of the xxxix Articles: "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." In fact, the two passages may be taken as one expression of doctrine. Now we do not press a consideration, which yet seems to deserve some attention, that as the Church manifestly and rightly requires a more definite expression of faith from the clergy than from the laity, so the Bishop seems more tied to the letter of Scripture than are the lower ranks of the clergy. The Bishop, speaking from his own position, asks, "Do you *unfeignedly* believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" The candidate, looking at the matter from his point of view, answers simply, "I do believe them." We are aware that this will seem a subtle and perhaps an unfair distinction; but two considerations may modify this opinion. Mr. Wilson's words, in his wise and thoughtful essay on the National Church,* are surely true when he says, that in such a case as subscription "the strictly legal obligation is the measure of the moral one;" and it seems, moreover, that when every word of the Liturgy of the Church of England has been so weighed, so cavilled at, so amended, as we know it to have been, the absence of the words "so" or "unfeignedly" is not without significance. But, however this may be, the Article is not by any means so stringent as it has been often represented. If we are not bound to inquire or heed what was the "animus imponentis," if there shall arise good reason for doubting whether such and such books or portions of books be really deserving the authority hitherto given them, then, even though the Church is unable or unwilling at once to reform her canon, that book or portion of book ceases, by the very admission of the Article, to be binding as Holy Scripture on the individual conscience. "But," again it may be said, "the Ordinal requires belief in all the *canonical* books, of which canonical books the Article gives a list." To this it seems sufficient answer, that the list is rather a note on than a part of the Article; that if a book received as canonical is found by the above rule to be, perhaps, no part of Holy Scripture, our permission to reject is stronger than our obligation to accept it. A book is received into the canon because it is Holy

* Essays and Reviews, p. 181.

Scripture, and does not become Holy Scripture because it is canonical.

After all, however, the main stress is on the word *believe*, and here there must come in a certain limitation. We do not seek to learn theology in a history, or to gain political theories from books of travels; and yet we find them there. How many accept the facts contained in the histories of Grote or of Gibbon, without in either case accepting the author's obvious theological views? We may travel through Italy with many a modern tourist, and be thankful for the record of what they heard and saw, yet need not with them become Papal or Garibaldian. So should we keep clearly before us what the Bible is—a record of spiritual progress, of aspirations of and revelations to the spirit of man: whatever of history, or geology, or chronology, is therein, is beside the main purpose of the book. And when we disconnect these incidental matters, the difficulty seems rather to doubt than to believe that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs," culminating, so far as we yet can see, in the person and work of the Christ.

It cannot, however, be denied—and here is a fresh and graver difficulty—that there is interwoven with the entire narrative of the Bible a web of miraculous interventions, for which no single theory hitherto advanced has satisfactorily accounted, some of which were they cut out from the New Testament would seem to involve the destruction of all faith in an historical Christ. It is probable that, both in the Old Testament and in the New, poetical descriptions, parables, legends, have been cooled down into mere prose, and understood as though they were narratives of fact; it is certain that round heroic men, in all times, have clustered, in after ages, stories, some pure fiction, others having affinity with what is known of the nature of him they describe, others having an actual basis of real events; nor is there any reason to suppose that the worthies of the Bible were free from the likelihood of such accretions to the story of their lives. Other wonders, again, may have been wonders only because not understood, as where an angel who troubled the water was invented by a people ignorant of the laws which regulate intermittent springs. Yet, when Paulus and Strauss have done their best or their worst, there remains much for which no laws as yet known, no theory yet propounded, will serve to account. And this

that remains is chiefly concerned with one reverend Name and Life, which we would desire to rob of nothing that can increase our love, our veneration, our faith. Nor need we do so. If it be conceded, as it is by all Christians, that in some way or other Jesus Christ is the typal man, the crown and perfection of all humanity, will it seem strange that He, consciously or unconsciously, should have manifested in their fulness those powers to which the human race seems by degrees to attain? If man, as he is, with all his shortcomings, "his sins of will, defects of doubt, and taints of blood," is yet able so to increase in scientific knowledge as to predict in a measure the course of the winds and electric currents which guide and rule the storm, it is not unlikely that in the coming years he will be able to govern those very laws by means of the higher law of his will and understanding. And what we trust or believe that man will be and do, that can we believe Christ was and did. Again, if there pass from man to man certain strange influences which we in our ignorance name "magnetic;" if healthy bodies have effect on unhealthy, so that over brain and nerves and heart there seems to pour a fountain of vital energy; if, again, the mysterious elective affinities between drugs and the human body are reduced each day more and more to a positive science;—is it strange that, under any Christian conception of his being and character, Christ should, under certain circumstances, have given health to the sick, even at his word or touch? It is neither irreverent nor in truth unorthodox to explain such miracle as can be explained, and refer all others to modes as yet unknown; it is needful, if we would retain the thought of a God of order and of law, to reject the supposition that He mars or interferes with what He has done and appointed, save where a higher law cuts across the track of a lower, as do starry systems, which seem involved only to the unscientific, but are to those who understand them a high sacrament and sign of perfect order and completest harmony.

We have not so great confidence in our own powers or our own grasp of truth as to imagine these remarks will satisfy all our readers, any more than all the positions in liberal writings, such as those of M. Nicolas and others, are satisfactory to ourselves. It would never do that any man's difficulties should be settled by others in a moment, for so would he place himself under a worse dogmatism than that

of any church. Each man must fight his battle for himself; each in the great conflict is alone. All that any one can do for another is to point out some mode of onslaught, or it may be some trick of fence, which has proved useful to himself and may be to other combatants.

The light of fuller knowledge in all regions of science, as it broadens day by day, disperses mists on every side, and extends our mental horizon, so that we can see the great tide of free thought rising on our own shores. Like that of the Nile, it may stir some ugly deposit, but must in the end fertilize the fields. The clergy are they who should meet the swelling wave, their feet gladdened and their hearts cheered with its fresh and vigorous life. It is they who should open the sluice-gates and guide the waters on the land. But if, as the waves seem to raise their crests higher than in days past, these men fear and cower, or attempt to stem the tide, its resistless energy will carry away even useful barriers and channels, and themselves may be engulfed in the surge.

It lies with the Church of England now, in this day of new things, to decide whether she can hold old truths in the light of new knowledge. It will be an evil day for her and for all the religious bodies which stand around her if it can be said of her to her children,

> "Come away; for Life and Thought
> Here no longer dwell;
> But in a city glorious—
> A great and distant city—have bought
> A mansion incorruptible.
> *Would they could have stayed with us!*"*

C. K. P.

III.—THE QUESTION OF MIRACLES.

1. *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Art. Miracles.* By Right Rev. William Fitzgerald, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe.
2. *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord.* By Richard Chenevix Trench (the present Archbishop of Dublin). 5th Edition. Parker. 1856.
3. *Aids to Faith. Art. on Miracles as Evidences of Christianity.* By H. L. Mansel, B.D. 1861.

* Tennyson. The Deserted House.

4. *Vie de Jésus.* Par Ernest Renan. Paris. 1863.
5. *The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Modern Criticism.* By John Tulloch, D.D. Macmillan & Co. 1864.

To acknowledge a living God, and to declare Him incapable of departing from an invariable order of manifestation, are inconsistent acts of belief. The impossibility, or the necessary incredibility, of Miracles, can be maintained only on the hypothesis of Atheism. A God who has no life or freedom, outside the system of Nature, is not distinguishable from Nature. If the laws of material causation are only modes of His action, He must be free to adopt other modes when it seemeth good to His wisdom and His will; if they are independent of Him, then there is no living LORD of the universe, and God is only another name for the order, the cosmos, that human intellects perceive. That Miracles are unworthy of God may be maintained by those who would freely admit their possibility if they could seem good in His sight. This is the only ground on which a Theist can assert their absolute incredibility. An *a-priori* exclusion of Miracles for scientific reasons is Atheism: an *a-priori* exclusion of Miracles for spiritual reasons would be, so far as is yet seen and determined, an arbitrary rule, in opposition to the only court of judgment accessible to us, the spiritual discernment of mankind. One or other of these positions the denier of Miracles, as *per se* incredible, must take up: that scientifically regarded they are impossible to God,—or, that spiritually regarded they are unworthy of God. A believer in a personal God could therefore be justified in refusing all attention to the historical evidences of Miracles only after he had established, as a universal canon of disbelief, that the free action of God beside or beyond the physical laws of causation, *for any purpose whatsoever*, is incompatible with His perfect goodness. If *philosophical* antisupernaturalism is inconsistent with all religious faith,—and *spiritual* antisupernaturalism, the dishonourableness to God of all immediate manifestations of Himself, cannot be demonstrated,—the credibility of a Miracle in any particular case is simply a question of evidence internal and external. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his examination of Hume's doctrine of Miracles, has clearly seen that their absolute rejection, independently of due consideration in each special case, is legitimate only to an Atheist,

or after proof given that supernatural acts would be a degradation of God.

"In order that any alleged fact should be contradictory to a law of causation, the allegation must be, not simply that the cause existed without being followed by the effect, for that would be no uncommon occurrence; but that this happened in the absence of any adequate counteracting cause. Now in the case of an alleged miracle, the assertion is the exact opposite of this. It is, that the effect was defeated, not in the absence, but in consequence, of a counteracting cause, namely, a direct interposition of an act of the will of some being who has power over nature; and in particular of a being, whose will having originally endowed all the causes with the powers by which they produce their effects, may well be supposed able to counteract them. A miracle, as was justly remarked by Brown, is no contradiction to the law of cause and effect; it is a new effect, supposed to be produced by the introduction of a new cause. Of the adequacy of that cause, if it exist, there can be no doubt; and the only antecedent improbability which can be ascribed to the miracle, is the improbability that any such cause had existence in the case.

"All, therefore, which Hume has made out, and this he must be considered to have made out, is, that no evidence can be sufficient to prove a miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence of a being or beings with supernatural power; or who believed himself to have full proof that the character of the being whom he recognizes, is inconsistent with his having seen fit to interfere on the occasion in question. The truth of this (however fatal to a school of theology which has recently been revived in this country, and which has the weakness to rest all the evidences of religion on tradition and testimony) may be, and is, admitted by all defenders of revelation who have made much figure as such during the present century. It is now acknowledged by nearly all the ablest writers on the subject, that natural religion is the necessary basis of revealed; that the proofs of Christianity presuppose the being and moral attributes of God; and that it is the conformity of a religion to those attributes which determines whether credence ought to be given to its external evidences; that (as the proposition is sometimes expressed) the doctrine must prove the miracles, not the miracles the doctrine. It is hardly necessary to point out the complete accordance of these views with the opinions which, not to mention other testimonies, the New Testament itself shews to have been generally prevalent in the apostolic age; when it was believed indeed that miracles were necessary as credentials, and that whoever was

sent by God must have the power of working them; but no one dreamed that such power sufficed by itself as proof of a divine mission, and St. Paul expressly warned the churches, if any one came to them working miracles, to observe what he taught, and unless he preached 'Christ and him crucified,' not to listen to the teaching..... It appears from what has been said, that the assertion that a cause has been defeated of an effect which is connected with it by a completely ascertained law of causation, is to be disbelieved or not, according to the probability or improbability that there existed in the particular instance an adequate counteracting cause. To form an estimate of this, is not more difficult than of any other probability."*

If we begin by assuming, on the grounds of natural religion, that Miracles are unworthy of God, for us of course there are no Miracles, nor can we be expected even to look at the evidences, spiritual and historical, that might commend them to us. But this instinctive antipathy to the supernatural must belong to those who regard religion as a law of life deducible from facts, rather than as personal communion with the Spirit of life; or else to those who find everywhere the mind of God in such living contact with their own, that any further intimation of the divine presence, or elucidation of the divine meaning, is a needless superfluity. And since religion is not a moral rule, but personal guidance,—and all history exhibits that direct fellowship with a living Spirit is an exceptional condition of the soul in nations and in individuals, it is clear that the supernatural cannot be excluded either by the supposition that religion is a scientific law—for that is not true—or by the supposition that God is, and always has been, ordinarily known as an immediate Inspirer, shewing to all, except the wilfully and exceptionally blind, the movements of a living Hand beneath nature's vesture—for that is not fact. The considerations which have caused the supernatural to be counted dishonourable to God are mainly these—that the universe is of the nature of a divine mechanism, in which the necessity for occasional intervention and repair would be discreditable to its original perfection,—and that Miracles are violations of law, departures by God under the pressure of special emergencies from rules which He had prescribed to Himself. It is postulated that physical laws are the *universal* modes of the

* A System of Logic, Vol. II. pp. 185—187, 1st edition.

divine action, and then it is only necessary consequence that the supernatural is forbidden even to God himself. It is true *ex vi termini* that Miracles are contrary to the *analogy* of our experience, but to determine that therefore they are contrary to all experience, is simply to beg the question. They may observe a spiritual analogy in transcending a physical one: they may be working in the direction of God's habitual providence when they emit a ray of divine interpretation, or forbid the garments of light with which God clothes Himself in nature to be mistaken for self-acting substances or powers. *Dei voluntas natura rerum est:* and to exhibit the intent of God must be in the order of nature even when it is beyond nature.

The grounds on which it is predetermined that the supernatural is unworthy of God are unreal hypotheses. The universe is not of the nature of a machine: and a miracle is not a violation of law. For purposes of physical repair God works no Miracles in the universe; and a Miracle is not *properly* a physical fact, nor wrought for physical ends. To assume the opposite of either of these two propositions is a wilful attempt to degrade the whole conception of the supernatural; it is to assign to Miracles a purpose and explanation which no Theist ought to ascribe to them, and to condemn them for a character which does not belong to them. In a machine a change in any one part must affect all the other and related parts, whereas if God himself is the moving power everywhere He may, for a sufficient purpose, vary His operation at any one point of human observation, and keep the analogy of His ways for all the rest. For scientific purposes, in order to impart to man physical knowledge and physical power, God acts uniformly; else could we learn nothing in a world without order, and do nothing in a world where there were no materials whose properties could be ascertained. The infinite condescension of the Almighty in the regularity of physical action, that we may become partakers of His thought and sharers in His power, can be no valid hindrance to flashes of additional light from Himself at certain points of spiritual experience, if such light is needed to shew that the natural is within the supernatural, that all things physical are for spiritual as well as for scientific instruction, that all nature is a divine parable whose interpretation must be lost whenever

the mind contemplates only laws, not discerning the living energies of a present God. It is absurd to argue that the scientific ends for which God observes a regularity of action would suffer disturbance, if the Father ever adopted other ways of speaking to His children which could not be reduced to science. The laws of Mind are as uniform as the laws of Matter, yet who can logically deny on that account that God may originate within the soul movements of spiritual life which are not matters of law in His impartation of them, though they may become so in our treatment of them? Every word of God spoken to the soul is in reality a supernatural fact: it is fresh life from the Source of life. It is not a miracle, in the ordinary sense, partly because it is so constant, and partly because it can have no external verification. But if the inspiration was so full as to produce an original form of human nature which seemed to all after ages to fulfil and exhaust the capabilities of Man, then the supernatural would not only be in inward operation, but might outwardly and adequately be revealed. There can be no violations of law. The same antecedents will always have the same consequents. But God can introduce a new antecedent when He pleases. The scientific cosmos and the spiritual cosmos are not to be confused. The one exists at all only on the condition of an invariable causation within its own region; the other exists at all only on the condition of a living power being discerned, and of a fresh life being experienced. The only real questions respecting Miracles are these two: What spiritual purpose could they serve? and, What evidence is there of any manifestation of God in history that cannot be brought *within* the chain of physical causation? An unusual event, with no conceivable spiritual purpose, has no claim to be a miracle, no justification, no *raison d'être*, as a supernatural fact. If it is a fact at all, it is a scientific fact, waiting for its law to be discovered. The essence of a miracle, as distinguished from a wonder, a monster or a prodigy, is, that it touches something that before was undiscerned in God's ways at an illuminated point: its own purpose therefore cannot remain obscure. Its divine meaning is an essential part of the evidence of a miracle: it must be judged by spiritual discernment of its worthiness, before it can claim to be tried by historical criteria of its reality, and by scientific criteria of its causation.

The attitude of our minds towards Miracles will depend upon the relations in which we dispose man towards the material universe. Is nature made for man? or, Is man made for nature? Because the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath, the sabbath, divine law though it might be, had to yield whenever it concealed or disturbed a higher fellowship, the flow of a more intimate grace. Nature, and natural law, may perfectly serve the purpose of the scientific education of man, and on that very account may have a tendency to obscure the originating life of God. If God is never felt as initiating great movements within and without, it is difficult to see how we should ever come into contact with His living spirit, or how we should escape a pantheistic impression, even though pantheism was no part of our philosophy. We apprehend, accordingly, that external nature reveals God directly more through what it communicates to the contemplative soul, of personal life, of mysterious awe, of transcendent beauty, of ever-changing harmony, than through what it conveys of positive knowledge to the scientific intellect. We must have found God through some other sources and inlets before invariable uniformities will be accepted as signs of a tender and watchful solicitude. That they really are so is most true, ladders for the intellect firmly held by God himself to enable us to climb the heights of His own wisdom, and to go forwards or backwards on the steps till we make the way familiar and secure; but the living Lord has assured us of His presence through other sensibilities before we come to feel that He is treading with us in the impersonal paths of science, where multitudes of observers and thinkers travel all their lives spiritually uncompanioned. It is where the natural is least distinguishable from the supernatural that it emits the most vivid sense of God, in forms not reducible to law, in mysterious sympathies between nature and the soul, in mysterious appeals as from Spirit to spirit, in moments of conscious harmony between this vast creation and the feeble life that flutters in us, when we feel ourselves only in our place resting and gazing amid God's works, when the earth and the sky are communicative and responsive to us, or in the majesty spread upon the mountains through lights, colours, aerial distances, that seem worn like a vesture of ever-changing glory, we own in immediate presence the infinite.

Original of the awful spiritual beauty in which our understanding hearts are steeped. God certainly uses nature for two different purposes towards man. He makes him a philosopher, an astronomer, a navigator, a chemist, a mechanician, a manufacturer, an engineer, an architect, an agriculturalist, through that wonderful constancy in which He repeats His action in an order that can be discovered. He makes him a child of His own spirit, conscious of a Father, through manifestations in nature that cannot be repeated at our will, that are not invariably present for our observation, and that can be assigned to no law but the law of spiritual correspondence. Were it not for something in nature not reducible to law, law might not exhibit the free spirit of God. But once the soul has found its living Inspirer, there is nothing that so gives us the sense of the infinitude of His fatherly goodness and tender consideration as the constancy with which He keeps the order of His ways, as though He was the servant of nature and not the free Lord of all things, that we may learn a little of His wisdom and become able to imitate a little of His works. On the supposition, therefore, of an immediate personal intercourse, we should expect that the free life of God would once and again extend itself into the region of Law with the view of unveiling what routine might hide. The routine that is indispensable for scientific instruction, may in itself be unfavourable to spiritual manifestation. Nothing serves so much to hide *a man* from his fellows as a life of routine, of uniform action, of unvarying habits and demeanour: we call him a machine because we find in him no individuality; his whole being seems contained within the custom of his ways. So the free personality of God to those who do not profoundly know Him may be concealed under physical uniformities, and nature itself come to be regarded even by a Theist as a necessarily existing mass of capabilities which God permits us to turn to our own account, rather than as purposely stored with living forces and organisms, for use, ornament and rule, which He himself instituted and maintains. Is matter or spirit the true revealer of God? Was it matter or spirit that was made in God's likeness? If spirit, then must there be in God something of that freedom of action beyond the limits of assignable law, which we observe and delight to observe in man, else the spirit of man

would not be able to find and recognize its own Original. If man is only a part of nature, Miracles could have no conceivable purpose; like nature, we should be under the moulding hand of irresistible law and power; but if man is essentially rather a part of God than a part of nature, a partaker of the Divine Spirit, to whom nature is for certain purposes addressed, then God may help man to come out from his dependence on nature, to recognize and share His own freedom, by some efflux from Himself that interprets nature, and is therefore in the order of nature, in the spirit though not in the letter. Miracles therefore, if there were Miracles, we should expect would just shew the living Hand beneath the material vesture, and would transcend nature, not to violate nature, but to disclose the faithful and almighty Spirit working with such awful patience and constancy, sacrificing it may be something of the infinite variety that would be spontaneous to Himself, that He may become the Teacher of His children. Until a miracle can be shewn to illustrate the spirit of God working by the ordinary course of nature, to throw light upon His meaning and issue in that orderly course, it cannot be taken up into the faith of a spiritual man. Till then, if not absolutely rejected, it must be left aside waiting for its own credentials. A miracle of power, if not also of interpreting light and grace, would be a meaningless and superfluous prodigy. Christ's Miracles conform to this requirement: they penetrate to the action and to the mind of God in certain great classes of His natural operations, and restore the divine order and *animus* that man had missed or lost. He healed the sick, and so declared that health is in the order of God who is its fountain—that we were made to be whole and sound, not ailing, maimed or crippled—that maladies really are, what with an unconscious depth of piety we call them, *disorders*. He fed the hungry by a supernatural act, and so declared that God's own Hand spreads our table and fills our cup, that He provides for us as directly through all the silent processes of nature as though our food fell from heaven at our prayer. When water is turned into wine, or the material of wine, by passing through a plant, it is not less the personal gift of God than the wine at Cana's feast. Nor when he had shewn God in nature did he ever fail to make the natural life the symbol of the eternal life. When he fed the hungry, he

spoke of the true Bread of Life, and of the Word of God by which men live. When he opened the eyes of the blind, he spoke of the light of life that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He would not work a miracle where this higher faith could not be elicited. He rebuked some who came to him not because they saw the Miracles, the *signs* in their spiritual meanings, but because they ate and were filled—because they came not seeking divine signatures and pointings, but led by earthly wants. Jesus distinctly recognized a fixed order of God in nature. His rain falls, His sun shines, on the evil and the good. He does not alter His ways to avenge or to reward. But of what avail was this, if they could not *see* in it the loving kindness of the universal Father? The coming weather might be anticipated from the morning and the evening sky. But what of this, if they could not read with purer eyes symbols deeper but far more certain, and spiritually discern the genuine signs of God's will and presence? Though such considerations do not prove the reality of Christ's Miracles, they shew that they have not spiritually forfeited a claim to be examined.

Supposing Jesus Christ to be the universal interpretation of God to Man, understanding and obeying every word that God speaks to the soul through the universe or from within itself, the impersonation of Providence by responding to every touch of influence outwardly proceeding from the divine hand, the incarnate Will of the Father by shewing how every element that is within our nature, when swayed by inspiration, flows into and completes the unity of the divine Image,—would it necessarily follow that he is a gift to the world of God's supernatural grace? Supposing every mystery of discipline to receive its explanation when we see its fruit in him; every temptation, every sorrow, every contumely, to fill in some lineament of the holy love or of the holy patience of God; so that all contradictions disappear between outward circumstance and inward tendency, between the directions of the mortal and of the immortal natures, in the glorious strength that lifts the lower to the higher; and that every doubt which shadows our intuition of man's eternal life passes away in the reconciliation of the human and the divine already effected here on earth in the person of a Son of Man and a Son of God,—

would it be possible for us to receive such a one as the ultimate expression of God's mind in our earthly humanity, and yet to doubt whether God was with him in a sense for which we have no other name than supernatural, with a measure of His spirit beyond what we can account for by the normal possibilities of growth, seeing that it anticipates the ages and exhausts the last capacities of our nature to shew the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of a mortal man? We do not say that a faith in Jesus Christ to this extent would necessarily involve a historical belief in Miracles alleged to be wrought by him; but that it would be an acknowledgment that God dwelt in him, and that he lived in God, in a measure beyond and above natural progression, inasmuch as the prophetic pointings of our natural life have no parallel consummation, and are even now understood in their internal harmony and in their external conflicts only when we turn from their struggling confusion in ourselves to see them at peace in him. We must distinguish between the supernatural in the Incarnation and wonderful works performed *by* Jesus. God *in* Christ beyond the measure of natural inspiration, and God working material Miracles *by* Christ for the persuasion or conviction of men, are ideas that must be kept carefully apart. We may receive the one on the highest possible evidence, the irresistible assent of our souls to the Image of God in our humanity as soon as it is presented to us in its living historic portraiture; and yet not be able to feel that the wonderful works contribute anything to the production of our faith. Whether that would be a condition of mind corresponding to all the real facts of Christ's life if we knew it truly, is not now a question of essential importance. If Christ by the interpretation he gives us of God working in ourselves—nay more, by shewing us the likeness in which we were made, the very countenance of God, in the face of a man, commands the aspiration and reverence of all that is deep, permanent and inexhaustible in us, and enables us to understand what without him no man ever understood, how we may become the children of our Father who is in heaven by having His spirit breathing and ruling in every part of us, there is no conceivable faith that apprehends the supernatural in Christ more vividly, more largely, than this. If from what we discern of the life of God in Christ

we believe *every thing* of the living God willing and working in our own spirits which we could believe if we believed that Christ wrought Miracles, it is vain to tell us that we remain outside the temple because we cannot feel certain about the scaffolding by which it was raised. The connection of the supernatural with Christianity depends therefore for each man on the place that he is compelled to assign to Christ in the divine life of himself and of the world. A spiritual gift must be spiritually discerned: the spiritual judgment of mankind ultimately must determine its value and its rank: the spiritual estimate of each man must for the time determine for himself its genesis and its worth, whence it came as well as whither it will lead. Nor is this a question that can have any authoritative settlement by one man for another, or by any collective voice or vote, of tradition or of the Church, for private consciences. What Christ *is* when spiritually regarded, what in that light is his value to man, is a matter of spiritual inquiry alone. History no doubt conveys to us the living gift, and so enables us to judge of it at all: but the histories, the ships of time, that have borne it to us through the ages cannot possibly authenticate its intrinsic worth. They have brought the knowledge of it to our souls, and if it commands the soul with a divine authority, subdues it with a divine power, supplies it with a divine instrument, introducing harmony into all the directions and giving a full aim to all the issues of our life, that is a judgment of God in us from which there can be no appeal. It is a question that must be determined by itself on spiritual grounds, quite apart from all consideration of Miracles: and nothing not spiritually commended to us as worthy of God, and required by the diviner necessities of man, could legitimately engage us in the inquiry whether in any part of its production or conveyance Miracle was employed. The divine value, the function and place of Christ, must be felt and admitted before we can be asked to account for him, or to receive wonders in connection with him. God in Christ, drawing us to the Father beyond the measure of our own and of all other natural inspiration, is both the spiritual and the logical condition on which Miracles alleged to be inseparable from him can have any claim even to be examined. In other words, faith in Christ for what *he is*, must first exist before the question

whether by extraordinary outward means he won the attention, and swayed the minds, and opened the eyes of his first followers, can arise at all. There are no grounds on which we can be required to investigate the second question, unless the first has already determined itself with us.

With those to whom Christ appears as the fulfilment in all its spiritual lineaments of the Idea that was in the mind of God when He created man, who feel themselves constrained to believe that in him, so far as depends on understanding of, and accord of will with, his Father, humanity has flowered so that there is nothing more to come out of the seed as long as it remains in this earthly soil, his divine credentials are accepted in the act of Faith. Works of power cannot be the evidences of spiritual perfection, nor the means of its portraiture; but spiritual perfection felt to be dwelling in a man involves the recognition that he and the Father are one. This is the Supernatural in our highest discernment of it. We might be deceived about the character or the sources of Miracles, even if we thought ourselves eye-witnesses of them. An incarnation of God that has satisfied the growing life of the soul from age to age, and still holds, as at the first, its place above us, is the highest conceivable spiritual certainty. Belief in the supernatural is involved in such a faith, and as long as Christ supplies us with our spiritual Ideal, so long as in our apprehension we are complete in him, and in him dwells the fullness of the Godhead bodily, it will be impossible to deny that the Spirit of God, which in all other men is with measure, was in him without measure. For whence came the spiritual Ideal which all feel to be so natural and yet to be so inaccessible, which has spiritually developed and exalted all the ages since, and yet is as far above this present age as the heavens are still above us when we climb the mountain's top? It is no creation of our own imagination quickened by a few pregnant hints. For we lose it as a complete conception if we separate it from the words and acts which convey it to us; and our imagination is glorified and kindled to the highest, not by our own abstracted meditation on the spirit of Jesus, but by the concrete Christ, by our most realistic efforts actually to place him before us in his living spiritual relations with the recorded facts of his history. Nothing so contributes to the highest exaltation of our faith as a suc-

cessful endeavour livingly to apprehend him within the historical conditions that are not of our framing. No new lineament is furnished by ourselves; it is when we *receive* his impress and in no way shape it, when he comes to us within the reality of an embodiment no part of which is of our fashioning, that his divine authority is at the highest with us. Not that we are required to take up all the evangelical details and traits and blend them into one image. We cannot be required to do what the evangelists could not do. Why are there four Gospels, instead of one? Surely if the portraiture had been given by the inspiring and understanding mind of God, we should have had one perfect, and not four imperfect delineations. Christ was too complete, too harmonious, blending and reconciling too many contrasts, for any one human spirit, less perfect than himself, to receive his impress fully. We have to combine and unite the features, silently dropping, rather than rejecting, whatever we cannot combine, to know him more and more as really he was. And at our best, keeping within the limits of the historical materials furnished to us, we feel that the harmony is inexhaustible, that it is the spreading of life from within and cannot be grasped from without, that the Spirit of God animating and fusing everything that is natural to man, his hatred of hollowness and hypocrisy as well as his love of truth and goodness, is the former of Christ,—and that the soul fails to embrace it all within one conception, as the evangelists failed to convey it in one biography, and every artist has failed to convey it in the expression of one face. There is no other Religion that has its only adequate expression in the person of a Man. The conception of God in our humanity, living within us as the Father of our spirits, and through fellowship of wills forming for Himself a Son, is original to Christ. What Christ taught, apart from what Christ *is*, would not seal him with the supernatural. There is nothing parallel to this in human history. Moses, Mahomet, the founder of Buddhism, left Institutes of Religion, and wherever institutes of religion dispense with a living and perfect Ideal, as too often takes place under a nominal Christianity, the letter encroaches and the spirit dies. Whence, then, came this spiritual Ideal? It comes to us in connection with narratives of the supernatural. Can we separate the external miracles, and preserve the realized

ideal? And if we could, how could we account for its origination apart from the supernatural? Is it a growth from Jewish soil and out of a Jewish seed? Could the Jewish soil have produced that spiritual Ideal unless some fresh seed had been sown in it; and whence came the new life but from the inspiring breath of the living God in the fullness of time? Whatever may become of external Miracles wrought *by* him, no one can accept Jesus as representing in his own person the inexhaustible Religion of Man, and deny that he carries with him a supernatural authority. If he is humanly complete, diviner credentials there are none; if in anything of accord with his Father's spirit he can be shewn to be imperfect, if he is open at any point to our moral or spiritual criticism, he could no longer *represent* the final Religion of Mankind, though he might help us towards it.

There are two marks of the supernatural which seem incapable of being separated from the history that conveys him to us—first, the long preparation for him in Jewish religion; and second, the means by which his own disciples were converted after his death. The inferior religious condition of the most enlightened nations of the world, when compared with Jewish faith in one living God, makes it difficult to deny that God supernaturally assigned to the race of Abraham the functions that distinguish it, and may be enough to prove that men require a revelation to put the soul upon the track of spiritual discovery. Without Judaism, Christianity would be not only an unique, but an anomalous, fact in the world's history, sudden, insulated, without connection with previous events or foregoing hints of any kind—coming without the preparation even of an expectation. Christianity is the more credible in itself, and has more readily attracted attention to its claims, because it is not a solitary fact in the providence of God, but the crowning of a series, the completion of a long design, the culmination of a spiritual history—because of that broad band of light in the revealed heavens which pointed for so many ages to the Star in the East.—Nor without a faith in the Resurrection has the wide chasm that separates the views and characters of the Apostles before and after their Master's death ever been satisfactorily bridged over by any attempted explanation. And, unless all historical credit is refused to

the Gospel ascribed to St. John, Christ foresaw the way in which the Spirit would illuminate their hearts, and compel them to drop their misconceptions and re-adjust their faith to the divine facts of his life on earth and in heaven. And if no believer in Christ, as the completed Word of God to Man, can historically dispense with the long train of light that preceded and pointed towards him, or with the light given back from heaven after his decease to bring out the divine significance of all his life and being, with the supernatural thus opening and closing his career, was there nothing but the natural between?

There are but three theories by which, without some belief in Miracles, the connection of Miracles with the gospel narratives can be accounted for; the theory of intentional fabrication, which no one maintains; the naturalistic, or rationalistic theory, which resolves the apparent Miracles into ordinary events, and at the same time saves the credit of the historians, a theory admitted to be untenable; and the mythical theory, which regards the supernatural as the legendary glory with which in process of time the religious imagination, working according to its natural laws and with materials of traditional belief, gradually envelops the heroes of faith. That some of the alleged Miracles are to be assigned to this explanation must be admitted, and how many of them it may now for ever be impossible exactly to determine—yet the mythical theory cannot be applied to the *whole* case. The insoluble question remains, How did Christ become a subject for legends at all? What was the real nucleus around which this haze of glory gathered? Could a man become a subject for Messianic myths by setting all Messianic expectations at nought, unless *some* divine signs were really with him that compelled a supernatural faith which afterwards largely clothed itself in the familiar glories of the old traditional garments? The legendary renown of mythical heroes we can understand, for the realizing imagination of mankind, with or without a foundation of fact, had at least free space to work in, and, however extravagant or inconsistent among themselves, the legends might freely attach to the assigned personage without being spiritually contradicted, disowned or repelled by himself. We will admit a large field for the operation of mythical agency in connection with Christian traditions, if only it is

conceded that a crucified man could not become the subject of Jewish myths at all unless the divine Hand was manifestly upon him. The mythical hypothesis, if attempted to be stretched so as to exclude the supernatural altogether, fails to meet the fact that one who did not fulfil the idea or anticipation of the Messiah in any respect was for some reasons received as the Messiah. For what reasons? How was faith in him produced, the faith of Peter, who was spiritually regenerated by Jesus disenthralled from earth—the faith of Paul, who knew him only as self-sacrificing and immortal, if all these accounts of him are of later origin? If Christ worked no Miracles, and died without a resurrection, by what powers or means did he win the faith of those who looked for a Messiah who was to work Miracles, and who was not to die at all? We can understand an entirely mythical wonder-working Hercules, but not an entirely mythical supernatural Christ, who first disappointed expectation, and was rejected by his own nation,—yea, by his own companions and followers,—as *not* the person they were looking for, and yet after an ignominious death attracted to himself the local and national glory he had missed, as the adjunct of another and universal glory quite new to the imagination of mankind.

It may be asked—Christ being *spiritually* what he was, with Judaism to prepare the way for him, and a belief in his resurrection to declare and interpret his eternal purpose —why at all other points should he not morally manifest himself, why yet should he *perform* Miracles, and God work signs *by* him as well as *in* him? Supposing it possible to expunge from the narratives all traces of the supernatural except the long miracle of the preparation and the inexplicable belief in the fact of the resurrection, then what would remain? There would be a train of light pointing to some fulfilment on earth, and a train of light pointing to and proceeding from a consummation in heaven,—but would either train, with nothing between but his pure humanity to indicate a Son of Man and a Son of God, have been able to connect itself definitely with an individual whose personality had deeply impressed itself on witnesses and observers, who yet avowedly did not see in that moral personality the authority of God? It is certain that during his life his disciples did not understand how he was the fulfilment of

God, that he only held them in expectation, that at his death they ceased to have faith in him, and that at first nothing is attributed to them as the fruit of his resurrection beyond the revival of their Jewish faith—they thought that he had returned to accomplish their Messianic dream. Is it easily conceivable that his simple goodness alone, his fully developed human nature, with nothing else to fix attention on him, attracted and sustained up to the moment of his death the supernatural expectations of such men as these? With no other signs pointing to him, would they, merely because he was good, catholic and holy, in entire inner accord with his Father, have ever placed themselves in such relations towards him, or have observed him so closely, as to permit his spirit to penetrate into them, and ally itself with all the hopes and all the reverence they had? It is true that what they discerned of his spiritual glory was the foundation of the only real faith they had; but the question is, how came their observing hearts and eyes to be so fixed on him that anything of the divine secret of his spirit could pass from him to them? Could he, in that age, and among those men, have won the necessary amount of attention to his own person, without some directing signals? Admitting that Miracles had no essential part in the revelation of his real, his *spiritual* credentials, yet would these latter alone have sufficed to cause the Jews of his day to look to him at all as the expected Messiah of God? If so, why did they lose faith in him when he died, when the *spiritual* credentials were most divinely glorious? If so, why did it require a faith in the resurrection to obliterate in them one type of mind, to transfigure and re-create their whole spiritual frame?

The Miracles of Christ were then, *first*, as the pointings of God's finger towards an individual Person who had *intrinsic* claims to be observed and studied as the Will of God for Man incarnate in a Man; but who could not have been recognized in his own age for what he was, nor transmitted in full records to ours, if only his real, his permanent credentials, only the inward harmony of his being, had invited the gaze of those whose eyes and hearts were turned in another direction. "This is my Son: hear him." The Voice does not set forth *what* Sonship is: that they could learn only by knowing the Son himself: it simply claims a

hearing for him. The present Archbishop of Dublin lays it down that a Miracle could establish nothing for one who worked it, or who appeared to work it, beyond a right to be listened to, so that he should have opportunity of presenting the spiritual treasure that was in him to spiritual observation and discernment. A Miracle could attach no certainty to his words, no divine sanction to his character: it could win for them attention, so that in the earnest soul open to divine manifestations, God, if God it was, could witness to Himself by His proper inward signs, and Spirit reveal itself to spirit.

"That the kingdom of lies has its wonders no less than the kingdom of truth, would be alone sufficient to convince us that miracles cannot be appealed to absolutely and simply, in proof of the doctrine which the worker of them proclaims; and God's word expressly declares the same. A miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. That which alone it claims for him at the first is a right to be listened to: it puts him in the alternative of being from heaven or from hell. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being *good*, and only then can the miracle seal it as *divine*. But the first appeal is from the doctrine to the conscience, to the moral nature in man. For all revelation presupposes in man a power of recognizing the truth when it is shewn him,—that it will find an answer in him,—that he will trace in it the lineaments of a friend, though of a friend from whom he has been long estranged, and whom he has well nigh forgotten. It is the finding of a treasure, but of a treasure which he himself and no other had lost. The denial of this, that there is in man any organ by which truth may be recognized, opens the door to the most boundless scepticism, is indeed the denial of all that is godlike in man. But 'he that is of God heareth God's word,' and knows it for that which it proclaims itself to be."*

And, secondly, Miracles, though they can prove nothing to be divine, might *to those who witnessed them* be more conspicuously than other acts the vehicles of what is divine, manifesting the Spirit that is in the whole class of painful or mysterious experiences from which the divine meaning comes visibly to light, revealing the supernatural under the natural. If Miracles could arrest attention, might they not also emit something of the realities of God, speak a divine

* Notes on the Miracles, p. 24.

word for His hidden love, His eternal purpose, His ultimate intention, His tender mercies within the severest ways of His holiness? Would there be nothing of divine interpretations, most needed by human hearts, touching the commonest and yet the darkest facts of our life, if a Son of God, by spontaneous effluxes of his Father's light and love, shewed, as it were, even for an observable instant the living face of the Healer, of the Strengthener, of the Forgiver of sins, of the Purifier of souls, of the God of the living whose children, being born of Him, cannot die? Our supposed need of such things will not prove that such things were, unless the Miracles as historically conveyed to us accredit themselves by some credentials which spiritually are irresistible, by some seal or stamp of God which we cannot detach, and which impresses itself on us as on them, which flowing from the Son who alone knew the Father reaches to what is most filial in us;—or unless they are attended by some conditions which seem to render it impossible that they should be less than they appear, as by conformity to what has been called the divine law of "*parsimony*" for instance, within which they could not have been restrained if their origin was human. It appears certain that the Miracles were not wrought as external evidences. On that supposition, Christ's abstinence from Miracles, his impatience of wonder-seekers, would be inexplicable. If Miracles were for the production of faith, then the rule ought to have been, the less of faith the more of miracle. Christ exactly inverted the rule: he would give no sign of God at all, no touch of interpreting light, to those whose souls were not already open to the Father. He *would*, because he *could* give no revelation of God to those who would miss the spiritual intimation, and confuse it with a prodigy. Surely his parsimony in supernatural works was most emphatic assertion that the natural order of things was the divinest arrangement of God, and that though, because we are slow and dull of heart, it might bear a ray of interpretation at some illuminated point, it must in itself be disturbed as little as possible. Will, then, the supernatural in connection with Christ stand this comparison with what is natural? Are they spiritually of a piece? What is natural we know to be divine. Do we so know it now, because of the supernatural in Christ, more clearly, more fully, more prophetically, than otherwise we should do? Do the Mira-

cles, or any of them, inseparably coalesce with the humanly historical portraiture, adhere to it, and contribute to complete it? Are they in spiritual unity with all the other manifestations of him, as the parts of an organic whole impersonating the essence of his own being and the providence of his Father, and not as a conglomerate of marvels around him?

A great question remains. Could we have had as full an Image as we now possess of God in Man, if Christ had not been required to manifest the spirit of a Son within the conditions of the supernatural? Is not an additional condition, a more complicated problem, in spiritual as in physical things, an additional difficulty and test of harmonious strength, and therefore, if satisfied, a more complete reconciliation of the human with the divine? The supernatural, Christ held in a real practical subordination to the natural, as in itself not less divine and as then his appointed sphere, enlightening it indeed, but never evading or escaping from its stroke, pressure or requirement at any point. He employed the supernatural in his Father's service, never in his own. No want of his own, spiritual or bodily, did he supply by other means than are open to us all. Never did he "tempt the Lord our God" to withdraw His gifts, by using them for himself. Temptation might whisper in vain, "If thou be the Son of God," secure an easy victory by making this, or that, exhibition of God's power. If he stopped the bier, and restored an only son to a widowed mother, and shewed some of the reunions of heaven on this side the grave, he bore his own cross towards the place of crucifixion, and bowed his own head unto death. The hands that had been stretched forth in works of divine healing were yielded unresistingly to the piercing nails. The voice that carried heavenly strength to others, uplifting at a word the necessity that for years had bowed them down, said only for himself, "Father! save me from this hour! Yet for this cause came I to this hour! Father! glorify thine own name!" If we could separate the supernatural from Christ, would not what remains present him as less divine, only in the sense of being less perfectly human,—less consciously, here on earth, within the necessities of our common being, a child and heir of God, using all that belongs to our Father, and is communicable to us, in the spirit of a Son? The union of

the human and the divine, of the natural calmly abiding within the supernatural, could be submitted to no severer test.

Independently, then, of the inherent credentials of what is conveyed or revealed in connection with them, Miracles can authenticate nothing. Their evidential value is exhausted when they have placed what claims to be a divine manifestation before the spiritual discernment that is to accept or to reject it. When the attention of the soul has been gained, what is presented to it rests on spiritual grounds of judgment, and the supernatural may then be left out of consideration, except where, as in the Resurrection, it has enlarged the spiritual vision and experience of man. No mere testimony could establish a Miracle. The testimony, supposing we have it at first hand, which we never have, would only be a fallible compound of impressions on the senses and of inferences from them. The impressions and the inferences might both be wrong. No absolute certainty of such events could in this way be transmitted to distant ages. The Miracle must have monuments of itself which still confirm it; it must come along with spiritual realities which find a witness in ourselves, and cannot be separated from the supernatural frame. There is no such thing as a Miracle that is only an attestation to something else not contained in itself,—and if there was, whatever weight it might have to the witnesses of it, it could have no certainty to others. There is no such thing as a Doctrine offered to our faith on the ground of a Wonder vouching for it, but not exemplifying it. The Miracles were done for the sake of the thing effected by the Miracle, and which could not otherwise be effected, not for the sake of bearing witness to something else. Miracles are now objects of faith, not grounds of faith, and apart from the spiritual truth of what is witnessed to, they could not by any testimony be independently established as marvellous facts, so as to become external evidences or guarantees to something of a different nature from themselves. It is impossible to prove *first* the attesting Miracle, and then on the credit of the Miracle to accept the attested truth; and yet if this cannot be done, it is vain to call Miracles external evidences. If the Miracle involves a revelation, and is not merely the voucher for one, then it must be received, partly because of the witness of

the Spirit to the divine communication, partly because it has still living certificates in its effects and fruits which no philosophy can obliterate from the spiritual history of mankind.

The universal belief in the supernatural from either source, the world above or the world below, by both Jew and Gentile in the early ages of Christianity, must have prevented Miracles from being evidences of a divine mission even to those who supposed they witnessed them; and renders reports of them of no value apart from their spiritual credentials. With a Gentile an apparent Miracle might come from any god whatever: with a Jew it might come from above or from below. What then could it prove of the origin of that with which it was found in mere juxta-position? Miracles might win attention, but not faith. The Jews admitted some of the Miracles, and attributed them to the prince of the evil spirits. They had to meet our Lord's argument that it was the spirit manifested in them that sealed them as divine. Trench remarks, that "the Christian Miracles had not as yet sufficiently extricated themselves from the multitude of false miracles, nor was Christ sufficiently discerned and distinguished from the various wonder-workers of his own and of past ages; and thus, even if men had admitted his miracles to be true and godlike, they would have been hardly nearer to the acknowledging of Christianity as the one faith, or to the accepting of Christ as 'the way, the truth, and the life.'"*

And to the same effect, in the Boyle Lectures just published, Merivale observes:

"The age indeed was uncritical and little competent to weigh such external testimony with the accuracy which is now demanded. There was great proneness to accept the claim of miracles; but at the same time, and in consequence of this very proneness, very little weight was attached to it as an argument of Divine power."†

What *independent* value can attach to reported Miracles in the face of such admissions as these?

The value of Miracles as external evidences is expressly denied in both the Testaments. At Deuteronomy xiii. 3:

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* Notes on Miracles, p. 87.

† The Conversion of the Roman Empire. By Charles Merivale, B.D., 1864. Preface, p. 8.

"If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul." Here the Miracles, however outwardly undeniable, were to be resisted and defied, as mere temptations, by what was really divine in them. So at Matt. xxiv. 24: "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders: insomuch, that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." And at Galatians i. 8, St. Paul warns against all doctrine which is not in the spirit of Christ, whatever outward witnesses it might have: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed."

Renan's view of the raising up of Lazarus, painfully revolting as it is, shews the impossibility of establishing a Miracle on independent grounds, so as to make it of any value as an external evidence. The Miracle *might have* the explanation that he assigns to it, if the moral and spiritual perfection of Jesus did not render the hypothesis incredible and impossible. What then attests the Miracle to those who believe in it but the *divine* in Christ otherwise certified? And the same remark would apply to all the Miracles. No doubt this is to give to revelation no certainty higher than *moral* certainty, than spiritual conviction. In the language of Locke: "The miracles are to be judged by the doctrine, not the doctrine by the miracles."* In the language of Coleridge: "Is not a true, efficient conviction of a moral truth, is not *the creating of a new heart*, which collects the energies of a man's whole being in the focus of the conscience, the one essential Miracle, the same, and of the same evidence to the ignorant and to the learned, which no superior skill can counterfeit, human or demoniacal; is it not emphatically that leading of the Father, without which no man can come to Christ; is it not that implication of doctrine in the miracle, and of miracle in the doctrine, which

* Lord King's Life of Locke, p. 125.

is the bridge of communication between the senses and the soul,—that predisposing warmth which renders the understanding susceptible of the specific impressions from the history and from all other outward seals of testimony?"*

This is the ground now taken by all defenders of Revelation who do not betray their own cause. If Miracles must first be established in order that they may become vouchers for a Revelation, Miracles and Revelation are alike incapable of proof.

"It is true that in this there is an abandoning of the attempt to put the proof of Christianity into the same form as that of a proposition in an exact science. There is no more the claim made of giving it that kind of certainty. But this, which may seem at first sight a loss, is indeed a gain; for the argument for all which as Christians we believe, is in very truth not logical and single, but moral and cumulative; and the attempt to substitute a formal proof where the deepest necessities of the soul demand a moral, is one of the most grievous shocks which the moral sense can receive, as it is one too of the most fruitful sources out of which unbelief has sprung. Few who have had books of evidences constructed on this scheme put into their hands but must painfully remember the shock which they suffered from their perusal,—how it took them, it may be, some time to recover the healthy tone of their minds, and how, only by falling back upon what they themselves had felt and known of the living power of Christ's words and doctrines in their own hearts, could they deliver themselves from the injurious influences, the seeds of doubt and misgiving, which these books had now, for the first time perhaps, sown in their minds. They must remember how they asked themselves, in deep inner trouble of soul: 'Are these, indeed, the grounds, and the only grounds, upon which the deep foundations of my spiritual life repose? Is this all that I have to answer? Are these, and no more, the reasons of the faith that is in me?' And then if at any moment there arose a suspicion that some link in this chain of outward proof was wanting, or that any one would not bear all the weight which was laid upon it,—and men will be continually tempted to try the strength of that to which they have trusted all,—there was nothing to fall back upon, with which to scatter and put to flight suspicions such as these. And that such should arise, at least in many minds, were inevitable; for how many points, as we have seen, are there at which a suspicion may intrude! Is a miracle possible? Is a

* The Friend, Vol. III., Essay ii. *apud* Trench.

miracle provable? Were the witnesses of these miracles competent? Did they not too lightly admit a supernatural cause, when there were adequate natural ones which they failed to note? These works may have been good for the eye-witnesses, but what are they for me? And these doubts and questionings might be multiplied without number. Happy is the man, and he only is happy, who if the outworks of his faith are at any time thus assailed, can betake himself to an impregnable inner citadel, from whence in due time to issue forth and re-possess even those exterior defences, who can fall back on those inner grounds of belief in which there can be no mistake, the testimony of the Spirit, which is above and better than all."*

To those with whom Christ is accepted as the final Religion of Man, the full Image of God in our spiritual humanity, the question of Miracles ceases to be one of essential moment. It is historical and philosophical rather than religious. After the generations of men have tried, by every variety of test, the strength and firmness of the living way that unites heaven and earth and bridges the dark river, it is not indispensable to determine by what supports the arch was raised. Fuller calls Miracles "the swaddling clothes of the infant churches." The strength of the spiritual, which are the permanent, evidences of Christianity is increasing every day. No apostle could possibly know as we do that Christ was God's provision for the spiritual life of the world in every phase of man. The grain of mustard-seed has become the tree of life, carrying its head into heaven and spreading its arms over all the earth. The one vine has grown through the ages of spiritual hunger and thirst with fruit for the healing of all nations, and all the brotherhoods of civilized man for its branches. What with Paul was prophecy, with us is fulfilment. We are complete in Christ. This is the great witness of God; the standing miracle of the Christian church. The religious life of mankind for eighteen centuries has been directed and nourished by the spirit of Jesus, and, found wanting in nothing, he is now, as at the beginning, Son of Man and Son of God. In the days of his earthly life he was without sin: in the ages of his heavenly reign no spiritual want has looked to him without spiritual satisfaction, no sorrow without comfort, no aspiring without joyful reverence. On earth he exhausted the

* Trench, Notes on the Miracles, pp. 91—93.

test of temptation: in heaven he is exhausting the test of man's development. It is as fresh and natural to *our* hearts as it could be to Paul's to say, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." With this witness of the Spirit abiding with us, it cannot greatly distress us, either for their sakes or our own, that there are those who make no account of outward signs, though they should indulge in the logical perverseness that sets forth the demoniacs and the swine as the *typical* Miracles, or in the strange sentimentalism that deprecates the spiritual use of a blighted tree already barren, which Christ in the monumental utterances of his last hours made the symbol of an unfruitful nation, as he knelt and washed the disciples' feet to sculpture the earthly form of divine service, and made bread and wine memorials that would speak for ever of the self-sacrificing life in God of which in living tones he could speak no more.

Nothing attests more largely the growth of the religious life of England than the difference of spirit which a century has produced in the defences of Christianity. To pass from Paley to Coleridge is to pass from the external to the internal, from history to religion, from an earthly to a heavenly testimony, from the confused voices of uncertain writings and unknown men to the full concord of every witness in the soul to the Son of Man and the Son of God. This spiritual claim for Christianity is one grand step on its march towards recognition as the universal religion. It will triumph when it knows its divine strength, its divine verification in God's unfolding providence, and is prepared at all points to make its appeal to the soul alone. If it fails in this, it cannot be that "Word of God made flesh" which with all our heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, we believe it to be. We await the signs of the times with confidence. Immense progress has been made in our own short experience. No one need now be much alarmed at being called a heretic. We have only to wait a little. What but a few years ago was heresy has now an ample recognition. The court of judgment for spiritual questions is no longer what it was. When in a religious periodical,* of kindred aim

* Christian Teacher: Quarterly Series, Vol. III. p. 253. 1841.

and spirit with this Review, we expressed, four-and-twenty years ago, essentially the views of the present article on "The Question of Miracles," we were not then in sympathy even with some of the freest minds of the freest religious body in Christendom. We may be permitted to use the same closing words now as then, though more alive now than then to their incompleteness, and to their imperfect expression of the points they do embrace.

"Why then, it may be asked, appear to be undermining the Miracles, and at the same time asserting their importance? We answer, that to give them their due importance is not to undermine them, and that to give them an undue importance may be to undermine Christianity. Let them take their proper place as part of that machinery which originated Christianity, or which secured its successful propagation. They belong to the philosophical question respecting the origin and causes of Christianity. They have little connection with the far higher question of the essence and character of Christianity. *How* Christianity sprung up, not what Christianity *is*, is the question to which they apply. Even the Miracle of the Resurrection was far more a means of converting the apostles, of spiritualizing their views of the Messiah, than intended as a proof of the immortality of the human soul.

"Let not the Miracles now then, by a preposterous assumption that they are the very foundations of faith, prevent any mind which may be constitutionally and hopelessly sceptical about them, from the delicious satisfaction of a moral trust in Jesus. The only great question is, Has Christianity caught our spiritual sympathies? Has it given off to our souls an image of duty which we take as our guide to God, and hold before us as our better conscience? Are its moral lineaments in possession of our entire veneration? Are its blended humanity and yet unquenchable aspirings, its minglings of sublimity and grace, our very ideal of a perfect human mind? Is Jesus, serene, affectionate, holy, unmoved by passion, rising without effort to encounter difficulties, entering always into the spirit of his Father, and having an inaccessible peace in the heaven of his mind, the grandest picture of our thought, our secret study, the most frequently contemplated, and the most deeply loved? Is our own power of conceiving such a character our strongest

obligation to imitate it, and our most spiritual reason for believing that there must be a receptacle for spirits hereafter in a world where such goodness shall be realized? We refer now to those who are constitutionally and hopelessly sceptical of Miracles. Let not that scepticism disturb their *faith* in moral and spiritual Christianity. If they believe in *the things* signified, let them not stumble at the sign. If their minds are so constituted that they find, after the most candid efforts and repeated trials, that Miracles, whenever they intervene, present an insuperable obstacle to their rational and sympathetic apprehension of Jesus—then we would say, Do not lose Christianity for their sakes—they are not, and cannot be, the essentials. Moral impressions, moral convictions, make the genuine faith. Love, venerate, imitate, sympathize with, follow, the pure, meek, holy, benevolent, heaven-marked character of Jesus, and you are Christians. We know that others hold a different language: we know not their warrant.

"Schleiermacher has so admirably described this state of constitutional, and we fear with some unavoidable, scepticism with regard to Miracles, with its remedies, that we shall endeavour to strengthen, by his words, our feebler statement:

"Even at the present day,—and we cannot ascribe it to hostility against the dealings of God with the human race through Christ,—there are many well-disposed persons anxious for the salvation of their souls, to whom the miracles of the Lord are a stumbling-block. They say, 'If only these histories were not there, and the form of the Redeemer, separated from all this, stood before them in the purity of his love, in the power of his word, in the sublimity of his thought, in the certainty with which he spoke of his relation to the Father, and told to man what he had learned from God,—if this alone had been presented to us divested of all that is miraculous, how easy then would have been our faith! But now we are always repelled anew by these things; we must suspect the whole narrative, because it is combined with so much that contradicts universal experience and its laws.'

"This certainly is a great unhappiness for a time like our own,—that so many should be attracted on the one side by the needs of their inward experience, and repelled on the other by their judgment on a subject which falls entirely within the province of the understanding. But if this need be only genuine and deeply felt,—may not a soul to which the wished-for salvation is

presented overcome these merely apparent difficulties? 'Have you not,' I would say to such souls, 'have you not another history which you can set against this? Have you not the historical testimony of the effects which a living communion with the Redeemer has produced on those who lived with him and gave themselves to him? Have you not the wonderful history of the founding of a community through him, by means of such men,—almost without exception uncultivated, in the ordinary sense of the word, familiar with no art or science, as were the disciples of the Lord? Are you not compelled to believe this history, because it is connected with your present experience, because it stands before your eyes, because the whole condition of the world has been decided by its influence? Well, then, if you must believe in this, see that you cherish it. If even now, so far as you open your spiritual eye in love, you can obtain the testimony of those who were rescued from the deepest distress of mind, as soon as they entered into a living relation with the Redeemer of the world; if you can daily repeat this experience, then unlock your hearts, I pray; forget all the blind whose eyes he has opened, the lame whom he has made to walk, the deaf whose ears he has unsealed, the dumb the bands of whose tongues he has unloosed,—forget all the sick whom he has healed; and keep only to those separate histories of his unchangeable influence on the inner nature of man,—keep only to this one history, that the office of preaching reconciliation proceeded from him,—and then you will also be able to believe, in the words of the Apostle, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.'"*

IV.—SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

It may be affirmed, without boasting, that that alternately over-praised and under-valued institution, the Sunday-school, is steadily winning its way and gaining a position which it had previously failed to occupy, in the estimation of a somewhat cold and hypercritical circle. Whilst condemning as strongly as any the self-reliant and narrow temper occasionally noticeable in well-meaning supporters of these schools, who can acknowledge few regenerating agencies

* *Predigten*, Vol. III. 457: *apud* Ripley, "The latest Form of Infidelity," Letter iii. p. 112.

beyond their own little enclosure, and deeply mistrustful of much which appears in reports read at parents' tea-parties and teachers' meetings, we cannot, did we wish, deny the facts before us. No inhabitant, for example, of that part of the country which has suffered from the cotton famine, will be backward in allowing, in common with many a large employer of mill-hands, that to the Sunday-school are due, in no small degree, the surprising content and admirable spirit which have, with scarce an exception, prevailed. Most of those, again, who are brought into frequent contact with missionary operations among the working classes, have discovered that, as a rule, to which we do not remember an exception, those stations which have had their early nurture in the Sunday-school, exhibit, more than any others, signs of active life and lasting health. Nor is the rise of an Association, which not long since numbered eighteen schools with hardly more than four thousand members, but now includes sixty with upwards of eleven thousand, without its evidence in the case. It may be added, that new buildings are being erected, old ones restored in several localities; that teachers' unions are forming in districts where they had never before existed; that some of our most respected and popular ministers are superintendents and teachers; and that the abused class of our wealthy laymen is not even yet without its representatives in the ranks. At the last yearly gathering, moreover, of the general Association in London, the feature was, for the first time, introduced of a special essay read on a practical subject by a gentleman practically engaged in the work, whilst greater attention is likewise being bestowed on the publication of cheap as well as readable books. Our Irish friends, last but not least, seem, judging from a Report lately placed in our hands, to be awakening to the perception of the need of directing a larger portion of their superabundant zeal into the like channel.

But with the growing numbers and importance of Sunday-schools, it must be confessed, with shame proportioned to our knowledge of their available resources, that there is scant cause for adopting, in self-complacent exultation, the famous motto of "rest and be thankful." The little which has hitherto been actually accomplished, however it may fill us with astonishment at even so much having been success-

fully effected, amid obstacles whose multitude and formidableness cannot be conceived save by those who have encountered them, does but inspire the faithful labourer with a feeling almost akin to despair at the vast amount still to be done, a feeling not likely to be diminished on a nearer contemplation of the present state and future prospects of most except a few favoured schools. In the consideration of this subject, we propose, in the first instance, to touch briefly on the character of the most conspicuous and essential element in the organization of the Sunday-school, we mean the Teacher.

It must be plainly owned, at the outset, that there is no division of the whole question we approach with a more painful sense of perplexity and hopelessness of at once doing no wrong to the claims of outspoken truthfulness, and being guilty of no injustice to a class of men than whom there is not one more deserving our affection and esteem. Indebted in no trifling measure to them all for genial intercourse, bound to some by ties of close acquaintance, and related to others by bonds of sacred friendship, it is no light or pleasant task to act the part of a critical surveyor of them and of their doings; possibly, to run the risk of misapprehension, if not offence. Such, however, is the confidence they have taught us, by long experience, to cherish in their acute if sometimes rough instinct of truth and right, and in their genuine kindliness of heart, that were this our only encouragement to "use all plainness of speech," we should venture to deliver ourselves with entire freedom in addressing ourselves to our teachers.

We would ask them, then, are there not too many amongst their number who, in addition, we are sure, to better and nobler motives, enter on their office without sufficient consideration of its nature and importance? Some, because, besides a praiseworthy if vague desire of doing good to somebody somehow, they do not quite know how better to employ their leisure hours on Sunday; others, from a sense of added self-consequence arising from assuming the justly esteemed position of guide to those younger than themselves, and from a consciousness of being highly esteemed for doing the right thing. Are there not teachers, with warm hearts and the best intentions, who appear to regard their office too much as a blameless recreation, too little as a holy

trust—who, if an object of attraction elsewhere present itself, have small hesitation in arriving late, or in staying away entirely? How few of our teachers, moreover, think it an essential part of their duty to prepare themselves for their class by previous thought and study, or concern themselves, as they ought, to ascertain the characters and capabilities of their scholars, and the best means of treating them! We have seen teachers take up completely at random the first book they can lay their hands on, from the Bible to Butter's Spelling Book, from a tract on Colenso to a Reading Book low down in the Irish Series. We have heard them read with their scholars, the opening chapters of Genesis, the wars of the Canaanites, a Pauline chapter on justification by faith—this last to a dozen country lads, one of whom assured us that Jesus Christ wrote the Epistle whence it was taken—Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and Luke's narrative of the miraculous conception. It may, we believe, be safely asserted that a comparatively insignificant proportion of our scholars receive a more systematic and intelligent instruction than this. In the Report of the Manchester Sunday-school Association for 1862, the following paragraph occurs, pp. 14, 15:

"The general, and considering the views entertained by most Christians even of the educated classes of society, not unnatural conception of the Bible amongst our teachers is that of one book, any portion of which, from Genesis to Revelation, may be opened at hazard, and read with the scholars, no matter what their age or capacity. With scarcely an exception, this is the case in at least *some* classes in the various schools; and in by far the greater number of schools, it is the case with all but one or two classes. I have ascertained" (says the Visitor) "by careful observation and inquiry, that out of the whole number of scholars attending our schools in this district, scarcely more than one in seven receives any kind of intelligent and systematic religious instruction, though nearly one in two is professedly taught the Scriptures; I should say, decidedly not one in ten, in the generality of our schools, when we take into account the proportion supplied by some half-dozen of the best organized."

Moreover, what may be most fitly designated as *silent* teaching, has by no means a small area in our Sunday-schools. Scholars are allowed to read the Scriptures "without note or comment," verse after verse, page after page.

Be it any secular subject, it receives exactly the same treatment. It matters not to such teachers how difficult or how easy the lesson may be; how interested or uninterested the scholars; the silent system is still rigidly observed. Nor is legal teaching without its representatives. "Thou shalt, and thou shalt not," are its words of command; "Be good," the alpha and omega of its creed. We have encountered it in many sects and under many forms. Once, in a Roman Catholic Sunday-school, we were shewn over the female classes conducted by the Sisters of Nôtre Dame de Paris. From the baby of two in the youngest class to the young woman of eighteen or twenty in the highest, all were regularly catechised by the Sisters (the catechism, we were informed, being based on that of the Council of Trent), and carefully examined by the priest before promotion from one class to another, and especially before receiving the "Blessed Sacrament of the Mass," which the girls took at seven years. The drill was, as far as we could see, complete in every division. And be it said, in justice to our Roman Catholic brethren, that they are eminently successful, far above most Protestants, in retaining their adult scholars and in attaching them to the church. In the Anglican section of the Established Church, the legal method of religious education shews itself in the compulsory repetition by the child of the Lord's Prayer, the Catechism, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, preparatory to confirmation. In the Evangelical section of the Church, as well as amongst the orthodox Dissenters, legal teaching lays great stress on Bible readings—we once heard of a class leader rejoicing over seventeen chapters of God's Word finished off at a single sitting—on prayer meetings and hearing sermons. Among Unitarians, the legal teacher lays a greater stress upon the evidences than upon the substance of Christianity, cannot understand your transcendental dreams of the spiritual life inspired by the Saviour of men, and will only give for his part sound, practical, common-sense religion. Legal teaching, in short, in all its different forms, treats religion as something outside the mind, and having by this or that mechanical process to be put into it.

Of a far truer and nobler order of instruction which, we rejoice to know, does prevail in our schools, we shall have occasion to speak presently. Meanwhile, it is no exaggera-

tion of the evil to affirm, that as the consequence of these several varieties of what must be regarded as perverted or erroneous methods, Sunday-schools, taken as a whole, fall lamentably short of, even if, in not a few instances, they do not wholly miss, the true ends of education, not only religious but secular, to adopt the conventional distinction. We are forced, in spite of all our earnest wishes to the contrary, to this conclusion—that, in no inconsiderable number of these schools—we dare not think how many—the most that is done—apart from a fairly healthful social and moral tone, of itself certainly no trifle to have secured—is to communicate a very second-rate species of secular instruction, an instruction which a vast majority of the scholars could better obtain in the day-school or week-evening class.

With regard to the vexed question of what is termed secular and religious instruction in the Sunday-school, we cannot agree with either extreme. The mischief caused by the popular Protestant distinction between the two is here clearly visible in the education of the young. From just and inevitable revolt against the absurd dogma that religious can be given as a thing distinct from secular education, many, if not the majority, of teachers have arrived at something more than a suspicion that secular education can be imparted apart from religious. Some of those who have come over from orthodoxy—though others are far from agreeing in the opinion—evidently conceive of religious instruction as identical with the inculcation of theological dogmas, and associating these with their painful remembrance of catechisms and creeds, reach a decided conclusion against bringing young scholars, at any rate, under any sort of religious training. Their tender minds, it is thought, had better be preserved from contact with an object on the one side so repulsive from its hardness, on the other so elusive from its vagueness. It will be soon enough, it is urged, "to teach religion," when the child is old enough to understand its meaning. Meanwhile, let the parent or teacher interest him in what is tangible and real, something which is of practical use in daily life. Accordingly, the chief title of those Sunday-schools, where such a notion prevails, to their name is, that they meet on Sundays instead of on week-days; they are, in fact, institutions for communicating secular instruction on the Sunday. Though this description by no

means applies, in its entirety, to a large number of schools, yet there are few, we believe, where there are not at least some classes of which it is literally true. It is, indeed, so far as our experience extends, quite a rare exception when anything approaching a religious instruction includes the younger classes. On the other hand, there are those amongst our teachers who, still under the same erroneous conception, plainly imagine religious education to consist in the banishment of secular, i.e. in abolishing writing and arithmetic, and employing the Bible as the chief if not only reading-book in the classes; in placing the New Testament or a manual of the life of Christ in the hands of the younger scholars both morning and afternoon; the Old Testament one part of the day, the New the other part, in the hands of the older. Of these two schemes, the advocates are equally positive that their own is alone feasible and right. We apprehend it would be better for their own and scholars' progress were the one party more ready to recognize the fact, that it is God's Spirit, revealed in the human soul and made manifest in the person of Christ, which can alone make profane things sacred; that religion cannot be taught, as we have heard it gravely asserted it can, in a long-division sum, apart from a religiously-minded teacher: the other party, that what God hath thus sanctified, no man ought to term profane. It would be well for our teachers themselves, well for their influence over their scholars, were both sides more ready to accept—as we rejoice to hope they are more and more accepting—that common ground of union towards which the wisest and holiest thought of the day is tending, where things secular and things religious, profane and sacred, are reconciled in one. Would that the number were already larger of those who recognize secular and religious instruction to be, not antagonists to each other or mutually exclusive, but close allies; that a cultured intellect, the distinctive aim of the first, a cultured spirit, that of the second, are inalienable components of every human mind which is to be moulded in the perfect likeness of the Indivisible and Perfect One; that, taken in its true sense, religious comprehends secular education as an essential part of itself; that the youngest child should be able to catch from his instructor a strain of the melody we are to sing not only with the spirit but with the understanding also! Secular know-

ledge should never be presented to the child in the cold and unlovely form which it must always exhibit when cut off from the divine life. Nor let religion ever be exhibited in the form of a soulless dogma, or, at best, as the shadowy vision of a distant land. It is the purpose of religious education, begun in childhood and continued through after years, to purify the reason by sanctification of the heart; it is the object of secular education so to cultivate the reason as to expand and elevate it and fit it for entrance into the society of the just made perfect, where the wise shall no more contemn the holy, nor the holy condemn the wise, but both shall join in adoring Him who unites in Himself, in indissoluble harmony, the highest truths of the intellect and the holiest affections of the soul.

It is the one grand object of Sunday-school teachers—an object we are thankful to know some earnest spirits amongst them hold paramount over every other—to impress on the minds of their scholars, however young, a habitual sense of the reality and blessedness of the Christian life. We need, it is true, the highest discipline, the most complete organization, the best books, the most cultured teachers, that can be procured, for our Sunday-schools. But, more than all these, we need a living faith in that Christianity which is nothing else but Christ. As Dr. Bushnell so admirably points out, Christian education is Christian nurture; the purpose of it is to foster and mature the child's true and immortal life. And before, be it said, we can look for a revival of this life in our Sunday-schools, there must be a revival of it in the heart of every parent and teacher. The true teacher—of whom there are not a few types in our Sunday-schools—is he who has first received into his own heart the lessons he endeavours to instil into the minds of his scholars. The light of the glory of the Father revealed in the Son, which pervades his own character and is manifested in his own life, he yearns to spread around him; a light which human learning may adorn and subserve, but cannot either impart or supersede. It is not so much book-teaching, it is not so much lip-teaching, it is *life*-teaching, that is required. The purpose of the teacher is to call forth into strong and holy activity the religious life of the child by the power of a divine life deep abiding in his own soul. It is to the deadness of the Christian life in ourselves, to

the spiritual lethargy too generally observable in professedly Christian parents and instructors of the young, that is, above every other cause, to be assigned the deadness of the Christian church. The religious life is inherited, moreover, by the child from religious parents, especially the mother, as surely as his physical life. The child, as Bushnell truly says, breathes in the very atmosphere of a Christian home with his earliest breath. In religious education, fitly so termed, whether in the home or in the Sunday-school, the indwelling consciousness of God spreads by a sacred contagion from breast to breast. Every teacher must be first a learner. The stronghold of the orthodox power over the young, a power to which we have seen few parallels in our own church, is the stress laid upon personal communion with God's spirit of life in Christ, upon personal experience of religion. In the various orthodox denominations, no one is allowed, in strict rule, to take upon himself the office of teacher in a Sunday-school till he has shewn satisfactory evidence that he himself entertains decided religious convictions. Doubtless, the evidence is too often fallacious; the mode of taking it mischievous. Nevertheless, the fact expresses fundamentally a great principle too generally entirely ignored by ourselves,—that no one has the power, even if he had the right, to teach others, on the most momentous of all subjects, till he has himself been taught by the sacred Teacher. There are those, indeed, who dream that religion can be taught, like any secular branch of study, by an intellectual process orally communicated. You may thus teach a theology, i.e. correct opinions about God, but you cannot thus convey a sense of the living God himself.

Entering briefly into details on this matter, we find that the larger number of our teachers would assign a chief, if not exclusive, place to writing, arithmetic, history, geography, and the sciences, in the Sunday-school, the first two being the chief favourites. Now we should be the last to dissuade an honest and earnest man from becoming a teacher merely because he prefers to instruct in all or any of these subjects, to the partial or entire exclusion of what we ourselves regard as more appropriate to an institution like a Sunday-school. But we do contend that day-schools are the proper place for scholars of a younger age at any

rate to learn these branches, and that by teaching them so promiscuously in our Sunday-schools, we offer a premium to careless or selfish parents, many of whom, it is notorious, send their children to the latter simply to save the cost of the former. We also protest earnestly against teachers attempting, as they often are in the habit of doing, to instruct scholars even of mature years in the advanced portions of arithmetic, when they themselves are not acquainted with more than the elementary rules; or to give a lesson in geography without a map; or in writing, to those who are constantly practising in good day-schools, even, as we have known in one or two instances, to young men employed as copying clerks. Some time ago, we carefully collected, by personal search, the following statistics, which may be of interest to our readers.

Out of 38 Sunday-schools in a northern manufacturing district, containing 6570 scholars, only 2930 received any kind of secular instruction elsewhere, of which number the larger share was contributed by a few schools out of the 38. Of the 2930 scholars, about 750—we say *about*, for it was difficult in every case to obtain accurate returns—attended day-schools under Government inspection; 1330 day-schools not under such inspection; 910 night classes connected with the Sunday-school, and about 500 other night classes. In 22 Sunday-schools, examined at another date with the utmost care, containing altogether 307 classes and 3660 scholars, the Bible was used in 167 classes; other religious books, with or without the Bible, in 71; exclusively secular books, of which the Irish Reading Books had the great preponderance, in 69 classes, or not far from one-half of the whole number. In many even of those classes where the Scriptures are in use, they are read only once a Sunday; in some, only every other Sunday; in not a few, once every fourth, fifth, or even sixth Sunday; in half-a-dozen, about once a quarter; this being called "reading in rotation."

Adequate provision should, wherever possible, be made in the Sunday-school for the admission of the youngest child to the benefits of that Christian nurture which it is the true purpose of our teachers to secure for those entrusted to their care. During a considerable period, our orthodox brethren have, in numerous instances, been awakening to

the recognition of the importance of infant classes in the Sunday no less than in the day school. In a large city in the north of England, upwards of three thousand children under seven years of age are taught in schools connected with various places of worship, both of the Established Church and Dissenting bodies. These little scholars are, for the most part, received in a room separated from the rest of the building and usually provided with a gallery. It has been our good fortune to pay a visit to one of these classes in connection with a Church-of-England Sunday-school. As it is a model of its kind, a short description may not be out of place. The teacher had been formerly, we understood, accustomed to the instruction of an infant class in a Government school, but though now filling a higher social position, had not lost his love for his old employment. He himself told us that many years ago he had had his attention directed to the necessity of an improvement in the conducting of younger classes in the Sunday-school by the following curious circumstance. In one of the very largest and oldest Sunday-schools in this country, a teacher of several little children was, in our friend's time, a converted tamer of bears, who had previously gained a living by letting out these animals to be baited on Sunday afternoons. He was a good man, but so ignorant that he was, as usual, set to teach the young ones, being fit for nothing else. Not knowing even a letter of the alphabet, he used to point to them at hazard, letting the children utter any sound, right or wrong. Observing one little girl who always marked the same letter by the same sound, he induced her to remain permanently in the class, to lead on the rest of the infant tribe in shouting out the letters, by the bribe of a penny a Sunday. In the class we visited, the plan usually pursued in day-schools, including the manual exercises, &c., had been adopted. In the morning, about one hundred and thirty scholars attended; in the afternoon, nearly two hundred, of both sexes and of all ages, from two years and a half to seven. The room was large and lofty, provided with a capital gallery, adorned with suitable pictures, and with aquariums, flower-pots, &c., in the recesses of the windows. No book was employed by the teacher and his two assistants; the whole instruction was oral, consisting mainly of familiar addresses, each of

which lasted only a few minutes,—of short narratives, either from the Scriptures or daily life, and mostly about children, —singing hymns, repeating verses after "teacher," and talking with him familiarly between. Each little creature, as he or she entered, made a bow or dropped a curtsey, and as they left shook hands with "teacher," who had a smile or kind word for all. Though no registry of attendance was kept, every member of the crowd was known by name, and, we were assured, the attendance was most regular and punctual. The order and discipline were perfect. We could not but contrast with pain this most beautiful spectacle with that afforded by the generality of the infant classes, so called, with which we were acquainted. In nearly all our Sunday-schools, it is evidently thought that six years is the very earliest age at which children should be allowed to enter; and it must be admitted that, under the existing conditions of our schools, with scarce an exception, children of even a more advanced age are better kept away. How often has our heart ached to see the worst accommodation and the least capable teacher assigned to the younger children; to see them crowded together in the closest and darkest corner, their whole occupation, often from nine to twelve in the morning, and half-past one to four in the afternoon, consisting in being taken, one at a time, between the knees of the teacher, and painfully picking out letters and syllables from some dirty, half-effaced board or tattered book! We have reason to know the scene described in a Report of the Visitor to a Northern Sunday-school Association to be true to life:

"Another class, composed of fifty little girls, I saw crushed into a square box, called a pew, so close together as, for the most part, to be compelled to sit edgeways. In the lowest section of this class, a dirty alphabet-board, with letters all but effaced by the thumbing of successive generations, was passed round to one scholar at a time; the rest, some whiling away the weary vacancy by the sportive games of slipping off their seats, being shaken and put on again, pulling their neighbours' bonnet-strings, and having their own hair pulled in return; others sitting in listless vacuity, staring miserably about them, with a half-resigned, half-scared look; whilst two or three of the little creatures had propped themselves on their companions' shoulders and gone fast asleep, in the hot, close atmosphere. The incessant scrimmage and noise were perfectly bewildering."

We are fully persuaded, after somewhat extended observation, that properly-conducted infant classes should form the foundation of the whole school. The strongest and most lasting impressions, it is universally admitted, are made in early childhood. So intense and durable are religious impressions as to be, with the vast majority, ineradicable by the subsequent exercise of the reason in adult life. Roman Catholicism owes its marvellous vitality not a little to its action on this law of our nature; to its recognition of the truth that, from the first years, the children are inseparable members of the church of Christ; that the church, to perpetuate itself as an institution, must derive her resources mainly from within. "We *grow* our children," said a priest to us. Now can this process of Christian growth begin too soon? Our nature being an organic whole, the growth of the child's soul, it has well been said, begins with the growth of his body. The question, therefore, every parent and teacher has to ask himself is, Is this growth to be a growth in the likeness of Christ or after the fashion of the world? It should be his endeavour to produce on the mind, as yet uncontaminated by contact with the soil of earthly temptations, such a deep abiding religious impression as the experience of after years may but enrich and perfect; not so much to stimulate the reason as to touch the conscience, ennoble the emotions, and attune the young spirit to the harmonies of God.

A well-disciplined infant class is the best possible nursery for the whole school. The instruction should be as far as possible *oral*, and books should be little, if at all, employed. We entertain, indeed, a persuasion that instruction by word of mouth, issuing direct from the living mind of the teacher, is the best for scholars of an older age. The narrative portions of the Bible, as the lives of the patriarchs, of Samuel, David, Daniel, &c.; the discourses and parables of Christ, thoroughly prepared beforehand, and given orally; hymns and poems, first repeated and then sung after the teacher; object-lessons; lessons in natural history; conversations and short stories,—are some of the subjects appropriate for a young class. Pictures and illustrations should be largely made use of; they may be purchased at a trifling cost. By these and various other means let the perception and feelings of young children be carefully cultivated; their eye pleased with good pictures, prints, &c.; their ear delighted

with simple melodies; their touch and idea of size educated by lessons on common objects; their emotions quickened and refined by listening to tales of the great and good. The whole method of instruction cannot be too plain, homely, practical, or brought too much in contact with actual life and living persons. It should, moreover, be varied and not extend to any length of time. Ten minutes to a quarter of an hour is the utmost period that the attention of children under seven or eight can be profitably directed to any single object. It may be stated, indeed, that the hours of instruction are much too long even for older scholars, and far too little varied, in the generality of our schools.

An effectual method of retaining scholars, as yet little practised amongst ourselves but largely adopted elsewhere, is to induce them to contribute, at some sacrifice of their labour and money, no matter in how apparently trifling a measure, to the support of their school. This desirable end may be attained in time, with a small outlay of judicious kindness, by every teacher and friend of the school who recognizes the principle to hold equally true in it as in the world, that we value most those things we fairly earn and can call our own through the self-denying efforts of earnest industry. To treat a Sunday-school as a charitable institution wherein the youth of both sexes are gratuitously educated, teaed and fêted, while our best bow is to be made to their parents for graciously condescending to allow their offspring to avail themselves of the advantages so lavishly displayed before their face, is a grievous hindrance in the way of progress, and a fruitful source of that indifference shewn by the parties benefited which is so loudly exclaimed against. We fear that our own body, and especially those members of it who belong to the cultured class, have been peculiarly guilty in this matter. We know that no insignificant proportion of the vast sums raised for the schools and missions connected with the Church of England is contributed from the children's pence. We learn that this is likewise the case with the various Methodist societies; nor are our Independent brethren at all behind. In the home, children are trained from their earliest years to a habit of giving, at regular intervals, generally weekly and quarterly, sums, no matter how small, saved in many instances from the cost of luxuries with the richer and necessaries with

the poorer, to one or more of the multitude of their foreign and domestic Missions, Bible and Tract Societies, Church-building Societies, and, not least, the Sunday-school. With many abuses in its working, this system is, we are convinced, substantially sound; it is at all events found to answer its special purpose of leading young people to take a deep interest in the different religious organizations on whose behalf they are thus, from the first, actively and systematically engaged. We are glad to observe a similar self-helpful disposition steadily growing up in our own schools. A sum as large as five pounds has lately been raised, in little more than five months, by the scholars of a small and poor school in a northern manufacturing town where the distress has been long and grievous. In several others we could name, sums of no trifling amount have likewise been subscribed in steady weekly savings. The money has been contributed to buy books for the library or classes, pictures to adorn the walls, &c., in one instance towards the cost of a new grate and fire-irons.

We could cite numerous examples of the kind in schools connected with the orthodox churches, but must be content with two, which are well authenticated. In an extremely poor quarter of a leading town in the North, two adult classes, composed of one hundred and fifty young persons belonging to the Methodist persuasion, contributed in a single year one hundred and fifty pounds to school and missionary objects. In a large and old-established school, comprising upwards of three thousand scholars, all the class-books, as well as copy-books and hymn-books and the volumes in three libraries, each library consisting of fifteen hundred volumes, are purchased by the scholars themselves. Each of the fifty class-rooms in which the adults meet is painted, papered and supplied with pictures and maps, on the same method.

But our scholars cannot be attached to the school merely by having work to do for it and money to pay to it. We shall never succeed in securing any large number of older scholars till a readiness is shewn everywhere, as in a few bright exceptions it is already shewn, to encourage them to regard the Sunday-school, not as some one else's school merely, but as their school also; to afford them, when long-tried acquaintance and mutual co-operation in good works

justify the trust, a share in the management of school affairs. We learn that in the American Sunday-schools every scholar enrolled as a member, not only regularly contributes his weekly offerings towards its support, but is allowed the privilege of voting for his teacher, superintendent, &c. We in this country are not probably prepared for so wide an extension of the suffrage, though we have met with a class of between two and three hundred young men in an Independent school who choose their own teacher, the director arguing with us that they had as much right to do so as congregations to elect their minister. At any rate, young people should not, as is usually the case, be shut out from attendance at teachers' meetings and excluded from all voice in school business. In a large school amongst us, distinguished for the unusual number of its older scholars, nearly all reared in its bosom, the superintendent assured us that a chief cause of their retention was their being freely admitted to the teachers' meetings and consulted on matters of interest. Rightly-trained scholars, long reared in the school, constitute the best and most reliable materials for its future teachers. Depending on extraneous sources for their supply, our schools are continually liable to fluctuation and sometimes to collapse.

A word or two on the means of connecting the Sunday-school and the congregation. Drawn together in that sacred fellowship which Christian communion alone can communicate in its fulness, our teachers, the majority of whom, to their honour be it said, are taken from the working class, would be effectually preserved against the pernicious class-jealousy which must ever be fatal to the spread of a catholic faith. We have found to our sorrow this temper of anti-Christ quite as grievous a hindrance in the lower as in the higher grades of society. When the teachers belonging to the former complain, too often with justice, of the want of sympathy and help from the wealthier and more cultured members of our congregations, they would sometimes do well to reflect how far they themselves may have to answer for the evil. On the other hand, we would earnestly entreat those who enjoy superior social position and mental refinement—provided they have other aptitudes as well—to extend a helping hand to these their brethren. Those who have come most into companionship with our

teachers from the working class, certainly in the North, and have engaged with them in the common work in an earnest spirit of Christian brotherhood, have, we are sure, discovered that they have received at least as much as they have imparted; have rejoiced to own that singleness of aim, purity of heart, unselfish devotion to the good of others, even if not always accompanied by polished manners and intellectual attainments, are of priceless dignity and worth.

The average attendance of our Sunday-schools presents certain features which demand the prompt attention of all interested in their rightful management. The total number of scholars on the books of our schools in England may be set down at twenty thousand. Out of these, only fifteen thousand are in regular attendance; in other words, there are five thousand scholars absent every Sunday. Now if our estimate be at all correct, as we have every reason to deem it to be, there meets us in this fact an evil far more serious than may appear at first sight. Not only does irregularity of attendance interfere with the discipline of a school, and go a long way to prevent even the most capable teacher from giving anything approaching to a connected course of lessons, but it has a bad moral effect on the scholars who are suffered by a lax code to be guilty of the practice. We have repeatedly had occasion to notice this order in the downward course of young persons, and that not in the Sunday-school alone: first, *unpunctuality* in the attendance, it may be either at an early college lecture, or at a Sunday-school class; secondly, *irregularity* in attendance, staying away once or twice in a month or so, then three or four times, then oftener; lastly, staying away altogether, and either idling or doing worse. The average attendance in large cities is usually the lowest; e.g. in London, in 1862, only 50 per cent.; in Liverpool, (1863), 45 per cent.; in Manchester, 58 per cent. for 1863. The total average for the same year, 1863, for the schools in the Manchester Association, including those in the two last places, was 74 per cent., which in 1864 declined to 68 per cent.

We extract the following from the Secretary's Report for 1864: "The average morning attendance is this year 6108, against 6727 for last year; and 7086 in the afternoon, against 7125 last;—a sad falling off, which we can only account for by referring to the column of teachers' attend-

ances, which shews that there are in the morning only 701 teachers to 801 classes" *(one hundred classes without teachers!)*, "and in the afternoon 771 to the same number of classes." We can fully corroborate the added remark, that the scholars' attendance varies exactly with that of the teachers.

We have only space here to point out very briefly the chief remedies for a defect which every faithful teacher must deplore. 1st. Let each teacher prepare himself to offer his class something worth coming for; then it will usually be found that they will come, spite of all obstacles. 2nd. Every scholar absent, *from whatever cause*, three Sundays in succession, should be crossed off the books. Those absent from sickness or other cause beyond their own control—and to ascertain the real reason of absence, every scholar should be visited the same week he has been away—can be re-admitted as a matter of course; whilst others—by far the majority—should not be allowed to re-enter without at least the formality of application to the school authorities. As it is, in many schools, a lad may stay away any number of times, and quietly take his place again in his class. 3rd. Teachers should, as they already do in some schools, allow their names to be called out. This is only what is done in the army, where every officer as well as private has to answer to his name. Perhaps the better plan is to call out their own names, with the attendance of their class, at the close of school. This is the rule in one school we know.

As regards visiting scholars, the effect in raising the average is undoubted, when *combined with regular attendance on the part of the teachers.* Prize distribution appears to have little influence, so far as our observation extends, unless when constituting the crowning point of a well-organized institution.

In conclusion. If defects in our Sunday-schools have been commented on somewhat freely, perhaps it may be thought somewhat severely, we are confident that we shall have credit for having drawn this brief and broken sketch in no unfriendly spirit. Some years of wide acquaintance with Sunday-school teachers would have been but ill spent had they failed to fill us with a heartfelt sympathy, not only for their work, but for themselves; whilst with respect

to some amongst them, we count it indeed a rich privilege to call them more than friends, to look to them as inspirers and as guides in an enterprize than which nothing nobler can occupy the best powers of the highest mind. Who shall measure the influence of such men on the social and moral condition of the next half-century, during which the class from which their scholars are drawn are sure to play a weightier part than at any previous period in the world's history? It is Sunday-schools and the like institutions, sprung up from the soil prepared by the great Author of Christianity, which form the most effectual safeguards against the progress of those social corruptions which neither a technical Christianity nor a material civilization is able to withstand. Happy they who have learned their need of a central object of reverence and trust, to hold up before themselves and those committed to their charge, surrounded as we all are by the strong allurements of the world, and distracted by the perplexing claims of rival theologies; who have penetrated their own and others' being with a habitual consciousness of the reality and blessedness of that spiritual life of which the Son of Man is the divinest embodiment, and his church the perpetual witness!

V.—LUCY AIKIN'S LETTERS.

Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters of the late Lucy Aikin: including those addressed to the Rev. Dr. Channing from 1826 *to* 1842. Edited by P. H. Le Breton, of the Inner Temple. London: Longmans. 1864.

We have felt so much pleasure in reading this book, that we proceed from its perusal to a description or criticism of its contents as reluctantly as we should attempt to report the details of an agreeable conversation; and could rest well satisfied with commending our readers to a source of pleasure which cannot be enhanced by anything we have to say upon the matter. Nor is the comparison of the most attractive parts of the book to a conversation a groundless one,

whether made in regard to the subject of these Memoirs or to the letters by which she will henceforth probably be more widely known than by her own just and well-earned literary reputation. It was not our privilege to be personally acquainted with the late Miss Aikin, or to be admitted to the enjoyment of the conversations in which she was well known to excel; but, judging from the letters before us, we have little difficulty in imagining what were the characteristic traits of her conversation; and no hesitation in assigning to her a place among the accomplished and refined women who will be remembered as having shed the highest charms of intellect and wit over their own social circle, and as having exercised a not inconsiderable though unnoticed influence upon the more active spirits of their age. Mr. Le Breton, quoting the Rev. John Kenrick, says:

"One who knew her well has truly said of her, that she possessed in a remarkable degree the art of conversation, an art which seems in some danger of being lost in the crowds which fashion brings together. It was not, however, an art cultivated for display. Whether in intercourse with a single friend in a small circle, or an assemblage of persons of intellectual attainments equal to her own, there was the same flow of anecdote, quotation and allusion, furnished by a most retentive memory, and enlivened by wit and humour."

Lucy Aikin, born at Warrington in 1781, was the daughter of Dr. John Aikin and the niece of Mrs. Barbauld; and we may add, the pupil and afterwards the biographer both of her father and her aunt. For those who are at all acquainted with the best writings of the close of the last and the beginning of this century, it will be needless to enlarge on the honour which attaches to such a literary pedigree and initiation as belonged to Miss Aikin. Her father successfully united the practice of medicine with the warmest devotion to literature in many of its forms; and subsequently abandoning his profession, devoted himself entirely to literary pursuits. His taste, industry and good sense, his candour and his conscientiousness, as to both the matter and style of his writing, must have been of inestimable advantage to his daughter, and are not without their counterparts in her own productions. From her aunt we may suppose her to have derived not only the most valuable instructions of a most accomplished mind, but influences of character too

subtle for a stranger to pretend to discriminate. The literary character of Miss Aikin differs much from those of her father and her aunt; and though we would not attempt to lay down the points of difference, it is obvious to remark that Miss Aikin possessed an independence of thought and a power of observation which are peculiarly her own. One point of difference, and that in a matter where Miss Aikin might have been expected to inherit the talents of the authors of "Evenings at Home," was the faculty of addressing the minds of children and of imparting elementary instruction. She, however, takes an opportunity very early in her career of acknowledging her indisposition to these kinds of literature. Writing to her brother on the publication of her first book, she says:

"My publishers are very civil, assure me that they have no doubt whatever of my success, and already try to embark me in some new scheme; but they have as yet hit on nothing which entirely pleases me. They want me to write for young people, a thing to which I have no great stomach. Of the two, I believe, I would rather amuse men and women than instruct children."

Some years afterwards, when seeking for a new subject to engage her pen, she says: "If I am capable of benefiting any class, it must be one considerably removed from the lowest, of whom, whatever you may think of the confession, I have never seen enough to know at all how to address them." In these confessions of the limits of her powers we perceive how conscientious she was in the use of them; but we are inclined to attribute—and the last extract from her letters confirms this opinion—to her literary and somewhat secluded habits of life and thought, rather than to any real want of power, the refusal to exercise her talents in those directions in which her aunt and her father excelled, namely, the highest and best entertainment and instruction of children and the production of popular literature. Miss Aikin's choice was directed principally to historical themes, and she excelled in the treatment of these subjects at a time when historical literature could not enumerate so many books of the very highest class as have been recently added to our libraries. But of her literary life we will let Mr. Le Breton speak:

"Her father's studies were chiefly historical and biographical,

and this naturally guided the course of his daughter's reading. Her first efforts in writing were in the way of translation. The English version of the 'Adventures of Rolando,' so long popular with the young, was from her pen. She was an author from her seventeenth year; many articles in the reviews and magazines, and in the 'Annual Register,' were hers. In 1819 she produced her first historical work, 'Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.' The subject was happily chosen—a female reign was fitly illustrated by a female pen. The plan comprehended the private life of the queen and the domestic history of the period; biographies and anecdotes of the principal families who formed her brilliant court, and notices of the manner, opinions, and literature of the age. The author had prepared herself for the work by careful research into the ample materials which the memoirs and letters of that time furnish; they were skilfully condensed and combined, so as to afford an animated picture of England in a reign which Englishmen have always contemplated with pride. Two similar works on the reign of James I. and Charles I. followed. Miss Aikin published biographical Memoirs of her father and of his sister, Mrs. Barbauld. Both may be regarded as works of filial piety; for her aunt shared with her father in the reverence and affection with which she regarded the union of virtue and talent. The cast of her own mind fitted her better for sympathising with the strong practical sense, the liberal views, and the literary diligence of her father, than with the sensibility and poetical elegance of her aunt. Her own principal poetical work, 'Epistles on Women,' is a specimen of that moral and didactic poetry of which Pope had given the model—terse and compact in language, and smooth in versification, but not aiming at the higher qualities of imagination or invention. .... Miss Aikin had also in 1814 published a work of fiction, 'Lorimer; a Tale,' the incidents of which have been appropriated, without acknowledgment, by a popular modern writer of novels."

We may add that in 1843 appeared her "Memoirs of Addison." They were alluded to by Macaulay in his biographical essay on Addison, in which he speaks of the high reputation Miss Aikin had so justly earned by her earlier historical works.

But it is not merely or even especially through the reputation acquired by her published works that the late Miss Aikin's Memoirs and remains will attract and engage the attention of a large class of readers. For ourselves and our friends, her name is associated with the history of the later English Presbyterians, and with the labours in theology and

literature of those who are now numbered among the fathers of that church. Miss Aikin's literature is indeed outside of and almost foreign to all that has most interest to us. On the other hand, her personal history, her culture, all her earlier and the best of her later associations, are deeply interesting; and from her infancy in Warrington up to the time of her conversations at Hampstead with the political and social leaders of our own day, we look for some traits or records of the long and worthy succession of great and good men by whom she was from time to time surrounded. We are grateful for whatever she has preserved or transmitted; but now that the opportunities of delightful conversation are for ever closed, Miss Aikin's reminiscences and observations, the acuteness of her intellect and the brightness of her wit, are more to be enjoyed in this posthumous volume of letters than in any of her other writings, so far as they are known to us. From the scrap of autobiography introduced into Mr. Le Breton's Memoir, we are—alas, fruitlessly!—led to wish that Miss Aikin had completed the recollections of her life in the same manner, or at least had continued them up to the time when the series of letters addressed to Dr. Channing commences. This series of letters, fifty in number and dated from 1826 to 1842, forms the larger as well as the more valuable part of the book. It is preceded by a few familiar letters chiefly addressed to members of her own family,—including some very entertaining ones written from Edinburgh in 1811-12,—and also by a few essays, which, if we may judge from some remarks in letters to Channing, Nos. 28 and 29, were experiments in essay-writing made by Miss Aikin in 1834-35. The letters to Dr. Channing touch upon the most important political, social and religious events and questions of the day; and they derive their peculiar interest from the circumstances of the writer, her opportunities of observation and information, and from the fact of their being addressed to one who, himself a leader of religious thought and a source of political influence in another hemisphere, was watching English events with a deep and anxious interest. The relation of teacher and scholar in religious subjects had become established between Dr. Channing and his correspondent, and the nature and power of Dr. Channing's personal influence as a philosopher and a theologian is

occasionally disclosed in these letters in a most interesting manner. In reference to Miss Aikin's opportunities of becoming acquainted with the topics of the day, Mr. Le Breton, speaking of her residence at Hampstead, says:

"The vicinity of Hampstead to the Metropolis afforded at the same time the opportunity of intercourse with a more varied society. She enjoyed with keen relish, and thoroughly appreciated, the company of literary men, and of the eminent politicians and lawyers, with whom she delighted to discuss questions of interest. With almost every distinguished writer of this period she was acquainted, and of many of them notices will be found in her correspondence."

It may readily be supposed that such opportunities as these would not be neglected, and we accordingly find in the series of letters addressed to Dr. Channing a very interesting commentary on public events, and many personal descriptions and anecdotes. There is also apparent in these letters a desire on the part of the writer to communicate such views of English affairs as should at the same time represent them to her correspondent and remove or conciliate his prejudices or alienated feelings. This desire to bridge over national differences and to convey information and explain opinions to one remote in some degree from the writer's own point of view, imparts a kind of historical tone to these letters; and there is a fuller treatment in them of particular subjects, ecclesiastical ones more especially, than such subjects would receive in letters passing between friends of the same nation or country. While abstaining from such details as would be known through the ordinary channels of news and from common sources of information, Miss Aikin is very happy in her indications of the movements and tendencies of political and social life, and occasionally introduces vivid traits of individual character. Of course there are many portions of the letters of especial interest to our own communion, such, for instance, as relate to the writer's recollections of Priestley and his contemporaries, and to her intercourse with Rammohun Roy, Dr. Tuckerman and others, as well as to the changes in religious thought which are peculiarly apparent in many of Miss Aikin's acknowledgments of Dr. Channing's influence as a religious teacher upon herself and upon others. The extracts which we shall now introduce will need no

further introduction. We commence with a passage from the 6th letter to Dr. Channing, dated Dec. 26, 1828:

"I have as much Presbyterian blood in my veins as any of your New Englanders, and from the elders of our family I have picked up volumes of traditionary lore concerning the old dissenters of Bedford, who built a meeting-house for John Bunyan, and their brethren of Northampton and Leicester—still strongholds of Calvinism. From the whole, I conclude that they were usually lordly husbands, harsh parents, merciless censors of their neighbours; systematically hostile to all the amenities of life, but not less fond of money, or more scrupulous of the means of acquiring it, than the worldlings whom they reprobated. Long before my time, however, my kindred the Jennings, the Belshams, my excellent grandfather Aikin, and his friend and tutor Doddridge, had begun to break forth out of the chains and darkness of Calvinism, and their manners softened with their system. My youth was spent among the disciples or fellow-labourers of Price or Priestley, the descendants of Dr. John Taylor, the Arian, or in the society of that most amiable of men, Dr. Enfield. Amongst these there was no rigorism. Dancing, cards, the theatre, were all held lawful in moderation: in *manners* the free dissenters, as they were called, came much nearer the church than to their own stricter brethren, yet in *doctrine* no sect departed so far from the Establishment. At the period of the French revolution, and especially after the Birmingham riots, this sect distinguished itself by the vehemence of its democratical spirit, and becoming in a manner a faction as well as a sect, political as well as religious animosity became arrayed against it, and I now remember with disgust, not without compunction, the violent contempt and hatred in which, in common with almost all the young and not a few of the more mature of that set, I conceived it meritorious to indulge towards the church and aristocrats."

This is a vigorous sketch, with perhaps a little harshness towards the Puritan ancestors; but the historical character of it is valuable. At the close of the same letter, Miss Aikin begins to shew that sympathy with the deeper religious philosophy of her correspondent which is so honourable to her spirit and breadth of mind.

"And now to my last topic. Nothing can be more sincere than the admiration I have expressed of your works, and none have I more admired than your last. Your views of the relation in which the Deity stands to man, and of the light in which He is to be regarded by rational beings, seem to me developements

of my own thoughts, and the spirit of the whole discourse elevates, consoles and delights me."

From letter No. 12, dated May 1, 1831:

"And now let me tell you how I have been attempting to fill up one of those languid pauses of existence in which one has little to do but to wait for the return of health and strength in patience, deceiving the long, and in my case lonely hours, as best we may. I have been reading metaphysics. And this was your doing; the mention which you make, I forget in which piece of yours, of the theory of Berkeley, excited my curiosity, and I have been reading him with great admiration of his ingenuity and his beautiful style, and wonder that so much is to be said for what seems at first view so chimerical. I have since been reading Priestley's 'Disquisition on Matter and Spirit,' and his correspondence with Price. And what is the result? Why, that I am perplexed and confounded—utterly unable to take a side or form an opinion on subjects, which seem to me, indeed, placed beyond the scope of human knowledge—yet pleased and *proud* that the human mind should dare to entertain such thoughts—to soar to such heights, and sound such depths. Oh! the mind of man *must* be formed for progress, eternal progress, else why these thoughts beyond the measure of his frame? If the strengthening of this conviction were the sole result of pursuits like these, they were well and amply recompensed, but I have found in them other uses. They give me a more intimate sense of the all-pervading presence and agency of the *one* cause. I did not before, if I may so speak, feel how *very near* it is—how closely it encompasses us on all sides. Second causes extend no way at all; they can account for nothing, effect nothing. I always saw that there was something amiss with Hume's famous argument against miracles, but I did not well know what; now I do; and now I feel the full force of your sentence that it is 'essentially atheistical.' That imposing term, the laws of nature, may easily lead to great misconception. The correspondence of Price and Priestley is further interesting as a very beautiful exhibition of two characters of great but different endowments. Both have great acuteness, both great extent and variety of knowledge to bring, in illustration of their topics; but the caution of Price, fertile in objections, is remarkably contrasted with the precipitation of Priestley, with whom 'once to doubt' was 'once to be resolved.' Priestley was the more original thinker, the greater genius, but he could not feel difficulties; neither indeed on his own favourite topics could Price, whose political theories warped even his calculations. I have a vivid memory of Priestley, the

friend of my father, the dearer and more intimate friend of my aunt, Mrs. Barbauld. In his manners he had all the calmness and simplicity of a true philosopher; he was cheerful, even playful, and I still see the benignant smile with which he greeted us little ones. It pleased me to find you referring to him when you mentioned Berkeley. I know you have disapproved him on some points, you differ on many; but you are brothers in the assertion of intellectual freedom, and the earnest search after, and unhesitating avowal of truth! O! the noble, the glorious beings whom it has been my privilege to see and know! What would life be without the commerce of superior minds? what earth without the 'salt of the earth'? And let us rely upon it that times like these will bring forth men equal to them."

In letter No. 15, dated Oct. 23, 1831, there is more about Priestley, to a discussion about whom Dr. Channing had invited his correspondent:

"I have long wished to get you there. I have just been talking him over with my brother Arthur, who was his pupil at Hackney, and had both the opportunity of knowing, and the mind for appreciating him. He says that certainly in one sense Priestley was *self-satisfied*. He had emancipated himself from the yoke of Calvinism, which was little made for his sunny temper; and with such immoveable, such entire conviction, he had settled it with himself that all things must at all times be working for the best, because ordained and guided by the wisest and best of beings; that neither any misfortunes of his own, nor any disappointments to those causes which he espoused, were able to make deep or lasting impressions on his spirits. He was an optimist both by disposition and system, but from *Epicurean* tranquillity no one could be further. He was the most active of men, he could not have lived inactive, and to the propagation of this, his great principle, there was nothing he was not ready to sacrifice. My aunt has said of him, with as much truth as brilliancy, that 'he followed truth as a man who hawks follows his sport—at full speed, straight-forward, looking only upward, and regardless into what difficulties the chase may lead him.' This sanguine spirit prompted him to adopt the maxim, that no effort is lost; he firmly believed that all discussion must end in the advancement of truth, and here he could never perceive any mischief or danger in the fullest exposure of any doctrine which he believed. He was constitutionally incapable of doubt; what he held, he held implicitly for the time; but Arthur says he was not tenacious upon anything which did not affect his great principle of optimism—that is, of necessity. It may be considered that his

system of the origin of ideas was derived from Locke and enlarged upon by Hartley, who also maintained necessity, and both these were revered names to follow. His system of materialism was more original, and more obnoxious, but his own faith in a future state being fixed on gospel promises, was quite unshaken by it; and he expected, I say not how wisely, to enhance the value of Christianity, and compel, as it were, the deist to accept of it, by proving that there was no hope of immortality without it. All these doctrines, too, were in a manner sanctified to him by the often ingenious, often powerful use which he made of them in his attacks upon what he regarded as the most mischievous corruptions of Christianity. If he had promulgated these opinions from vain glory, no doubt it would have destroyed his moral greatness; but as by the concurring judgments, I believe, of all who had the best means of knowing, his motives were purely reverence to God and good-will to men, I cannot agree that anything but imprudence ought to be imputed to him by those who may most distrust their truth and tendency. His private life was radiant with goodness. He was excellent in every relation, exemplary as a pastor, particularly for the unwearied pains he took with the young, for whom he composed catechisms and delivered lectures. His Birmingham flock has never lost the character of devout zeal which he impressed upon it. His disinterested love of truth manifested itself in his scientific pursuits. The moment he made a discovery he threw it before the public; not waiting to form a perfect system which would have redounded to his own glory, but eager to set other minds on the track of investigation, and provided truth were discovered, careless by whom. In charity and forgiveness of injuries he was a perfect Christian. 'So kind was his temper,' said my father, 'that he would not have hurt his bitterest enemy.' Think, too, of his zeal for civil liberty, and the obloquy and danger which he braved for it, and make allowances for the situation of a reformer rendered more positive by often dishonest opposition. No, he had a sanguineness of temper incompatible with true judgment, and perhaps with deep feelings, but I cannot deny him moral greatness; he would certainly have laid down his life for his faith, and for mankind."

The temptation to follow up this long extract with one more on the same subject is not to be resisted. The following is from No. 17, Feb. 22, 1832:

"It rejoices me to have been able successfully to vindicate to you the character and motives of Priestley. Too true it is, that we cannot spare even one from our list of worthies. I long for

a fuller developement of your delightful idea of our personal interest in the high qualities of others. It is quite a new thought to me, and opens to the most inspiring views. Even in this state of being, the effects of a high principle, a grand discovery, a sublime poem, a noble action, extend quite out of sight and calculation. In other states they may reach to the whole race of man. I see nothing against it. Oh! who would bear the sight and sense of human misery that has indeed a soul to comprehend and feel it—without the cordial of high hopes and noble aspirations! My thoughts are ever returning thither, to the invisible world, and thanks to you, they never return thence without bringing in their train deep peace."

Of Miss Aikin's political observations we have left ourselves little space to speak. They are made with good sense and distinctness, whether original or derived from colloquial opportunities, and proceed from a mind conversant with historical problems, free from the bias of actual or possible action, and sensitive to the honour of her country. Miss Aikin may, indeed, be regarded as an instance in which the influence which a woman of refined and cultivated mind, without either the opportunity or desire for political power, may by her letters and conversations beneficially exercise in politics. There are several remarks in her letters expressing hopefulness in regard to the people and liberties of Italy, which recent events have fully justified. In 1834, she anticipates the evil influences with which the desire for wealth seemed likely to impair the tone of national feeling in England: "This universal worship of mammon makes me sigh and blush for my country. In the first political struggles I can remember great and noble principles were at stake; now it is a vulgar dispute who shall pay most, or least rather, towards a long reckoning. Fox was the type of the former period, Joseph Hume of the present."

Of felicitous remarks like this it would be easy to collect a great many, but the limit of our space forbids. It has not been our object to extract entertainment from the book before us, or we could easily have done so. Those who have mingled in the events of the years over which these letters extend will read them with the pleasure of recalling the hopes and fears which were shared by all the best political actors and thinkers of the time, will glow over many a realized prophecy, and smile at many a fear gone by. The

respective conditions of the hemispheres between which these letters have passed and returned are now entirely changed. America is struggling with the evil powers which have, earlier than she expected, arisen to put her to agony; and in her blindness, we trust, is being led through suffering towards the light. Channing's voice, like the voice of a prophet, is finding its interpretation in the hours of affliction. It would be interesting to know whether the letters which he wrote in exchange for those now before us dealt as fully with the topics of his own country as these do with the topics of ours. If they did, and could be gathered up with these into a single volume, we should have a collection of epistles as interesting and as valuable to the philosopher and the historian as any that we know.

VI.—OPEN CHURCHES. A CORRESPONDENCE.

1. DECEMBER 1, 1864.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

FROM the operation of several causes, the open-church system, in which you take so deep an interest, has been reduced to practice among us amid much sympathetic acclaim, in which hardly a note of dissent or distrust has been audible. The principal cause has been, I think, that many men eagerly desired the ends which the new organization aimed to reach, without being able to approve its methods; and so were unwilling to seem to discourage an attempt, which was at least begun in a disinterested spirit, and designed to achieve noble results. Yet a fair and temperate discussion cannot injure the real interests of the principle which you so highly esteem, and may serve to shew that some of those who do not stand at your side are actuated by higher motives than an unreasoning dread of innovation. In what I am about to say, I do not desire to argue for victory, but only to contribute something, either in my reasonings or in the answer which they may call out from you, to the discovery of the highest Christian expediency in the matter of church organization. And I shall heartily rejoice if you force me to the conclusion, that

in this system we are to find a new and powerful instrument of religious usefulness.

If I understand it rightly, the open-church system is directed to two chief objects: the one religious, the other financial. By the abolition of appropriated seats it is to attract to public worship a class who are repelled by the cold inhospitality of pews; it is to use up space which the present system wastes, and so practically to enlarge the capacity of our existing chapels; and, lastly, by the mixture of classes in seats which are free to all, it is to make every congregation a living presentation of the equality of all human souls before God. But as the financial organization of Nonconforming churches is based upon pew-rents, it is necessary to substitute something in their room; that something being a collection made at every service from pew to pew, out of which all the expenses of the church are to be defrayed. It is expected, I know, that this method will prove to be a financial success; and that weekly contributions will raise a larger sum of money than quarterly pew-rents. But I think that I am doing you no more than justice when I assume that in your view the financial is subordinate to the spiritual object of your scheme; and that if, after all, the working classes are no more attracted to our chapels than they are now—if, after all, the same difficulties as at present are found to attend upon the attempt to weld men of various degrees of education, refinement and social standing, into true Christian fellowship—no brilliancy of pecuniary result can save your system from the reproach of failure. And, on the other hand, I am ready to admit that if those spiritual ends should, under the conditions which you propose, actually be attained, it would go far to reconcile me to changes which now justify themselves neither to my judgment nor my taste.

We may admit at once that the present system is not faultless. Neither, as I shall first try to shew, is the new system. Then comes the question, "Are the advantages which we may reasonably expect from it sufficient to counterbalance its defects?" To this experience alone, and not any train of argument, can supply an absolutely conclusive answer. But the varying answer which you and I, arguing from the probabilities of the case, now give to it, justifies you in trying, me in refusing to try, the plan.

In the first place, I cannot conceive that the introduction of a collection into every service should not prove a discord in the harmony of worship. In this view I have always looked upon collections as necessary evils, to be limited if possible to one or two a year; and then only applied to gathering in fragmentary contributions which otherwise would never be gathered in at all. You may say that the gift of money to God's service is a religious act, and as such may fitly take its place in the same series as praise and prayer. But unfortunately there is also an earthly side to this action, especially when performed in public; and except to the purest minds, recollections, associations, surmises, inferences, not altogether consistent with personal religious sacrifice, *will* present themselves. I know that you have practical methods which at once admit the existence of this evil and aim to lessen it: I shall be glad to learn precisely what they are. But I am afraid that only experience would convince me that there is no undesirable descent of feeling when Sunday after Sunday the preacher's impassioned attempt to raise his hearers to some height of pure religious emotion is followed by the circulation of the inevitable purse. And I must agree with Mr. Thom, that "apart from the success of your method in gradually collecting a true Christian church, drawn in fair proportions from all classes in the community, the appearance of money and of money-bags, and the clink of coin at every religious service, would be simply a nuisance and an offence."

My feeling in regard to this part of the matter would be greatly modified (though the same objections would still to some extent apply) were the moment of contribution postponed to the end of the service, and the congregation permitted to deposit their gifts in a box or plate in the vestibule. And this method would also obviate a second objection, stronger, as it seems to me, than the first, that the system of collecting from pew to pew involves a moral compulsion to give, and is practically the same thing as the Catholic plan of "silver expected at the door." You will, I feel sure, deny this, almost indignantly, and yet I cannot help seeing it in that light. If there be not something in it, why in so many chapels has the box taken from pew to pew been substituted for the box held at the outlet of the aisles? If there be not something in it, and you

really trust to the free generosity of the worshipers, why not abandon a part of your method, which is repulsive to the religious taste of many, and fix boxes in the passages and vestibules, which will give every one an opportunity as the congregation assembles or is dispersed? I have the most painful feeling that your practice impairs rather than extends the universal hospitality of God's house. We are unfortunately still far enough from the possibility, open to every wanderer in Italy, of lifting up, at any hour of daylight, the curtain which hangs before the open door of almost every church, and entering, unquestioned and unchecked, to admire, to muse, or to pray. But I confess that I would rather trust to the courtesy which has never yet failed me in any English church or chapel, than sit down in a free seat, for which, when my prayers were said, I found that I had to pay. Such a thing has happened to me once or twice, and has altered my whole feeling towards the congregation of which for the day I formed a part. Courteously admitted to a strangers' pew, I have been a guest in a religious home: paying for a free seat, I have taken an independent and individual part in a public ceremony. Were I a layman, I should be neither unwilling to give nor ashamed to accept such hospitality as is involved in the offer of a seat with which the idea of money was altogether unconnected: as a minister, recognizing that the preacher of the gospel must needs live by the gospel, it is yet my greatest pleasure sometimes to preach to those who, from one circumstance or another, are able to give me nothing in return.

But again it may be questioned whether, in aiming to give our public worship a more social, we may not run the risk of depriving it of its domestic character. I have nothing to say in behalf of reserved and half-filled pews—though that they are half-filled, is, I believe, far less often the fault of their occupiers than some of us suppose. At present we go up to the house of God in families: the mother takes *there* little ones whom she would not take to any other public place, and *there* old people fondly linger long after every other public place is deserted by them. In both cases the reason is the same. The mother knows that she can have her children under her own eye, apart from disturbing influences, and with at least a chance of impressing upon them the sacredness of the place and occasion. The aged

and infirm know that the accustomed seat is kept for them, and that they can reach it without hurry and crowding. If worship is to be re-organized on the new plan, will not the very old and the very young be necessarily left at home, parents fearing to be separated from their children, and the aged feeling themselves altogether unequal to the worry of an uncertain place? There is surely a point of view from which even a pewed chapel, with all its arrangements based upon the idea of the family, is more like a Christian church, than a public hall where no seats are reserved, and where the earliest comer takes what place he will. There is an ennobling sentiment to be extracted even from fusty baize and high oak doors, when they call to mind a line of ancestors who have knelt, generation after generation, in the same spot,—a spot which can never, save to a degenerate descendant, be common ground. Our chapels are peopled by the dead as well as by the living: dear and venerable forms, long since passed away, mingle with the breathing worshipers. There is something more than tenacity of prejudice in the feeling which bids a widow take the place in the church, as in the house, which her dead husband took: and even a pew corner may recall to those who wait and labour the blessedness of the church triumphant.

The next objection is one which, for obvious reasons, I shall state very briefly. It relates to the possible effect of this system upon the mind of the minister. There are few ministers, at least, who do not feel that in their immediate dependence for subsistence upon their congregations, lies a weakness of the voluntary system which, if report speak truly, bears more fruit of practical evil in other Nonconforming communions than our own. Will not this system make that dependence still closer and more complete? As things are now, ministers can afford a little temporary alienation of feeling in this or that hearer: it is forgotten before quarter-day comes round, and men do not lightly withdraw themselves entirely from a chosen home of faith. But if passionate or capricious men have an opportunity of shewing their displeasure or disapproval at every service, and if the minister's livelihood depends upon the actual effect thus produced at every service, will it not to some be a direct temptation to time-serving? Forgive me for saying these things to *you*, among whose failings time-serving was cer-

tainly never reckoned: we are to consider the system in its application to all ministers and all congregations. Then, again, if there are to be large collections there must be full chapels; and it is far easier to fill chapels by sensation preaching than by the quiet course of religious instruction which alone avails to build up the Christian life. Once more I beg your pardon for even seeming to hint that in an open church you would adopt a different procedure in this respect than you have hitherto adopted in a pewed chapel; but sensation preaching is on the increase amongst us, and I watch its progress with the utmost jealousy. Full pews and eager listeners are already temptations enough to a minister to gather together an audience who look for intellectual excitement rather than for spiritual food: will it be well that this should also be the direct means of adding to an income often miserably insufficient?

And yet it might be well to run these risks, to put up with these inconveniences, if the abandonment of the old system opened to us a fair prospect of reconciling to Christian worship and fellowship a large class of our countrymen who are now estranged from both. But what proof is there that it will do this? I see that some zealous advocates of new methods proclaim as an incontrovertible fact that the poor are kept out of our chapels by the "wretched pew system," but they offer no evidence in support of their assertion. I sorrowfully admit that in many of our chapels the poor are hardly to be found; I admit, too, the existence of the pew system; but I want facts to convince me that in this case the *post hoc* is also the *propter hoc*. Whatever evidence there is, seems to me to point in quite another direction. The Independents and Baptists have appropriated seats, yet largely recruit their ranks from the better class of artizans: the Methodists pay pew-rents, and succeed among the poor to a proverb. I have myself had something to do with collecting in a school-room a large and steady congregation exclusively composed of working men, and they are now eagerly looking forward to the time when they shall occupy a chapel of their own, because they expect to find in appropriated seats the only sound basis of financial self-support. We need not, I think, look beyond our own body for facts enough upon which to build a sufficiently wide and safe induction. There are congregations of which every

member stands comparatively high in the scale of education and social refinement. If there be any working men connected with these, they are to be found at the Sunday-school (often large and prosperous), where they meet with religious food and work appropriate to their needs. There are other congregations of which every member is a mill-hand or an artizan: there are a few in which rich and poor are mingled, and almost every grade of wealth and education has its representatives. The pew system cannot be the cause of this variation; for it prevails, at present, in all alike. Situation has something to do with it; ancestral tradition something more; but more than either the character of the minister, and the spirit which is infused into the associated institutions of the church. You, my dear friend, will rightly and necessarily attract working men to your side, whether your voice is to be heard from closed pews or open benches; while there are others amongst us whose characteristic work (not less noble and needful) is to lead the van of educated religious opinion, whose burden of prophecy cannot but take a scholarly form, and whom working men will not press in to hear, though you make a holocaust of every Presbyterian pew-door in England! Leaving these to perform the task which God has assigned to them in the way prescribed by the powers which He has also given, I heartily go with you in the desire that our preaching, taken as a whole, should be animated and set aglow by a far deeper and richer spiritual life than it now is; that it should speak to men more in the simple nakedness of their humanity, and accommodate itself less to the transitory disguises of wealth and station; and that thus it should become a centre of union rather than a point of divergence for different classes. But I cannot see that any such change of ecclesiastical organization as you propose will greatly help or hinder a result which the presence of God's Holy Spirit in our hearts can alone compass. Preaching as some of us do, no open doors will lure these long looked-for worshipers in: preaching a gospel which the common people will hear gladly, no closed doors will avail to keep them out.

Let me remark in passing, that there is a class of poor upon whom the proposed weekly collection will operate almost as a final sentence of exclusion from the church—those, I mean, who have absolutely nothing to give. Such, it is true, we rarely see on the present plan; but I do not

understand how the defect is to be remedied by handing to them at every service a purse into which they are rarely able to cast even a mite. Of such I venture to predict that they will prove prouder in this respect than those who are better off; that they will never pass the purse without a contribution; and that the attendance even of the religiously-disposed upon public worship will be regulated by the chances of their precarious industry, and by their consequent ability to give. Then with such, you must recollect, even a penny given at chapel means so much less bread for the children, or the purchase of some necessary article of clothing so long postponed. I cannot think that it is well to bring the claims of religion into direct competition with such pressing daily wants as these.

Yet, after all, I am unable to believe that there is any great difficulty in *getting* the working classes into our chapels. They are ready enough to come if addressed in the right way. They are often ready enough if addressed in a way that may be far from right: a course of lectures upon the book of Genesis, or Bishop Colenso, or Essays and Reviews, or Eternal Punishment, or any other exciting theological topic of the day, will draw them in crowds; and whoever chooses, in his treatment of these subjects, to descend to religious charlatanerie, will find himself all the more decisively a "popular preacher." The real difficulty begins when, having got, we try to keep them; when we endeavour to convert intellectual curiosity into religious aspiration; and out of a debating-room audience to build up a church. At this point it is that the claims of those who are already within may be heard not always concordant with those of the new-comers. Eager as I am for the religious welfare of the working class, among whom I live, and for whom a large part of my strength is spent, I cannot forget that it is not the only class to which we have to minister, and whose specific wants we must regard. A preacher whose audience is all educated, or all unrefined, has a definite task before him; how much harder that task may become to one who, Sunday after Sunday, addresses himself to hearers in every stage of intellectual preparation, only those know who have tried it. The problem, if solved at all, is usually solved by the expedient of two differing services: a scholarly sermon in the morning, a popular address at night; or, if the preacher be a man of true spiri-

tual gifts, the more educated will listen eagerly when he dwells upon the simplicities of faith and practice, the less educated will strain upwards to catch at least a part of his meaning when he discourses of more recondite and complex themes. But in any case the great difficulty remains, that different classes of men need different religious instruction; while no true church will neglect the wants of any. And although any attempt to make every church, in the various worldly condition of its members, a true spiritual republic and an earthly presentment of the kingdom of God, commands my heartiest sympathy, I believe that the extent to which this idea can be carried in practice is limited, and that we must fairly look the fact in the face, that under this or any other system of church organization there will be churches where the gospel is preached in a scholarly form to scholarly men, and others where the presentation of it will be more acceptable to those whose self-culture is limited by the necessities of daily labour. Let us by all means unite the two when we can; but when we cannot, let neither despise the other. A great present weakness of English Christianity is, that it lays no hold upon a large part of the working class: it would be a weakness still more fatal to its permanent influence, did it fade from the minds and sympathies of the learned and the refined.

This letter is far longer than I intended it to be. Let me conclude it with the expression of a hope that I have said nothing which can in the slightest degree wound your feelings, or the feelings of those who are associated with you in the adoption of the new system. Time, which tries all things, can alone prove whether you labour in a just or a mistaken confidence. Only believe that if your success refutes my arguments and dissipates my doubts, no one will be more ready to rejoice with you, for your own sake and the sake of our common Christian work, than

Yours affectionately,

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2. DECEMBER 18, 1864.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am reluctant to enter into any public advocacy of the open-church system at present, and have refused several requests to write and lecture on the subject, from a feeling

that the question has now passed beyond the preliminary stage of discussion, and that it would be better to keep silence till results shall either enable me to speak with authority or quietly dismiss the subject from notice. But your letter is a temptation which I cannot resist. I feel that you do *not* "argue for victory." The difficulties you state are such as I know are inevitably felt even by those who wish me a personal success. And the only thing I can complain of in your style is, that it invests the pew system with a grace of kindliness and hoary respectability which I cannot help thinking will be a surprise even to many of its own stoutest defenders.

I should like in the outset to put the whole question on a rather broader ground than that on which you have discussed it. I do not advocate the open-church system primarily as a means of attracting people to worship, nor yet of utilizing the space at present wasted in the reserved seats of absentees, nor even of realizing the equality of human souls before God. These would, I believe, be some of its direct or collateral *advantages;* but I cannot put them as its *objects*, nor argue for it as a mere means of attaining them. I can hardly accept even your broadest statement of the question, as "the highest Christian expediency in the matter of church organization," without explanation, for "church organization," as generally used, has come to mean merely the arrangements a congregation make *for their own worship*, and my main point is, that any such limited personal object is fundamentally defective from the highest Christian point of view. I think, therefore, that my best plan will be, instead of answering your arguments seriatim, to put the rationale of the proposed change before you from the point of view of its own advocates, meeting your objections as they naturally arise.

Our main central idea then is this—that all Christian churches ought to be public temples really dedicated to the free use, in worship, of all who will. Have you never felt the significance of the fact, that this plan has prevailed in the worship of the Deity in all ages and in all lands till the advent of Protestantism and the rise of sects? Was there ever a heathen worship yet in which the accommodation of the temples was not free to all? In the great temple at Jerusalem, the rich pharisee, the despised publican and the

poorest peasant had an equal right, and if in the local synagogues there were some who loved "to choose out the chief seats," you would hardly claim that fact, or what Christ said about it, as an argument on your side. Christianity simply followed in this matter what seems to have been the reverent instinct of all the world's religions. From the earliest Christian times down to between two and three centuries ago, each Christian church was the church, not for those who were avowedly interested in attending or supporting it, but for the free use of the whole people of its surrounding district or parish. In modern times this is changed. The Established churches still retain the name of the old parochial system, but its reality is largely gone, and they are for the most part just as merely *congregational* as the meeting-houses of Dissenters. Churches built and endowed for the whole surrounding population are let off to those who are sufficiently interested or sufficiently well to do to hire regular accommodation. As for Dissenters, there is among us hardly the pretence of anything else. I quite admit that this has sprung from natural causes. The simple fact was, that, persecuted as all Dissent was in its origin, its adherents found it hard enough work to build humble chapels where they might gather in peaceable seclusion for their own scarcely tolerated worship, without exciting popular wrath by assuming to set up public temples. Unfortunately, this initial necessity has been allowed to give the permanent character to our Nonconformist church life, till the modern idea of a church or congregation almost seems to be—a sort of proprietary company making arrangements for their own worship.

Now I will freely admit that this plan has not been without advantages of a certain kind. It has enabled people to worship with a degree of personal comfort which the ancient plan could hardly have afforded them. It has enabled them to take into the church the conveniences and the domestic seclusion of home. But I cannot help feeling that these advantages have been dearly gained. For you will hardly deny that there has gradually grown up in the public mind a feeling of places of worship being *proprietary institutions*. The mischief of this is evident alike to those within and those without their pale. It causes those within to feel a sort of property in religion and its ministrations thus

provided by themselves for themselves. Hence the feeling that they have a right to appropriate its conveniences to themselves, nay even to reserve them for themselves, as witness the locked-up pews in many of our parish churches and some Nonconformist chapels. I know that you or any gentleman or lady may, as you say, "trust to the hospitality which has never yet failed" you; but is your experience a fair criterion of whether that hospitality is generally available for all who need it, and especially for those who need it most? I doubt it. There are few people who have not sometimes felt the discomfort of sitting in a strange pew and *not* feeling sure they were welcome; and especially I think that if you had been a poor man you might have had some different experiences to record. The fact is notorious that the humbler classes for the most part look upon churches and chapels as proprietary *middle-class* institutions, where the poor may get accommodation of a commoner sort at reduced rates, and, if they choose to come down to it, some sort of place for nothing. I do not say such a feeling is just; I know that in most cases it is utterly unfounded, that congregations generally are only too glad when strangers, whether rich or poor, come in among them; but the feeling exists, you cannot help it. The fact seems to be, that the whole arrangements of our modern churches are such as to create in the poor stranger a sense of his being in somebody else's place. The tokens of hired and reserved occupancy meet his eye at every turn. Those who are habituated to places of worship do not feel this so much, understand that they are more or less welcome, but the poor who are not so habituated feel oppressed by a shrinking fear of intruding. I do not say this may not be overcome. It may be, by great and exceptional attraction, say of eloquence or fine music or sensation preaching; but the crowds who are drawn together by such attractions, jostling each other for places, and even setting at naught the arrangements for reserved places, do not touch the question; for these are not the average poor, but members of other congregations, or of that large and certainly not retiring class who are always seeking novelty and excitement. Nor do the facts you allude to, of the large congregations of the Independents, Baptists and Methodists, invalidate my argument. There is an altogether homelier religious life among these bodies, which attracts

such poor as still feel the attachments of religion, more than we have succeeded in doing, though leaving the real mass of the people hardly touched; and so long as "having a seat of one's own" is the mark of chapel respectability, it is not surprising that they should wish to do like others. But the Wesleyans' best work was done before John Wesley's rule against the appropriation of places was (after his death) gradually broken through; and the chapels of the other bodies you refer to are, as much as any, looked on by those without as proprietary institutions. The fact remains, that you never find among our English poor that thought of churches and chapels as places of free public resort which, while having no connection with the errors of Catholicism, is so striking and, to my mind, so touching in Catholic countries.

Now we would have all churches take this ancient position again, return to their original idea of places into which all, rich and poor alike, may freely enter at the hour of worship. In the Establishment there is a strong and increasing movement, begun by the High-church, but now supported by many of all parties alike, for returning to what is the undoubted law of the land, and making our parish churches free. Many Unitarians sympathize with that movement; I have long done. But then, if right at all, it is just as right for our Nonconforming churches. All churches now stand upon the same level. In God's sight, the poor around our churches are just as much *our parish* as they are that of the Established Church in whose "ecclesiastical district" they may happen to be. And I would have us therefore be no longer content with that subordinate position of mere societies providing for our own religious culture, which however formerly a necessity is so no more, but boldly erect churches for our simpler faith and more catholic worship, and proclaim them not *our* houses, but houses of God. Let those who already feel the attachment of religious truth, and others as they come by frequent presence into closer sympathy, care for their chief support, and take upon themselves all Christian activities as heretofore; but let them do this as maintaining not an institution for themselves, but a temple for all who will: whatever help and blessing it has to offer, its restful quietness, its charm of solemn music, its holy sympathies of prayer, the rousing or the comfort of its

spoken word, being freely and really dedicated to the public use.

You see, then, the fundamental idea of the change which we propose. It is not a mere contrivance for filling our chapels. They might be filled by attracting a larger proprietary; they might be even crowded by unusually attractive services (a sore strain, however, upon the "hospitality" you speak of, which is reduced to a minimum in such places as Mr. Spurgeon's*); but the objectionable thing is the feeling of proprietorship at all, and the correlative feeling of dependence on hospitality. We simply desire that our churches may be in fact, as well as in name, places really dedicated to public worship.

I have not time to dwell upon all the advantages which it seems to me would accrue from such an abandonment of all appropriated places, and making our churches throughout open to all alike. I must confine myself to your objections. You do not seem to question that it would give our public worship a more social, but you fear it may destroy its domestic, character. You think that it will prevent parents and children from sitting together; that the very young and the very old will have to be left at home. I cannot help thinking that when you penned that touching sentence about the mother and her children, you had our old-fashioned family pews in your mind. They were certainly favourable to domestic privacy, but good taste has banished them, and is fast banishing even pew *doors*, quite independently of the open-church system, and the almost universal plan in all our new chapels is to have the seats all alike, comfortable and cushioned, but without doors. Now I cannot conceive that any difficulty could arise about the attendance of any one who can attend in such a chapel at present. Practically, no such difficulty does arise where the system is tried. The members of each family, however numerous, can take their places together, unless they come so late as to find all the pews partially occupied, and you yourself disclaim the wish for places to be *reserved*. With regard to the aged, I would only ask you to extend your illustration to all who need such special consideration, to

* It is a curious testimony as to the greater convenience of the "unappropriated" plan for crowded congregations, that in Mr. Spurgeon's tabernacle, though the admission is by ticket, there is no appropriation of places.

the sickly or infirm, the deaf or the lame. These all need some special accommodation, and that not always the same. Here is a delicate woman—in the winter she could come if she could choose a seat near the stove; in the summer she wants a place by the door. Here is a partially deaf man—he could hear if he sat in the front of the gallery. How does the pew system work for these? Why, it ties them to some one special place. They could only get the place that would best suit them if it happened to be "to let" and the rent were not beyond their means. I have been troubled again and again, in cases such as I have given, by the impossibility, on the pew system, of these people having the special accommodation which would make them able to worship God in comfort. Sometimes it is pre-occupied, or at least pre-let; sometimes it is one of the better class of seats, too expensive for the poor. Now on the free system it would be simple enough. They would come a few minutes earlier and naturally take the place that would suit their peculiar need. To the aged the same remark would apply. There need not be any "worry of an uncertain place." Such worry could only happen if the open system proved so attractive as to cause a constantly crowded attendance. Neither you nor I expect this; if it *should* come to pass, I think we should both feel that it was worth some little occasional inconvenience.

Hitherto I have said nothing about how such open churches are to be supported. The fact is, their support is a separate consideration, and I do not want the great fundamental idea of churches really dedicated to the free public use to be held responsible for this or that scheme for securing their maintenance. As a fact, various methods are tried in various open churches. Some are provided for by endowments, some by private contributions, most by the offertory at the time of worship, either in boxes placed at the doors or in bags circulated from seat to seat. Any one of these plans may be adopted, as the habitual worshipers, who should still feel that the main support must rest with themselves, may prefer. The plan I prefer is that of an offertory to take place during and as a part of the service. I prefer this because it in the most distinct and impressive way substitutes for the common idea of a mere business subscription for a specified accommodation, the ancient idea

of an offering or sacrifice for the cause of God, associating it, as I think it ought ever to be associated, with the other acts of worship. That there is no natural repugnance between the contribution of money and the performance of the most solemn religious rites, is proved by the fact that in all churches the Sacrament has been chosen for the occasion of gifts to the poor. And though I can well understand that people would scruple to put their payment for a comfortable reserved pew in the light of a sacrifice to the cause of God, no such objection could apply to their contributions for the support of a public temple in whose comfort and accommodation they only shared as a humble privilege. Such offerings would be as sacred, as truly an offering to God, as if they were specifically given to the poor. I grant you that the idea of making offerings for the service of God is almost gone out in modern Protestantism; but I think you will grant me that its place is very poorly supplied by pew-rents. I do not say that it can be revived all at once, and till it is, it might perhaps be pleasanter to many to postpone the collection to a box at the doors; but I believe that nothing will tend so much to revive the true feeling as this making the contribution a distinct part of the service, to be given with that silent prayer of consecration with which pious people receive the bread and wine at the Sacrament. Certainly a pew-rent does not become more sacred if given in fifty-two small instalments; but I cannot help thinking that though many people might begin with only giving such a careful proportion of what they had been accustomed to pay, when they tried to look upon this as an offering of their substance for God's service, they would feel how insignificant it was, and so gradually amounts would come to be given which would not only support our churches far better than at present, but enable us largely to extend those collateral church activities which now most ministers find it hard work to keep barely going.

You object, however, that there is moral compulsion involved in handing a bag from seat to seat, and that this would be a final sentence of exclusion to the very poor. Now, as a matter of fact, fewer people can see whether a person puts into these bags which are thus handed from one to another (each one putting in or not as he passes it on), than would see whether or not he passed the box held

at the door. Besides, upon whom is the moral compulsion exercised? The regular worshipers of course wish to give, and no plan so easy to all but the very rich as giving week by week. As for strangers, I don't think there are many of any class who, finding themselves in such an open church, would not feel that it was the truest hospitality thus to make places open alike to all, and be glad to take their part in the offering as well as in the worship. As for the *poor*, this plan opens up the opportunity of attending a church, on the same independent footing as the rest of society, to whole classes, to whom quarterly pew-rents are a practical exclusion. I know that when some time ago a second congregation was started in one of our large towns, and the membership at first was put at a penny a week, *collected weekly*, a number of very poor people, who had been mere hangers-on at the older chapel, having no seats, sitting here and there in remote unlet corners, and some of them even pensioners of the Communion alms, at once joined the new place, paid their money like the rest, and felt for the first time that they really had some part in a Christian church. There *may*, indeed, be a class so poor that they can give absolutely *nothing*, but I doubt it. There are *very many* who can give nothing on the present pew-rent plan; but I doubt if there are any who could not give a halfpenny, and who would not sooner give that in an open church than sit in the free seats, or ask for the hospitality which the very poor do not always find so readily as you do, or at least which they can seldom *be induced to seek*.

There yet remains one more objection. You fear that with the support of the church dependent on freewill offerings collected at each service, ministers would be tempted to "smooth prophesying" for the sake of keeping those inside, or to sensation preaching for the sake of attracting those outside. I can only reply, that a minister's independence will usually be in the ratio of the area from which his support is drawn. Even supposing the gross pecuniary result of the weekly offering to be only equal to what is at present raised by pew-rents, it would rest upon a far broader basis of general contribution by various classes, many whose contributions *quarterly* can be little or nothing being able to give *weekly* really material help; while with regard to those outside, I cannot help thinking that the minister of a pewed

church is as much more tempted to sensation preaching, as it is more difficult to get the people at large to seek vacant places in allotted pews than to enter a church which they know is freely and wholly open to the public. I believe, therefore, that in point of ministerial independence the system of voluntary weekly offerings would have it, even if people gave no more in that way than is given in quarterly subscriptions. But if, as I think, the thought of offering to God's service as a solemn act in worship should cause men to do far more for their churches than they have been wont to do, at once the thorough support of the church and all its institutions would be attained with a security which would take away even such temptations to subserviency as now exist, and place the ministry in a position of independence such as it had never occupied before.

I cannot of course expect, my dear friend, to have dispelled all your difficulties, though I hope I may have succeeded in putting the subject in a more favourable light than that in which you had previously viewed it. Many of them are such mere matters of feeling, that only actual experience can test their real importance. For that experience I am well content to wait, confident that no one will interpret its indications more candidly than you will. Meanwhile I cannot but thank you for setting the key-note of this discussion in a tone so temperate and kindly. Your letter is throughout so fair, while yet so forcible, that the only thing I can find to regret in it is, that it was not written *on the other side*. For if you can make out so good a case for proprietary pews, what might not you have done had you been writing in favour of open churches!

Affectionately yours,

VII.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

If, since last we attempted to make a survey of ecclesiastical affairs in these pages, events of startling character and permanent importance have been but few, the latter half of the year has witnessed both a gradual ripening of many questions and some considerable change in the mutual

relations of religious parties. We left the "Essays and Reviews" controversy at the synodical condemnation of the book pronounced by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. The debate in the House of Lords, raised upon this subject by Lord Houghton, must be fresh in the memory of our readers; with the Lord Chancellor's unconcealed contempt for Convocation and its judgment, and an answering outburst of bitter resentment from the Bishop of Oxford. The real significance of the scene lay deeper than the thrust and parry of the actual combatants, in the fact that no single temporal peer came to the rescue of the Episcopal Bench, or had a word to say in defence of the new clerical censorship. The Bishops fought their battle alone; their best friends among the Lords felt that they could oppose to Lord Westbury's taunts and sarcasms no more effectual arm than silence. The next move on the same side was the now notorious Declaration of the "students of the natural sciences." This was already being circulated in June last; and, to judge from letters which have lately appeared in the daily papers, is still being hawked about. Sir David Brewster is almost the only man of high scientific reputation who has been induced to sign it; while, on the other hand, such men as Professor Daubeny, Professor De Morgan and Sir John Herschel, have thrown the full weight of their influence and example into the opposite scale. The only question in regard to this Declaration which now excites the smallest interest, is one of curiosity,—whether it will ever make its way into the full light of publicity, and shew, by the names which are *not* appended to it, how preponderant is the opinion of scientific men against the theory of the relation between science and scripture which it puts forward. Then, once more, the party who seem to believe that there is no way of strengthening men's faith so effectual as to make them talk about it, have got up an address to the two Archbishops, from the laity of the Church of England, thanking them for their respective Pastorals. As the number of signatures was only 137,000, we may conclude that the danger of the Church is not as yet acutely felt by the great majority of her children. The whole affair may be dismissed to the forgetfulness which waits for "demonstrations" which demonstrate nothing but the uneasy self-importance of the men who organize them.

The controversy as to Mr. Jowett's salary, a question which all right-thinking men have long since decided in their own minds, is still unsettled. On the 31st of October last, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford brought forward a motion in the Hebdomadal Council, to the effect that the Regius Professor of Greek should be paid a salary of £400 a year. After a short discussion, the motion was rejected by a majority of one. Since that time, however, the same Council has appointed a Committee "to consider the best means of obtaining a permanent endowment for the Greek chair." Where the Committee are about to look for the endowment which the University has now more than once refused to provide, it is impossible to say: an attempt has been made to shew that, according to the terms of its original constitution by Henry VIII., Christchurch is morally bound to augment the Professor's stipend, which it now pays, to a sum accordant with the diminished value of money. Nor, indeed, is it easy to see, in spite of Dean Liddel's disclaimer, why, if £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum is judged to be a quite insufficient income for the "petty canons," £40 a year should still be enough for the Greek Professor. But the interest of all the subordinate questions which have arisen out of the "Essays and Reviews" case is merged in one which daily attracts a larger share of attention, and may possibly before long be brought before Parliament, "Is it possible to change the constitution of the Court of Final Appeal?"

It is not wonderful that zealous Churchmen should be dissatisfied with the recent judgment, or that they should look forward with dismay to a series of such. Convocation and the Bishops have done their best, it is true, to lessen the weight of the blow; but it cannot be denied that the force of law rests not with their decisions, but with those of the Committee of Council. To effect some change in the constitution of that Committee—to make, if possible, the ecclesiastical votes preponderant in it, or by some other device to enable the Church (the Church, that is, as a *clerical* corporation only) to give effect to its own doctrinal decrees—is now the avowed object of a large class of earnest Churchmen, before whose eyes, at the present moment, the peril of heresy appears to be greater than the danger of priestly domination. For this purpose an Association has

been formed, chiefly, however, composed of High-churchmen; and Mr. Gladstone has been induced to express a public opinion that some change in the Court is desirable, and may advisably be considered by the Ministry and the Episcopal Bench. But the agitation has suffered an unexpected *reductio ad absurdum* in the appearance of Mr. Disraeli upon the scene. That versatile politician, whose fatal mistake it is not to perceive the value of even a simulated adherence to principle, conceived that capital was to be made for the Conservative party out of the blind terror of heresy which now agitates the clerical mind, and in a speech delivered before the Association for augmenting Poor Benefices in the Diocese of Oxford (the Bishop in the chair), boldly put himself forward as the champion of the Church and orthodoxy undefiled. It is needless to characterize a speech which every one has read. Whether ignorance or impudence is its prevailing characteristic, it would be hard to say. It is enough to note that the assembled clergy applauded to the echo alike his suggestions of Church policy and his sarcasms upon the new theology, and that the speech, at the request of the Association, has since been reprinted in a separate form. It is an ill omen for the cause of clerical usurpation in England, that it should thus voluntarily ally itself with a politician whose career has been one long effort of unavailing resistance to necessary and beneficial reforms.

What form the agitation will take is yet uncertain. One proposition is to add to the clerical element of the Court; another, to take that element entirely away. But these apparently contradictory propositions have the same practical end. In the first case, the voices of the lay would be overborne by those of the spiritual Lords. In the second, it is intended that the lay Court should frame a case for the opinion either of Convocation or of the Bishops, or of some new body in which the Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge would play an important part—the object being that the Church should deliver its decision by an ecclesiastical mouthpiece alone. If, under these circumstances, the Court still persisted in countenancing heresy, the Church, both by the absence of her representatives and by her formally expressed opinion, would be absolved of complicity with the crime. What would be the practical effect of any

so-called reform in the Final Court of Appeal, may in part be gathered from a controversy which has been carried on in the Times by the venerable and Reverend John Keble, the author of "The Christian Year, and "Anglicanus," who, upon what evidence we know not, is supposed to be the Dean of Westminster. "Anglicanus" denies that the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures is a doctrine of the universal Church, because he does not find it in any article of a creed or decree of an Œcumenical Council.

"But he forgets," says Mr. Keble, "that the Church, like all large and important societies, is governed by common as well as by statute law. The common law of the Church, 'whereof the memory of Christians runneth not to the contrary,' is to be gathered, I presume, as the common law of this realm is gathered, —from diligent study of its records, from the proceedings of its courts, from the *dicta* and decisions of its great and learned judges, and the like; and if by a process of this sort applied to all Christian writings we find it universally implied, and very often acknowledged in words, that Scripture in its true sense is infallible, and 'cannot be broken,' then surely the Divine authority of every word in it is 'a declared doctrine of the Universal Church,' as certainly as the rule that 'the King can do no wrong' is a declared maxim of English law, though it stands on no Act of Parliament. How should it, since it is the foundation of all?"

What an opening for ecclesiastical tyranny is not afforded by this principle which Mr. Keble puts forth in such simple good faith! What *dictum* of orthodoxy is there for which a clerical tribunal could not find support in that crude and undigested mass of opinions which is here called "the common law of the Church"! What possible concord of principle in the decisions of successive courts, each of which would surely erect its own fears and prejudices into the standard of the Church universal! One fixed end would indeed be attained under such a system, that no heretic would ever be acquitted, while the possibilities of heresy would be widened from year to year. But that is an end which the friends of a perpetually self-narrowing orthodoxy would consider to be, above all others, desirable.

While this movement, however, has been gathering strength, the unnatural and portentous alliance which Dr. Pusey and the Record had contracted on behalf of all the friends—in High and Low Church alike—of eternal damna-

tion, has become sensibly weaker. After the first excitement of peril was passed, the Record discovered that, much as it hated the Broad Church, its old and cherished enmity against the High Church was stronger still. So Lord Shaftesbury—a significant fact—has refused to join the Association of which we spoke but now; while the Record openly avows its hope that Bishop Colenso may succeed in thwarting the sacerdotal pretensions of Bishop Gray. Nor is this the only schism in the orthodox party which we have to record. It is well known that for many years past a considerable *rapprochement* has taken place between the so-called orthodox Dissenters and the Evangelical clergy, the pledge and token of friendliness being the Evangelical Alliance. But Mr. Spurgeon, who as a Baptist holds strong views on Baptismal Regeneration, suddenly, in June last, made a sharp onslaught on those Low-church clergy who, holding with him the essentially spiritual nature of the new birth, give their unfeigned assent and consent to a Liturgy in which a sacramental theory of regeneration was embodied. The sermon in which the attack was made was, like all Mr. Spurgeon's productions, sufficiently plain-spoken, and a war of words soon arose. Mr. Baptist Noel rebuked his too zealous brother, as having broken the rule of the Evangelical Alliance, which prescribes meekness in controversy between its members. Mr. Spurgeon rejoined in a letter as plain-spoken as his sermon, in which he pleaded not guilty to the charge of breaking the rule, but at the same time severed his connection with the Alliance. We need not pursue the matter further, except to state that some 200,000 copies of the sermon have been sold, while the controversial literature to which it has given rise includes more than eighty different books and pamphlets. While the enemy's camp is thus convulsed by intestine discord, there is every hope that the friends of free and reverent scientific inquiry will be suffered to pass on their way without molestation.

In the mean time the attitude of the Independent body towards the characteristic controversy of the day has been unchanged. While constantly arrogating to themselves the title of an absolutely free church, and taunting the Church of England with a disabling and degrading servitude, their organs have most sedulously guarded themselves from the

suspicion of any sympathy with heresy. Nowhere have Essayists and Reviewers been more sharply reviewed; from no critics has Dr. Colenso received harder measure. Among themselves the slightest deviation from accepted standards is jealously watched, and the most that even liberality succeeds in accomplishing (and that not without question), is to put old doctrines into new forms. So that after watching the course of events for a while, and interpreting the meaning of words by the quality of the accompanying acts, the observer discovers, that by *religious*, the Independents really mean *ecclesiastical* liberty, and that they narrow that time-honoured phrase, from freedom to think, speak, write, worship, in obedience to conscience and without forfeiture of Christian fellowship, to a mere absence of State control. And yet, as recent events abundantly prove, the secular supervision which is involved in State control may be the best guarantee for genuine religious freedom; while such entire ecclesiastical freedom as the Wesleyan Methodists enjoy may be the aptest engine to suppress all true religious liberty. Nor is this statement without a special applicability at the present moment. At its autumnal meeting at Hull, the Congregational Union has, while postponing the final consideration of the question till May next, "generally approved" the model trust-deed prepared under its auspices —which model deed includes doctrinal clauses both stringent and comprehensive. It is perfectly true that the Congregational Union has no power, and probably no wish, to *impose* this deed upon any one of the churches in connection with it. But it is no less true that it has adopted, without, so far as we know, a dissentient voice, the principle of settling chapel property upon distinct doctrinal trusts, and especially recommends this form of settlement. We must leave the reconciliation of this admitted fact with the theory of religious liberty to critics more skilled in casuistry than we can claim to be.

After six months more of Ishmaelitish warfare, in which almost every man's hand has been raised against him, Dr. Colenso has at last reached the first stage of a judicial discussion of his case. The matter is encumbered with innumerable legal entanglements, amid which it is very difficult for unprofessional feet to walk safely; but the gist of it at present seems to be, that the Bishop of Natal prays her

Majesty in Council to declare the proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown in regard to himself null and void; while the Bishop of Capetown, appearing under protest, respectfully denies the jurisdiction of the Court. This jurisdiction is at present *sub judice*. It is admitted by Dr. Colenso's counsel that metropolitical jurisdiction, involving an appeal to Canterbury, was given to the Bishop of Capetown by the Queen's letters patent. But it is urged on the other hand that the Crown could not lawfully grant these powers; that Dr. Colenso's patent is earlier in date than Dr. Gray's; and that when he took the canonical oath of obedience to Dr. Gray as Metropolitan, it was in ignorance of the provisions of the latter's patent. Then, on behalf of the Bishop of Capetown, it is urged that the jurisdiction actually exercised was perfectly regular; and that if Dr. Colenso has any right of appeal to the Queen at all (a right which seems to be necessarily involved in the Royal Supremacy), it is not *per saltum*, as it were, but after he had fruitlessly pursued his remedy through the inferior courts, and especially in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Beyond this general statement of the case, we cannot enter into the learned and subtle reasonings of the counsel on either side, The Court has of course taken time to consider its judgment, and there is, we believe, no prospect of an early decision.

There are, however, more questions involved than those raised by Dr. Colenso's scriptural speculations. These, we conceive, were substantially settled by the judgments of the Court of Arches and the Privy Council in the case of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson. Matters of biblical criticism, which do not involve the denial of the canonicity of any book of Holy Scripture (whatever that may precisely mean), are open questions in the Church of England. But there is the abstract question of the jurisdiction of a Metropolitan over his suffragans, not only in the Colonies but in England, in regard to which the precedents are both very few and very obscure. How is a Bishop to be lawfully deprived in case of flagrant and proved heresy? There appears to be no statute for that end made and provided, and constitutional lawyers will watch with distrust a recurrence, in search of precedents, to the reign of Edward VI. and the case of Bishop Bonner. Then in regard to the bearings of

this litigation upon the position, not of the Anglican Church at large, but of the colonial branches of it, the natural instinct of all laymen, and especially of all lawyers, in favour of the Royal Supremacy, comes into conflict with other important political considerations. This high-handed attempt of Bishop Gray to make himself the head of the Church in South Africa, and practically independent of all English control, except the nominal supervision of the see of Canterbury, is part of a system which is being actively promoted by the Bishop of Oxford and other High-churchmen at home. Metropolitans have been appointed in Canada, in India, in New Zealand, as well as in South Africa. If these appointments are to result, as practically they are sure to do, in such manifestations of clerical injustice as the Bishop of Natal has suffered, every layman in England will desire that the Privy Council should claim and exercise a restrictive jurisdiction, and throw its shield of protection, in the Colonies as at home, over the liberties of the Church. Such, it is generally believed, will be the result in this instance. But then, on the other hand, the Church in the Colonies is *not* established, and the Privy Council, in the celebrated case of Long *v.* the Bishop of Capetown, has already laid down that its status is exactly the same as that of any organized Dissenting body—e.g., the Wesleyan Methodists—no better, but no worse. And at a time when the utmost liberty of self-government is being accorded to the Colonies, and even their separation from the mother country is beginning to be looked at as a possible and not wholly undesirable contingency, is it a wise policy which relaxes the claims of Royal prerogative in temporal, to tighten them in spiritual things? In this particular instance it is impossible not to wish that Dr. Gray's sacerdotal claims may receive an effectual check. Probably the fact that he has attempted to exercise jurisdiction over a Bishop not of his own, but of another and independent colony, and that the province of South Africa is unknown to the law, will avail to wreck his case. But the true and permanent solution of the difficulty is, that the Crown and the Episcopal Bench at home should in future leave the Colonies to provide their own Bishops, and, if they really want such things, their own Metropolitans too.

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. VII.—March, 1865.

I.—PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE: 1598—1789.

Towards the end of the reign of Henry the Fourth, persecution was again revived; churches were burnt and ministers slaughtered. The King, who shewed an excessive complaisance towards the Pope, set himself to violate his own Edict, and seemed bent upon gaining renown as a proselytizer. He recalled the Jesuits, who soon made their pulpits ring with denunciations against the Reformed Church, "the harlot of Satan."

With Louis the Thirteenth (1610—1643) begins the reign of chicanery and corruption. He occupied himself with the abolition, slowly and imperceptibly, of the solemnly-attested and irrevocable Edict of Nantes. A word, a comma, was made the subject of dispute; article after article was quietly rescinded in such a way as to perjure the King as decently as possible. Then traitors were purchased, who proposed in the synods and in the political assemblies the re-union of the two Churches—that is to say, submission to the Pope. Trickery was found to succeed better than corruption, inasmuch as all were within its reach. Very few of the ministers, but many of the nobles, were seduced by the gold of treason. Those who held fortified places were nearly all won over; two-thirds of these towns fell into the hands of the King. Louis the Thirteenth, in withdrawing from the Reformed party all the guarantees which had been granted to them by Henry the Fourth, prepared the way for his successor, who fancied himself able to erase with a stroke of his pen the first page of that history of the rights of man which has been written by modern times.

The judgments delivered by the commissioners whose duty it was to see to the execution of the Edict in the different provinces were but a mockery. The Protestants were driven from Châlons-sur-Saône and the Barrois. The exercise of worship was prohibited in many provinces; churches were burnt and ministers imprisoned. Children were torn away from their parents, the sick were expelled from the hospitals, and maltreated till they either abjured or died. The ancient kingdom of Jeanne d'Albret was delivered over to priests and soldiers (1620), that they might try the method of compulsory conversion and inaugurate the dragonnade. Assured of impunity by the scenes which were occurring in Béarn, the populace rose up everywhere against the Protestants, disinterred the dead, pillaged and plundered, and committed every species of cruelty. Receiving no help from the magistrates, the persecuted, in despair, soon raised the standard of independence. The political assembly which met at Rochelle in 1621, divided France into eight departments, constituting a Protestant republic. The clergy, generally so avaricious, supplied the King with the money required to make war upon the Reformed party, who were destitute of the means of offering a long resistance. The King's gold had introduced division into their ranks; the old nobility were dead, the new were a degenerate race, without faith or honour. Condé abjured, La Trémouille wavered, Lesdiguières turned traitor, the Duc de Bouillon was almost as bad, the Duc de la Force sold himself like the rest. There remained but one hero of the antique race, the Duc de Rohan, who, seeing that the Reformed party were prevented by avarice and cowardice from rushing to the support of Rochelle, besieged by Richelieu, exclaimed, "Had our fathers thought that their children would be the instruments to ruin the churches which they planted in the glare of the martyr's pile and fostered in defiance of tortures, they would have crushed them in their cradles!"*

Louis the Thirteenth had but to take up arms; in a few months fifty towns fell into the power of his troops. Nevertheless, he could not carry Montauban; he was obliged to raise the siege of Montpellier, and in making peace to take

* *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan.*

a fresh oath to observe the Edict of Nantes (1622). The oath was but an empty one. The King discontinued the grants to the synods for the support of the ministers and professors, who were left entirely destitute, and lived as they could. In 1631, the arrears of the royal allowance amounted to 620,000 livres, of which only 16,000 were paid.

In spite of the heroism of the mayor, Guiton, and of the mother and sister of Rohan, who kept up the hearts of the besieged by their example, the genius of Richelieu, after a year's siege, triumphed over the desperate courage of the inhabitants, and Rochelle succumbed (1628). The victory cost the King forty millions; but even at that price Richelieu did not consider it too dearly bought; for Rochelle was the last bulwark of Protestantism. The Reformed party was annihilated; it offered no further resistance; and the royal power was enthroned in triumph upon the ruins of the federation. From that moment the Protestants were wholly in the hands of their enemies.

At first, an attempt was made to convert them. Richelieu sent missionary monks among them, who were paid so much for every proselyte. Under pretence of labouring to convert the heretics, these monks, who were ignorant, gross and insolent, old cutlers, cobblers, informers, men of no character, only excited the populace against them (1630). Fenelon declares that they drew down upon themselves universal contempt. The monks not having succeeded, the court could find no better argument against the obstinacy of the Protestants than repressive edicts. Every distinction, every public office, was taken from them. In their schools, teaching was restricted to reading, writing and arithmetic. The aim was to brutalize them, in order to render their conversion the more easy. They were ordered to decorate their houses in honour of church processions. Preaching was forbidden in the chapels of ease, by which at one blow half the people were deprived of all religious instruction. The ministers, however, disobeyed, and were exposed for forty years to innumerable prosecutions. It was forbidden to take children to public worship, or to sing the Psalms in an intelligible manner. Protestant children were declared illegitimate and incapable of inheriting. On the other hand, priests refused to solemnize mixed marriages, so that according to the letter of the law a Protestant could marry neither

one of his own faith nor a Catholic. Such was the toleration practised by Richelieu. And yet even this deserved to be called toleration in comparison with what followed.

During the first years of the new reign (1643—1715), the Reformed party were left at peace. Such a calm they had not enjoyed since the time of Henry the Fourth. It was, however, but the calm which precedes the storm. Their enemies had neither time nor power to persecute them. Louis the Fourteenth would have been overwhelmed if the Protestants had united with his adversaries. "The Calvinists," says Voltaire,* "made a merit of remaining quiet during the troubles of the Fronde, which were excited by the parliaments and the bishops." They did more; they saved the royal authority. "The crown was tottering on the King's head, but you confirmed it," said Count d'Harcourt to the ministers of Montauban. Mazarin likewise testified his satisfaction: "If the little flock feeds upon poor pastures, at least it does not go astray." Louis the Fourteenth himself "remains well satisfied with the positive proofs of affection and fidelity which his subjects of the so-called Reformed religion have given him."

The clergy, however, did not cease to demand energetic measures for the conversion of the heretics. They beset the King with flatteries and solicitations. Nor were their efforts in vain. When Louis the Fourteenth was at the summit of his glory and gave laws to Europe, his unbounded pride, ever encouraged by the priests, was amazed at the resistance which two millions of his subjects, who set God and their consciences above their sovereign, opposed to his despotism. He conceived that it would be an illustrious achievement to obtain by the destruction of heresy a triumph which had been denied to his predecessors. On all sides murmurs were heard against the "favours" granted to the Protestants. The example of Constantine pacifying the church by force was recalled to remembrance. From the year 1656, every means was used by the clergy to gain their ends. By the death of Cromwell in 1658, the most formidable obstacle to their wishes was removed. Thirty years were still needed to obtain the abolition of the odious Edict which suffered heretics to pollute the most Christian kingdom with their

* *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

presence. It would require volumes to record all the decrees of this interminable persecution.* We must content ourselves with indicating the categories in which they may be arranged.

1. *The obligation to obey the laws of the Romish Church* (1657—1661).

2. *Hindrances to the celebration of worship.* In a single day in the year 1663, one hundred and thirty-five churches were condemned to be demolished. It is calculated that more than three hundred places of worship were interdicted in 1680. In 1659 the national synods were suppressed on the plea of economy, notwithstanding the absurd expenditure upon the buildings at Marly and Versailles.

3. *Laws against ministers.* It was decreed that they should only take the title of ministers of the *so-called Reformed* religion† (1665, 1676). They were forbidden to remain more than three years in the same place (1684), or to enter the houses of their parishioners, at least in their ministerial capacity (1681). Banishment was the punishment of those who admitted Catholics into the Protestant church (1683). Men were prohibited from even speaking of the misfortunes of the times, the infractions of the Edict, or the persecutions (1659). In Dauphiné and the Vivarais more than fifty ministers were condemned to the galleys, the wheel and the gibbet.

4. *General annoyances.* In 1659, Protestants were excluded from the hospitals. They were also forbidden to establish any of their own (1660), or to receive the sick of their own persuasion into their houses (1684). Religious conferences were interdicted. Three hundred families were driven from Rochelle in 1660; none were spared, neither the infirm, nor women near their time. In 1664, two hundred families were expelled from Privas. The Protestants of Milhau were condemned in 1663 to a fine of 14,000 livres for having offered resistance to the Capuchins who, as was their practice, were disturbing a funeral. The unfortunate people, who fled in order to avoid kneeling as the priests

* There were more than two hundred edicts even after the Edict of Revocation.

† Religion pretendue reformée. So completely did this designation obtain currency, that in the Catholic literature of the time these words are constantly denoted by the letters R. P. R.—Ed. Theol. Rev.

passed with the cross or viaticum in their hands, were massacred at their instigation. From five to six thousand persons were deprived of the exercise of worship on the testimony of a child who on examination by the judge could not distinguish between the right hand and the left. The confiscation of the goods of those who went abroad was decreed in 1682. The printing of any book without the permission of the procureur du roi was prohibited. Catholics who abjured were to be banished. It was declared illegal to have more than one school even in places where there were two or three thousand children (1680). Protestants were forbidden to take Protestants, and afterwards even Catholics, as domestic servants. To go from one province to another for the purpose of worship was made unlawful. Sometimes the people had to make a journey of more than thirty leagues to join in the prayers of their brethren. They were prohibited from settling in the maritime towns, in the colonies, or on the frontiers (1664). Those who returned to Protestant worship after having assisted at mass were banished, and their goods confiscated.

5. *Prohibited professions.* Protestants were not allowed to coin money, or to become procureurs du roi, or public messengers (1664), or secretaries to the guilds of clockmakers or of potters, or to fill any other municipal office (1666), or to be wardens of the guild of woolcombers (1670), or government contractors. They might not be employed on the royal farms, or in the treasury, or in subordinate offices of the magistracy, or as clerks of court, or as notaries, or as attorneys, or as bailiffs, or as bailiffs' assistants (1680). They were prohibited from being hirers out of horses, or officers of patrols, or assignees, or commissioners of distraints, or officers or servants in the King's palace (1682), or counsellors, or King's secretaries. They were not allowed to follow the occupation of innkeepers, of tavern-keepers, of shoemakers, of grocers (1684), of booksellers, of printers, of apothecaries, of riding-masters, of surveyors, of clerks, of goldsmiths. They were excluded from the professions of tutor, of schoolmaster, of doctor, of surgeon, of accoucheur, of advocate, and of doctor-at-law in the universities (1685). Protestant women could not be either sempstresses or midwives.

6. *Purchased conversions.* All ministers who were will-

ing to abjure were exempted from taxation (1657). A period of three months was accorded to new converts for the payment of their debts (1662). Debts contracted with Protestants were annulled (1663). Three years' credit was allowed in which to discharge others (1666). At last the famous "conversion office" was established in 1667. It was managed by a new convert named Pelisson, who soon had all the bishops for his agents. He wrote to the Bishop of Grenoble, that the means of "making his court to the King was by sending him lists of numerous and cheap conversions." The ordinary price was a crown of six livres a-head; but as high as a hundred livres was paid for persons of consequence. Vagabonds went from town to town making a business of abjuration, and taking no further precaution than a mere change of name.

7. *Surreptitious conversions obtained by violence or during intoxication.* Mendicants on receiving alms from a priest consented to make a cross at the bottom of a sheet of paper without knowing what it meant. Such were then Catholics, and if they returned to Protestantism had to suffer the penalties of the "relapsed." People were taken to taverns and intoxicated; the day after, it was affirmed that they had promised to attend mass; if they refused they were treated as "relapsed." Others were shut up in churches, compelled by dint of blows to go upon their knees, then a priest absolved them of their heresy, and henceforth they were Catholics. The minister Seignelay having induced a hundred well-known Huguenots to enter his house, said to them, "Gentlemen, you will not leave this place until you have signed the act of abjuration!" This was conversion by the method of ambush.

8. *Abductions of children.* Boys might be converted at fourteen, and girls at twelve years of age (1661). Twenty years later, the age of discretion was fixed at seven years. The mere caprice of a judge, a priest, or any enemy, was ground sufficient for carrying off children by main force, under pretext of conversion, and immuring them in convents. At other times, they were enticed by sweetmeats and dolls, compelled to make the sign of the cross, and the trick was accomplished. It was often necessary to employ soldiers to overcome the resistance of children. A child confined at Alençon was rendered epileptic by brutal treat-

ment. Another, threatened with hanging if he did not go to mass, threw himself out of a second-story window rather than obey. Is not a Church which has used such means of conversion as these stamped with an indelible stigma? Those who attempted, to evade the prohibition, to leave the country, were sent to the galleys (1685). Those who facilitated their escape were condemned to death (1687). Informers were entitled to one-half the property of their victims (1682 and 1685). Louis the Fourteenth persecuted in his own proper person. The following is a note written with his own hand: "St. Germain-en-Laye, 31 July, 1670. Madame de Montlouet, Learning that one of the young ladies, your daughters, intends to adopt the Roman Apostolic and Catholic faith, I write this letter to inform you that my will is that you should remain in your house at Lisy with your daughters, not leaving it under any pretext until I have made known to you my pleasure. Upon which, Madame de Montlouet, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping."

9. *Persecutions on death-beds and after death.* Priests and consuls were ordered to visit the houses of sick Protestants to induce them to die in the Catholic faith (1665). A similar order was issued to the judges in 1680. The corpses of those who did not abjure were drawn on hurdles and cast on the dungheaps, and forbidden to be buried. We have no desire to record enormities in which the executioners, more humane than the priests, often refused to take part, as others had declined to perform the assassin's office on the day of St. Bartholomew.

10. *The dragonnades* (1681). Louvois granted to the dragoons full power over the goods and persons of heretics, though without permission to inflict death. About a hundred of these brutal soldiers were billeted in the Protestant houses of Nîmes. They were so many executioners, who relieved each other in turn until they had extorted from the sufferers the words, "I abjure." The dragoon began by eating and drinking like a Gargantua. He smashed the crockery, broke the furniture, lodged his horses in the rooms, bedded them on fine holland sheets, and turned woollen and silk warehouses into stables. Spurred on by the priests, who cried, "Courage, messieurs, it is the King's desire that these Huguenot dogs should be robbed and

plundered," he pillaged everything, compelled his victims to lend him money when his purse was empty, sold every object of any value, cut down the trees, demolished and burned the houses. He compelled the Protestant whom he tortured to kiss the cross attached to the end of his musketoon, thrust it into his mouth, or struck him with it in the face if he refused obedience. The soldiers, full of insolence, sang, cursed, swore and blasphemed. They beat their drums for weeks together to deprive the Huguenots of sleep. They pinched them; compelled them to remain in a standing posture; blew the smoke of their pipes into their mouths and eyes; placed them before roasting fires; put kettles on their heads, upon which each struck in his turn. This treatment was passively resisted by some men of Picardy for twenty-three days continuously. People were compelled to dance in a circle till their strength failed; they were tossed in blankets; they were suspended by the feet and arms over fires made of green wood or wet straw; they were forced to swallow leaf-tobacco. Funnels were put into their mouths, down which wine, brandy, and even boiling water, were poured by the soldiers. They bastinadoed the Protestants; beat the soles of their feet; tore off their eyebrows and beards; bound them hand and foot; put their heads between their legs, and amused themselves by making them roll like bowls; and, following the advice of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, burnt their lips and feet with red-hot shovels. They dropped into their eyes tallow from lighted candles; cut long slits in their bodies with penknives, and pricked pins into them from head to foot. They plucked off the nails of their hands and feet; they inflated men and women with bellows. They fastened mothers to the feet of the beds where their infants lay crying for the breast;—the child must perish or the mother abjure. Of outrages against modesty we cannot speak.

Such were the methods of conversion! This is what Louis the Fourteenth called "*stimulating the people to conversion by reasonable means;*" what the Abbé Colbert, coadjutor Archbishop of Rouen, described as "*abandoning heresy without violence and without arms, and entering the Church by a path strewn with flowers!*"

When a sufficient number of Huguenots, succumbing to these tortures, had pronounced the words, "I join the

Church," the Edict of Nantes was declared to be useless, and suppressed on the pretext that no more Protestants remained in the kingdom (1685). Thus did a dissolute King atone for his numerous adulteries by interdicting all Protestant worship, and by decreeing the unity of religion in his dominions. All the ministers were banished, and were allowed only fifteen days to leave the country. With respect to those who preferred to abjure, the fifth article of the Edict of Revocation secured them a pension of one-third more than the salary they had enjoyed as ministers; and article sixth offered every facility to them to be admitted barristers and doctors-at-law. Everything was done to induce a great number to abjure. Emigrants were forbidden to take away with them such of their children as had reached the age of seven; while whole families, including even children at the breast, were retained. Some fifty ministers only submitted under the first effect of stupor and alarm; but nearly all of them returned to their old faith, deploring all their lives, like Pineton of Chambrun, an act of unpardonable weakness. All the rest, notwithstanding the rigours of winter, went into exile, among them several centenarians who perished of fatigue and privation on their way to a place of refuge, to a land of liberty.

Five hundred thousand persons, the flower of the nation, braving every danger, fled to foreign countries, carrying with them the wealth, the industry, the glory of France. Whole provinces were left untilled. Yet, in the opinion of Catholic historians, Capefigue among others, the Revocation was the *salvation of France!* In the same style the pedant Charpentier, the colleague and murderer of Ramus, spoke of the *noble and pleasant day of St. Bartholomew!* It must be told, moreover, to the shame of our poor humanity, that the whole of Catholic France—Letellier, Bossuet, Massillon, Fléchier, the Jansenists themselves, Abbé Tallemant, Abbé Colbert, Mad. de Maintenon, Mad. de Sévigné, Daguesseau, La Bruyère, Boileau, Racine, Lafontaine, the painter Lesueur, the sculptor Coysevox—abjectly sycophantic, applauded the greatest crime of modern times. Protestantism and liberty had come victorious out of the struggles of the sixteenth century, but they were vanquished in those of the seventeenth. The most sacred rights of more than two millions of men were trampled under foot, yet the new-born

principle of a free and an individual faith was not destroyed. Kings, priests, dragoons, the galleys, the gibbet, the stake, had laboured in vain; they were unable to crush the truth, scarcely could they check its advance, for its success was assured, and it laid claim to the whole world.

The whole of Protestant Europe shuddered with horror at the news of the Revocation; the nations taught in the school of Rome manifested, on the contrary, a wild delight. Notwithstanding the spies and guards placed on the roads, the emigration continued. The proscribed and their wives adopted every kind of disguise, and shrank from no sacrifices to escape from a country where they were forbidden to worship and serve God according to their own consciences. So many travellers, tradesmen and pilgrims were never seen directing their way to the frontiers. Some who lived near the coast hid themselves in casks in the holds of vessels, or concealed themselves under heaps of merchandize: the very children, comprehending the danger, did not betray their presence by cries, and heroically endured hunger until they had gained the open sea. Whole families made long passages in little fishing-boats, without any provision save a little snow-water for their infants when the mother's bosom failed. A great number were shot down, or perished with fatigue before they were able to leave the country. The prisons, the galleys and the convents, were crowded with fugitives. Already in 1686 there were from a thousand to twelve hundred in the hulks at Marseilles and Toulon. Switzerland, Prussia, several of the minor states of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England, America, and even Russia, gave an asylum to these voluntary outlaws—men of science, soldiers, men of letters, traders and artizans, carrying with them all the secrets of commerce and industry, which were passing from the possession of France into that of her enemies. In Holland alone the refugees had sixty-two churches in 1688.*

Fanaticism now hesitated at nothing, provided only that converts could be obtained. The most unhealthy prisons were those in greatest request. In those of Grenoble, prisoners lost their hair and their teeth after the lapse of a few weeks. The most robust of men could not remain in the

* Vide Weiss, *Hist. des Réfugiés Prot. de France.* 1853.

pits at Bourgogne for two hours without fainting. Into these the most stubborn Huguenots were lowered twice a day, and then brought to themselves by help of the whip, the stick or the estrapade. In the cells of the Chateau-Trompette it was not possible either to stand upright, or to sit, or to lie. The sewer of a neighbouring convent passed through the dungeons of La Hosselière, out of which the prisoners were taken "in a state which would have moved cannibals to pity. They were swollen all over; their skin tore at a touch like wet paper; they were covered with sores and ulcers, thin and pale, more like half-decayed corpses than living men."* "The female prisoners were confined with profligate persons, who drove them to despair by their foul talk and impudent behaviour." But the punishment of which they most complained was flogging inflicted by nuns in the presence of commissioners. Those whose fidelity could not be overcome were transported to the islands of St. Marguerite, St. Domingo and Martinique, and there threatened with slavery. When a prisoner died without having consented to confess, his corpse was fastened to the body of a living comrade, and allowed there to remain for a time before being drawn upon a hurdle to the place of burial.

A year after the Revocation fresh articles were added to the frightful code of persecution. An order was issued that all children of five years of age should be placed under the care of Catholic friends or guardians; that the penalty of death should be inflicted upon all pastors found in France; that all persons giving them shelter should be sent for life to the galleys, and that a reward of 5500 livres should be paid to any person who should cause one of them to be apprehended. It was made obligatory on all new Catholics to assist at mass every Sunday, the priests calling over the roll to see if any were absent. All were required, under pain of imprisonment, to communicate, at least, at Easter. A great number, however, had abjured only in order to render their escape more secure. This was certainly the case with those who refused the sacrament upon their death-bed. Many sent for the priest only to tell him that they died in the Protestant faith. The body of Mademoiselle

* *Elie Benoit*, V. 896.

de Montalembert was dragged naked through the streets of Angoulême. The scholars of the Jesuits amused themselves for three days with the remains of a corpse which had been torn to pieces by the populace of Rouen. These monstrous atrocities inspired so much horror, that Louvois was obliged to moderate the zeal of the priests and of the magistrates. The authorities shut their eyes to the fact that the Protestants interred their dead in their gardens. Nevertheless, in 1686, Baville sent in a single morning seventy-six Protestants to the galleys; and the Parliament of Grenoble condemned in one day seventy-three women and girls to have their hair cut off by the common executioner, and to be imprisoned for life.

The courage of those who did not abjure never failed for an instant. The assemblies of the Desert commenced immediately after the Revocation, and were presided over by pastors who returned to France in spite of the law which condemned them to death. A cavern, a precipice, a lonely wood, the mountain-top,—these were the temples of the proscribed worship, roofed only by the sky. Elsewhere boats, putting out to sea at dawn or at nightfall, bore upon the ocean the zealous worshipers of the God who is a Spirit; and as the sun seemed to rise above the waves, or to sink into the glittering sea, the breeze wafted to the shore a distant echo of their grave and majestic chants, which appeared to rise out of the deep. With what respect, with what veneration, did the attentive crowd listen to the voice of their pastor who had *given himself up to martyrdom!* To climb a rock, or a tree, or some hastily-constructed pulpit, that he might preach repentance to "the churches under the cross," might be, in the very act, to condemn himself to climb the scaffold. Scenes of carnage often put an end to these meetings. A funereal veil hung over France. To this mourning people but one pleasure remained, to read by stealth a chapter from the old family Bible saved from the hands of the inquisitors, or else from some little book, brought not without peril from abroad, in which they found the consolations, the heart of some well-beloved pastor. No, there is a happiness greater even than this, the assembling for worship. What matters it if it be held deep in the night and far away? Or what if to attend it be to risk their own and their children's lives? What prayers, what

hymns are those which the rattle of musketry may interrupt, which having been begun on earth may be finished in heaven? To sing, to pray, to weep, to bless, to die,—such was the life which the Huguenots led for three quarters of a century after the Revocation!

From 1684 to 1762, forty-seven pastors or preachers underwent the punishment of death; sixteen others were executed in effigy (1736—1767). The list of them is to be found in the documentary proofs of the *France Protestante*, as well as that of the assemblies surprised by the soldiers (1686—1746), and of persons sent to the galleys on account of their religion (1685—1762), &c. These lists fill no fewer than forty-three large pages in 8vo.

The mountaineers of the Cévennes, endowed with an ardent and a lively imagination, terrified by innumerable executions, seeing everywhere the corpses of their brethren hung upon the branches of the trees, especially addicted to the study of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse, were already rising into fanaticism when they became acquainted with the work of Jurieu, *Accomplissement des prophéties ou la délivrance prochaine de l'église* (1686). This work was the spark which set all on fire. French Protestantism, like all persecuted sects,—like the Montanists, the Donatists, the Puritans, the Anabaptists, the Jansenists,—had its prophets and its "convulsionnaires." In 1688, some five or six hundred of such are reckoned in Dauphiné and the Vivarais.* Soon they were legion. The nervous epidemic especially affected children, of whom eight thousand were regarded as *possessed with the spirit* in Cévennes and Languedoc. The excess of this enthusiasm led to passions which in their turn excited the Cévenols to take up arms (1702).

The archpresbyter Du Chayla, notorious for the cruelties which for twenty years he had exercised on the Reformed party, fell, pierced with fifty-two blows, one for each of the avengers of blood. This was the commencement of the Camisard wars. Marshal de Montrevel, at the head of the royal troops, burnt 608 hamlets and 669 villages in the Cévennes, driving away from the ruins of their dwellings

* *Théatre sacré des Cévennes;* Court de Gébelin, *Hist. de Camisards;* Louis Figuier, *Hist. du merveilleux*, &c.

13,000 persons whom he had reduced to beggary. This act of savage fury only served to increase the number of the rebels, who for two years kept at bay the troops commanded by Count de Broglie and de Montrevel. The great King who had made Europe tremble was obliged to come to terms with his own subjects, with the very Huguenots who it was said had ceased to exist after the Edict of Revocation. The herdsman Cavalier treated on terms of equality with Marshal de Villars, and was even received at Versailles by Louis the Fourteenth, who had seduced the vain Camisard by the gift of a colonel's commission. After the departure of Cavalier in 1704, the insurrection was soon suppressed. The correspondence, however, of St. Florentin, Secretary of State, shews that the courage of the Cévenols had made such an impression of terror at court, that their blood was not shed in vain in the cause of religious liberty.

Before his death, Louis the Fourteenth signed, it is said without reading it, the Edict of 1715, issued at the instigation of the Jesuits. It declared all Protestants to be relapsed, whether they had abjured or not, and ordered that their corpses should be dragged on hurdles to the place of interment. Nevertheless, when the persecuting monarch felt his end approaching, he cast all the responsibility of the blood shed in the cause of religion on his confessor Letellier and on the Cardinals de Bissy and de Rohan. Eleven days before the "vanquisher of heresy" went to give his account to God, Antoine Court presided over the first synod of resuscitated Protestantism (Aug. 21, 1715). The King had at least the opportunity of learning that the work at which he had laboured for sixty years was in vain, and that Protestantism would survive him, imperishable and invincible as the conscience of man.

Two decrees of this synod were directed against persons pretending to inspiration; one forbade women to preach; the other affirmed the Scriptures to be the sole rule of faith, and condemned the so-called inspirations of the "Spirit." Only one ordained minister was now left in France, Jacques Roger, who was executed in 1745, after having revived Protestantism in Dauphiné, as Antoine Court had done in Languedoc. At the solicitation of Court, Peter Corteis went to Lausanne to be ordained, and returned to ordain his colleague. From that time Protestantism resumed its due

form and order; the assemblies soon became numerous, but the Church stood greatly in need of ministers. Taught by experience, the Cévenols wished for leaders who should unite knowledge with piety; and it was to meet this demand that, after fourteen years of truly apostolic labours, Court went to Lausanne to establish a seminary for the instruction of young men who had the vocation of martyrdom.

Under the Regency (1715—1723) the Protestants enjoyed a kind of tacit toleration. The clergy no longer had the upper hand. The Duke of Orléans was anxious to bring the persecution to an end, and had it not been for the counsels of the Duke of St. Simon he would have recalled the emigrants. Generally, the assemblies were quietly overlooked. Nevertheless, not a year passed by without one or more of them being surprised and some of the worshipers put to the sword; the Parliaments also every now and then hanged a few Huguenots. The death of the Duke of Orléans was a fatal blow to the churches; for the following year, the Duke of Bourbon, having become first minister, caused a declaration to be issued in the name of the young King, which is a mere epitome of all the most horrible measures of the preceding reign. The decree of 1724 could only be partially executed, for how was it possible to send assemblies of three thousand people to the galleys? To the honour of the clergy, it must be said that some of them refused to torment the dying as the decree required; though all the priests were not animated with the same spirit. Most of them refused to marry the new converts (as the law called the Protestants) unless they had regularly attended mass for years; while the children born of marriages not blessed by the priests remained bastards and incapable of inheriting. In 1729, the new converts were summoned to give up all their books to be burnt; those who refused were to be punished with a fine for the first offence, and in case of a second to be banished for three years, with confiscation of at least one-third of their goods.

From 1730 to 1744, there was a period of comparative calm. The authorities, weary of persecution, only found fault with the assemblies for being too numerous and too public. In obedience to a resolution of the National Synod held in 1744, the assemblies met in open day, which was the occasion of

renewed and atrocious persecutions, that went on increasing in violence till 1752, when they culminated in dragonnades. Emigration re-commenced to almost as great an extent as in 1685. This time the mission of the dragoons was to compel all the children who had been baptized in the wilderness to be baptized afresh. Dragged violently to church, they only ridiculed the ceremonies and the priest; some spat in his face; while the magic operation, designed to procure the salvation of the neophytes, was accomplished in the midst of the curses and blows of the soldiers.

The court, especially enraged against the pastors who perpetuated the heresy, desired to force them to fly; but nothing could intimidate men who for a quarter of a century had constantly braved death itself. In 1751, an assembly which was broken up in the morning by the arrival of troops, was seen to meet again the same evening. The dragonnade would have been indefinitely prolonged if it had not been brought to a sudden close by the despair of the Cévenols. On the 10th of August, 1752, three curés who were leading troops against Ledignan were shot. The troops fell back before the intrepid mountaineers, and the court, affrighted, at once gave less stringent orders. Persecution, however, before long resumed all its rigour; and but for the influence of Paul Rabaut, at this time the most illustrious of the ministers of the desert, the war of the Cévennes would have re-commenced. Still, in 1758, there were dragonnades both in Guienne and Béarn. Meanwhile, the persecuted people had become so emboldened as to claim liberty of conscience, no longer as a favour, but as a right. It had required more than two centuries to put this question on its proper footing. "May it please your Majesty," said a petition of the churches of Guienne in 1758, "to accord to your petitioners death, which they would meet with joy, rather than betray their duty to their religion. Liberty of conscience throughout your dominions is what they venture to demand as *a natural right*," &c. This language indicates plainly enough that fanaticism has slain its last victims. When a people is fully conscious of its rights, oppression is not far from its end.

During the first sixty years of the eighteenth century, the philosophers had not a word to say in favour of the outlawed Protestants. While the assemblies were being deci-

mated, the ministers hung, the people dragooned or banished, what were Voltaire, Diderot and d'Alembert doing? They were feasting with Lafare, Marmontel and Chaulieu, at the house of d'Argenson, one of the persecutors. Why did not Montesquieu, Rousseau, Mably, Rainal, Condillac and Helvétius, lift up their voices on behalf of a million of proscribed fellow-citizens? Because they could not discern in these Huguenots, disciples not of philosophy but of religion, martyrs to liberty of thought, effectually labouring to break the fetters of despotism, and to construct a renovated society. They saw in them only morose sectaries and fanatics, slavishly bound to a certain book which they called the Bible. The philosophers did not understand Protestantism; did not condescend to study it; did not feel any pity for the unfortunate ones whose lot they aggravated with bitter jests or cruel accusations. Montesquieu accuses them of republicanism, and pours upon them, as Rabaut expresses it, "the gall of the most malignant satire." Voltaire charges them with "tending to anarchy as impetuously as the religion of Rome to tyranny." "St. Toleration," of whom the philosopher of Ferney says so much a few years later, had been proclaimed for three quarters of a century in books of every kind by the refugees Lecène, Leclerc, Basnage, Huet, Jaquelot, Bayle, &c. Misfortune had opened the eyes of the proscribed party, and had led them to discover in the gospel a principle which had been too long misconceived. But none of them had the authority needed to impose it upon Europe; while at the same time Jurieu and his orthodox friends protested against this very principle of toleration with all the might of their indignation. The new truth could not emerge from the domain of theory. It required that the giant of the era, whom philosophers as well as kings obeyed, should undertake the task of reducing the theory into practice. No truth has ever triumphed until it has met with an apostle—an indefatigable, a devoted apostle—ready for every sacrifice. Voltaire became, too late indeed for the glory of philosophy, the apostle of toleration.

When Rochette, the last minister executed, was arrested in 1761, Voltaire with happy inspiration at once saw the advantage which he could derive from this affair and that of Calas, took them in hand, and defended the martyrs in

his own way. "Whether you hang the preacher Rochette or give him a living," he writes to the Marshal de Richelieu, "makes very little difference to the prosperity of the French kingdom; but I think that while the Parliament ought to condemn him to be hanged, the King should grant him a pardon. Such humanity will cause him to be loved more than ever; and if you, monseigneur, obtain this favour from the King, you will become the idol of these *beggarly* Huguenots. It is always well to have a party on one's side."* But neither the flatteries of Voltaire, nor the entreaties with which Rabaut assailed the daughter of Louis XV., the Duc de Richelieu and the Duc de Fitz-James, nor the influence which he had over the Prince de Condé, with whom he had several conferences in 1755, produced any effect. Rochette, with his companions in misfortune, the three Greniers, "submitted to death with admirable constancy and cheerfulness."† Thus perished, on the 25th of February, 1762, at the age of twenty-six, the last martyred pastor.

Twenty days later, the scaffold was erected in the same town of Toulouse for the judicial murder of Calas. A father was found guilty of having killed his son to prevent him from becoming a Catholic, although the case was clearly one of suicide. Voltaire obtained the rehabilitation of Calas three years to a day after his execution.‡ In 1768, he also succeeded, after years of indefatigable exertion, in obtaining the reversal of the sentence against Sirven, who had been unjustly condemned for the murder of his daughter.§ The last instance of capital punishment inflicted on religious grounds was that of the Chevalier de Labarre, a student of eighteen, who in 1766 was burnt alive at Abbeville for having, it was said, mutilated a crucifix. Voltaire stigmatized this odious act also. "They burn men in Picardy," he wrote, "for not taking off their hats when a procession passes. There is a great probability of their soon becoming cannibals, so rapid is the progress of their manners towards perfection." The following passage in one of his letters relating to Sirven expresses the same sentiments: "I am ashamed, I blush to be a man, when I see on the one hand

* *Bulletin de l'hist. du Prot.*, IV. 6.
† *Toulousianes*, p. 404.
‡ *Jean Calas*, par A. Coquerel fils.
§ *Sirven*, par Rabaut.

the comic opera, and on the other executioners armed with fanaticism. I am at the extremity of France, but much too near such abominations."

Persecution became less cruel and audacious after Voltaire had stirred the whole of Europe with his eloquent and impassioned words on the murders of Rochette, Calas, Sirven and Labarre. Still, in 1763, children were carried off and women imprisoned by *lettres de cachet*. In 1768, a meeting was surprised, though the prisoners were set free almost immediately. The female prisoners at Aigues-Mortes, whose enlargement was asked for in vain by Frederick the Great, were liberated in 1769. Some who had entered the prison when children, left it bending beneath the burden of old age. The same year, the Parliament of Bordeaux, hitherto one of the most fanatical of these assemblies, authenticated, on the certificate of Paul Rabaut, a marriage which had been solemnized in the desert.

Eight years previous to the affair of Calas, Turgot, the successor of Dubourg, Mornay, L'Hopital, Coligny, Bayle and Leclerc, had laid the true foundation of practical toleration in the *Conciliateur* (1754), a work which he communicated only to his friends. In this book he asks for the separation of civil affairs from those of religion, the confusion of which had been the cause of the civil wars and the proscriptions. Turgot saw clearly that Rome will always be a persecutor whenever the secular power will obey her commands, and he therefore attempted to deprive her of a dangerous weapon. It was his desire that marriage should be a civil contract, and that a wedded pair should be allowed to receive the nuptial blessing in the church to which they belonged. He further demanded, with a view of saving non-Catholic children from the reproach of bastardy, that the registers of birth should be kept by a civil officer, and not by the priest. "Every seditious secular meeting," he said, "ought to be interdicted, but every religious assembly should be allowed." Turgot would have a Catholic prince say to his Protestant subjects, "Although you are in error, I will treat you none the less as my children; submit to the laws, continue to be useful to the state, and you will receive from me the same protection as my other subjects." Turgot, then, is the legislator of religious liberty. Voltaire did no more than lend the support of his immense influence

to the great principles which contained the germ of the revolution of 1789. Let us not forget, however, that religious liberty would have been still unknown in France, as it is in Spain, if the Huguenots had not presented, for two centuries and a half, the heroic spectacle of one generation after another sacrificing property and life in the cause of religion.

As we approach the end of the century, none but the Catholic clergy continue to look upon toleration as a crime. Yet, in 1785, the Abbé Caveyrac published a defence of the St. Bartholomew. And at the coronation of Louis the Sixteenth, in 1774, the Archbishop of Toulouse did not blush to say to the King, "You will suppress the culpable system of toleration. Finish, Sire, the work which Louis le Grand commenced, and which Louis le Bien-aimé continued. It is reserved for you to give the last blow to Calvinism in your dominions." Barbarous blindness, for which the clergy had too cruelly to atone in 1793! At the moment of taking the coronation oath, which bound him to exterminate heretics, Louis the Sixteenth, it is said, muttered some unintelligible words. It would have been better for him if he had had the courage to abolish this odious ceremony.

Even in this reign some *lettres de cachet* were granted, and troops were sent against assemblies; though the officers forewarned the ministers every Saturday evening whither they were about to take their soldiers the next day, or else came over the heights beating their drums to give the meetings time to disperse. Nevertheless, the horrible laws were always there, hanging like a sword over the heads of the Protestants: no one attempted to abolish them: they might even seem to have become venerable and sacred in proportion to the amount of blood which they had been the means of shedding. They could not be abrogated until they had been slain by public contempt.

Louis the Sixteenth of himself would never have taken the initiative in this reform, but it was the will of God that the two most tolerant, and in this sense most Christian men of the age, should become Ministers of State, namely Turgot and the "great and good Malesherbes,"—men who, above all others, understood the question of the churches of the desert.* These two ministers, greatly assisted by Rabaut

* He published two Memoirs in 1784 and 1785, on the Marriage of Protestants.

St. Etienne, and by Lafayette, who had returned from the war of American independence, prepared the Edict of Toleration which appeared in 1787. By this Edict the Protestants were granted a civil status, with permission to exercise their callings without molestation on the ground of religion. In order to disarm the clergy, care was taken to shew that the Edict only accorded to non-Catholics "what by natural right could not be denied them."

Two years later, in 1789, began the Revolution which opened a new era for Europe. The old world fell to pieces; a new one arose upon its ruins. All citizens were declared eligible to every office without any other qualification than their talents and virtues; and on the 23rd of August, thanks to an eloquent discourse by the pastor and deputy Rabaut St. Etienne,* the son of Paul Rabaut, a minister who had been long proscribed, liberty of worship was proclaimed. "No one is to be molested even for religious opinions, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public peace."

During the period which separates the Revocation from the Revolution, there perished from three to four hundred thousand Protestants. Religious liberty was watered with a river of blood before it could take root in France. From this time the principle has been established; but even now its application is far from being logically self-consistent. As at the end of the eighteenth century, so in our day, our laws are more liberal than our customs.

UN PASTEUR DE L'ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE PARIS.

II.—THE TENDENCIES OF SCIENCE.

Antiquity of Man. By Sir C. Lyell, F.R.S. London: Murray. 1863.

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, &c. By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S. London: Murray. 1860.

Correlation of Physical Forces. By C. Grove, Esq.

* He perished on the scaffold in 1793.

Lectures on Comparative Anatomy. By T. H. Huxley, F.R.S. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1864.

Researches on the Solar Spectrum and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements. By G. Kirchhoff. Translated by H. E. Roscoe, B.A. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1864.

Lectures upon the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By Max Müller, M.A. First Series: 3rd Ed. 1862. Second Series: 1864. London: Longmans.

Papers read at the British Association, October, 1864.

WHEN the geologist examines a bed of ancient drift, he observes that the pebbles have their longer diameters all in one direction. They tell him almost as clearly as if they could speak, that a great current of water has anciently passed over them; they indicate the line in which that current must have swept. In like manner the future historian of civilization, when looking back on these present times, will observe the tendencies of thought of all the most eminent thinkers in every department of human knowledge turned in the same direction. He, too, will read here the fact, that some great current of influence—some one powerful law of thought—has been sweeping over the educated mind, bearing all intellectual development on in the line of its own great stream. He will notice that the thinkers are tending everywhere towards the utmost possible unity in their explanation of the universe. They seek to make one law explain as many phenomena as possible, and one more comprehensive law explain as many lesser laws as possible. In like manner they seek to make the laws acting at present in the sphere of our own observation explain whatever they can possibly explain in the past time and in the distant space.

What is this gulf-stream flowing over the modern mind? It is what Newton calls the Law of Philosophizing, which has been followed more or less consciously or instinctively in building up the whole structure of our modern science. Sir William Hamilton calls it the Law of Parsimony. It is a law or habit of thought which determines the mind to be as parsimonious as possible in the use of laws and causes. It assumes that the Divine Mind does nothing

needlessly; that God never employs more methods or agencies to effect His purposes than are absolutely necessary; and that He never changes His agencies or methods as long as they are sufficient to effect His purposes. Bacon seems to have been the first great mind that gave itself up to this great law, and set human thought strongly in this direction. Yet it may be that the "Novum Organum," after all, was but the crest of the wave that had already set in towards knowledge gleaned by induction from observed laws. The law of parsimony, which really lies at the root of the inductive method, had been stated in the middle ages by Occam, "*Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*"—Entities are not to be multiplied beyond necessity. Aristotle had long before laid down the same principles: "God and Nature never operate without effect," οὐδὲν μάτην, οὐδὲν ἐλλειπῶς ποιοῦσι—they never operate superfluously, μηδὲν περίεργον—περιττῶς—ἀργῶς—but always through one, rather than through a plurality of means (καθ' ἓν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ πολλά). And well might this law be called the "Razor"—"Occam's Razor." It is in truth the magic blade whose keen edge has cut through a thousand established notions which seemed durable as adamant. It has mowed down before it old philosophies and superstitions, and to-day the cherished theologies of the past are falling at its touch. It is almost impossible to contemplate without trembling its wondrous power, and the extent to which it has revolutionized, and is destined still more to revolutionize, all human thought. But to Newton even more than to Bacon are we indebted for the application of this law of philosophizing to the construction of science. He shewed its value by presenting men with its practical fruits. His system of the universe was the first, and perhaps greatest, of the triumphal arches which were henceforth to glorify the march of the inductive and parsimonious method. Newton not only exhibited the possibilities of the method, but he stated the law which lay at its basis, and called it the Law of Philosophizing: "*Effectuum Naturalium Causæ, non plures sunt admittendæ quam quæ et veræ sunt, et effectibus explicandis sufficiunt*"—which freely translated is, "We must admit no more causes for natural effects than those which are already known, and which are sufficient to explain the effects." This is the Newtonian form of the Law of Parsimony, and

we may almost consider it as a prophetic seizure, by a great mind, of the law that was to rule the thinkers of succeeding ages.

Let us now notice how the men who have built up our modern science have shewn in their thought the influence of the law which is here laid down. We see Newton himself, under its influence, searching for a greater unity in the world of astronomy than could be found in the cumbrous cycle, epicyle and eccentric of Copernicus, or the vortices of Descartes. He rejected unknown and imaginary laws and causes, and took the law of gravitation observed in operation in his daily experience—observed as it brought down the apple from the tree and the pebble dropped from the hand—and extended its sphere to explain the planetary and sidereal motions in the most distant space. It is not, however, our intention to write a new "History of the Inductive Sciences." We shall point only to a few results of the method in most modern times. We see Bunsen and Kirchhoff, Miller and Huggins, still following the path first trod by Newton. They apply to the stars the spectrum analysis which has proved such a potent instrument of discovery in detecting new substances on the earth. It had been found that different substances placed in a colourless flame and vapourized imparted peculiar colours to the flame, the light from which, passed through a prism, produced spectra characterized by certain lines and hues. By the application of this test, several new bodies, as caesium, rubidium, thallium and indium, have been discovered in quarters where they were not before even suspected. It is found that the solar spectrum gives lines exactly corresponding to the lines in spectra from terrestrial substances, except that the solar lines are dark instead of light. Now it is found also that in the spectrum, from a bright sodium flame for example, dark bands are observed in the middle of the bright ones. From such and similar facts, it is argued, that those rays coming from the inner portion of the sodium flame, which have the same refrangibility as the rays emitted by the flame, are absorbed by the outer portion of the luminous vapour. This law of absorption is found to belong to all luminous vapours on earth. The law, then, is applied to the heavenly bodies; and it is argued that the dark lines on the solar spectrum are due to the presence of luminous vapour in the

outer portion of the sun, which absorbs the rays of the same refrangibility as its own given by the luminous substance in the inner portion. Hence Kirchhoff infers that the sun's atmosphere contains vapour of iron, calcium, magnesium, sodium, chromium, nickel, barium, copper and zinc. In a paper read by Dr. W. A. Miller and Mr. Huggins at the last meeting of the British Association, it was stated that the spectrum analysis had been applied by them to Jupiter and Mars, as well as to some of the fixed stars. But the most interesting discovery was gained by the application of the analysis to the nebulæ. In some of these Mr. Huggins found that there is no solid matter at all. They are nothing but masses of intensely heated gas. The results from one of them revealed the astonishing fact, that it was composed of hydrogen and nitrogen, without any solid nucleus whatever. All these conclusions, let us observe, depend upon the principle, that, since the law of light observed in terrestrial substances near is sufficient to explain the phenomena presented by celestial substances far away, we are bound to apply that law and exhaust it before we invent another.

We may turn from these results of the law in celestial science to notice very similar results in all the sciences which have regard to earth and man. Max Müller applies the law to explain the growth and development of language, precisely in the way in which Darwin applies it to explain the development of organic life. Müller observes the manner in which languages still live in their natural state among the numerous tribes of Central Asia, Africa, America and Polynesia. There, language is in a state of constant fluctuation or regeneration, insomuch that a person leaving a tribe and returning to it again after a few years finds the language so changed that he can scarcely understand it. Moffat, the African missionary, shews how this variation may sometimes arise. "Fathers and mothers, and all who can bear a burden, often set out for a week at a time, and leave their children to the care of two or three infirm old people. The infant progeny, some of whom are beginning to lisp, while others can just master a whole sentence, and those still further advanced, romping and playing together, the children of nature, through the live-long day, become habituated to a language of their own. The more voluble condescend to

the less precocious, and thus from this infant Babel proceeds a dialect of a host of mongrel words and phrases joined together without rule, and in the course of one generation the entire character of the language is changed." Here, then, now operating is the law of variation which Müller supposes to have acted in ancient times, and to have led to the multiplication of dialects and languages, possibly, as he argues, from one primal dialect. He shews how the literary fixation of a language arrests its growth and life, and even begins its phonetic decay; and how one fortunate dialect—as, for example, the dialect of the ruling and literary classes—like a stronger species in the struggle for existence, gradually becomes the more general language of a country, and causes the slow extinction of other dialects, its less favoured competitors. In the Chinese or monosyllabic language, our professor sees an example of language in its most ancient form. There are no inflections, and the ideas expressed by inflections in more advanced languages are here expressed by separated words. In the Turanian languages, again, where the separate words still retain their meaning but are agglutinated together to form compound words, he sees an example of the second stage of language in which the inflections begin. In the Sanscrit he finds the third stage; the agglutinated roots forming the terminations of the nouns and verbs have here suffered phonetic decay, so that it is often difficult to determine what they originally were.

One of the most interesting of Max Müller's speculations is that in which he shews the constant tendency of poetic thought expressed in language to crystallize, so that a fleeting metaphor becomes changed into a hard and fixed reality. Any one who has attentively noticed the mental habits of children and country people, will have seen abundant examples of the operation of this law in the present. And this, according to Müller, is the great source of ancient mythology. Thus he accounts for the origin of the beautiful myth of Selene and Endymion: "Endymion is one of the many names of the sun, with special reference to the setting or dying sun. It is derived from ἐν-δύω, which originally meant to set or dive into. Endymion sleeping in the Latmian cave is the sun sleeping in the cave of Leto, the night. In the ancient, poetical and proverbial language of Elis,

people said, 'Selene loves and watches Endymion,' instead of, 'It is getting late;' 'Selene embraces Endymion,' instead of, 'The sun is setting and the moon is rising;' 'Selene kisses Endymion into sleep,' instead of, 'It is night.' These expressions remained long after their meaning had ceased to be understood, and as the human mind is generally as anxious for a reason as ready to invent one, a story arose by common consent and without any personal effort."

But we turn now to notice the effect of this great tendency of modern thought in the world of theology. Here, it must be confessed, it has shewn itself less than in other departments of knowledge. The truth is, that until lately it has scarcely dared to enter here. Science has almost from the first been separated from theology. Scientific men have felt that if they would interpret nature truly, they must follow other methods of thought than those in vogue among theologians: whilst the latter have been on the whole so willingly ignorant of science that the scientific method has but slightly affected them. They have been carrying on the habits of thought of the middle and other unscientific ages in the midst of a world modified by the results of modern science. Still, here and there a mind, affected in some way or other by the spirit of this scientific method, has risen in recent times to shake by its questions the old theologies to their centres. A man like Theodore Parker is touched by this spirit when he sends far and wide the thought that the religious phenomena of the past must be explained, as far as they can be explained, by laws in action in the human soul at present; and that it is the same voice of a living God that we feel in our souls to-day, that all the revealers of ancient times have heard and sought to interpret by their thought, their speech and their life. It is the same scientific spirit that Strauss and Baur and Renan have manifested in endeavouring to explain the wonderful stories in the sacred records by the laws which originate similar wonderful stories in modern times.

Let the reader observe that we are not sympathizing with these iconoclasts in their conclusions. We are only endeavouring to shew the source and nature of their method. We shall be the better able to understand such speculations as those of the writers now in question, if we look at them, not as the morbid offspring of minds insane and perverse,

who take a delight in outraging and destroying all that others hold dear, but as the tentative application to theological notions and theories of the same test, the same law of parsimony, by which all the old scientific notions have been tested, to be most of them found wanting and doomed to pass away. Let us try to understand the true thought which lies at the bottom of this theological scepticism also. It is this: "There is now in action a law sufficient to account for the birth of all the marvellous stories of antiquity without having recourse to unknown laws, such as would be involved in actual miracles. We find this law in action in all localities where ignorance and superstition reign, originating stories of the marvellous and supernatural. Such a law rests in the credulity and inventiveness of the human mind. Now since we find the law sufficient to account for a thousand stories of the supernatural, of witches, ghosts, spirit-rappings, warnings, clairvoyances, Mormon inspiration and Roman Catholic miracle, may it not also be sufficient to account for the marvellous stories in the Scriptures?" This, we believe, is the real doubt with regard to miracle, not only in the minds of Strauss, Baur and Renan, but also in the minds of thousands besides; and the only way to meet the doubt is to shew, as was shewn in our last number, that the law by which modern stories of the marvellous arise is not sufficient to account for the origin of the stories of miracle recorded in the Gospels. Still we must frankly express our conviction, that though minds of a theological habit, who have kept away from the influence of the scientific method, will be able to assure themselves of the undoubted truth of the old histories, to minds of that scientific habit, on the other hand, the doubting question we have expressed will again and again present itself; and therefore it is most needful that for such, religious faith should be removed from all merely miraculous basis, and placed on that spiritual foundation where the intrusive question, if it come, can no longer threaten or disturb it.

We need scarcely point out to the reader that a considerable amount of the destructive criticism exercised by Colenso and others upon the ancient records, is still only an application to the past of the laws that prevail in the present. We turn, then, to notice how the same tendency manifests itself in the general world of physics.

Carpenter, Matteucci, Grove and Tyndall, with many others, have been dissatisfied with the old notions of the multiplicity of physical forces; and finding the theory of one primal force acting in different ways and with various motions sufficient to account for the phenomena of light and heat, actinism and electricity, magnetism and nerve force, have felt bound to adopt the theory, and to conclude that all these forces are correlated, and convertible the one into another. But the reasoning cannot stop here. It is precisely by similar arguments that Boscovich and Priestley, and more recently Faraday, reduce matter itself to force. They shew that all the essential phenomena of matter can be explained by the supposition of the forces, repulsion and attraction, radiating from a central point, and therefore feel bound to believe that what we call matter is only the form which the primal force puts on. Many lovers of physical science seem willing to stop here; and while they scout with indignation and contempt the presumption of the ignorant, which tells *them* at every step that they can go no further—that they cannot know the nature, constitution, size and motion of bodies so far removed in the infinite spaces—that they cannot know what took place in this earth countless ages before we were born—that they cannot know what light is, what matter is—while the savans calmly go on applying the law of parsimony, like an enchanted telescope, to read the distant and the hidden, they in *their turn* pretend ignorance when they come to the point where force itself begins. Yet with this ignorance as a basis, all the grand discoveries of our science do but make a vast and terrible system of materialism, a world of awful forces—developments running back into eternity, systems of worlds stretching into infinity; but without a God, without a purpose, without a spiritual meaning, without a message from a Father to His children. But, in truth, we cannot and will not stop where the materialists would have us stop. We laugh at *their* presumption in telling us we can know no further. We insist upon using their own instrument of discovery to the utmost. They tell us that we know nothing of any real originating cause. We answer, we do know one real originating cause, our own will; and we know no other. A will, similar to our own, but infinite, is a cause *sufficient* to account for the existence of the forces in the universe.

A will, directed by intelligence and love, is *sufficient* to account for the order, the beauty, the happiness, the spiritual life, the development towards perfection, which these forces so evidently subserve. We are bound, then, by truthful and consistent adherence to the great scientific law, to rest in the admission of such a Will as the great originating and all-supporting Cause, and not to imagine some other cause, some blind Life of Nature, of which we know nothing.

There is no possibility of resisting this conclusion without giving up the whole spirit of science. We are not permitted, when we have once enlisted into the ranks of true scientific inquirers, to stop just where we please, to make our personal tastes a measure of truth, and to refuse to march on because we have no liking for the region which lies before us. And there is deep consolation for religious souls in the perception of this ultimate tendency of the great scientific principle. These terrible men, who have so often made our faith turn pale and tremble to the centre with their daring theories, who have torn away from us so much that once was dear and sacred,—they are, after all, marching on to a faith irresistible as their science. We have only to ask them to "move on," to be perfectly faithful to their principle, and that principle, which has been so often the very instrument of scepticism, will become the key to open the kingdom of heaven. We do not pretend that this scientific method is the path by which every mind can best find its way to God. Multitudes of pious and humble souls will find themselves brought to Him by their own devout instincts quickened by sympathy with Christ. But, alas! it is perhaps the misfortune of the scientific mind that it cannot trust its instincts unless its science bids it. The value of the argument we have offered is, that it still sets the mind free that has determined to be faithful to the law of science. It shews such a mind that the severest application of that law only confirms the language of its own spiritual instincts.

Let the reader, then, take this ultimate oracle which science is compelled to utter, and he need not fear that in any of her discoveries, now or hereafter, she can tell us there is no God. The theories of Darwin and Huxley, even if they are true, are only discoveries as to the modes of God's operations; they are only discoveries that He acts by development, instead of by creation according to the old concep-

tion. The Great Cause Himself they do not touch; they neither truly put Him farther from nor bring Him nearer to us, for science beforehand shews us that He is the beginning and the end. He is the Infinite Being from whose living will issued the primal forces that clothed themselves with the first forms in the vast scale of development. His living will has sustained these forces ever since, as the fountain sustains the jets that clothe themselves with rainbow hues, as the sun sustains the light that clothes each day the universe with beauty. The development—or creation—that we see is but the unfolding of His thoughts, the climbing through infinite gradations to His great purpose.

Resting, then, upon these thoughts, we proceed to examine the theories of the geologists and physiologists as to the antiquity of man and the origin of the organic world in general. Here we find the same law which has met us in other quarters.

The whole of Lyell's writings are pervaded by the scientific spirit, the spirit of parsimony. In the grinding down to-day of rocks by waves along the coast, disintegration by rains washing the whole surface of the land, and the spreading out of the sand thus obtained over the bottom of the sea, he sees an explanation of the way in which beds of rock have been formed, and portions of the same or others ground down through countless ages. In the slow oscillation of large tracts of land, like Scandinavia and Greenland, the first of which is slowly rising, and the second as slowly sinking, he sees in operation the law by which continents and islands have been elevated and submerged through periods too vast for human thought.

Some think that Lyell has carried this principle of explanation too far, and that in past times there may have been other causes than we now observe, or that the causes now observed may have acted with greater intensity than at present. He would probably reply, "We are not at liberty to imagine what may have been until we have exhausted the possibilities of the laws now in operation. If the Newtonian law of philosophizing—that is, the law of parsimony—is to be acknowledged as supreme, then all you are entitled to ask is, 'Have you kept within the law?' In other words, are the causes which we discover in the present sufficient to account for the phenomena of the past? If

they are, to invent other causes, or causes acting with greater intensity than the phenomena need for explanation, is to throw aside, when its revelations do not suit our prejudices, the perspective glass by the use of which the whole of our world of modern science has been discovered, and to substitute the wilful dreams of our own fancy for the reverent conclusions of science."

The same method of reasoning has been applied to read the history of man. A priori, it was long ago argued that the growth of man, seen in the present on the line stretching from barbarism up to a higher civilization, has gone on through the past, and that man has everywhere begun at the point of savage life, and developed upwards to what he is at present. But such a process, it was argued, required a longer time than the biblical chronology afforded. This theory has now been established by the discovery of the remains of man, which shew that he existed on this globe in a savage state more than twenty thousand years before the biblical era had even begun. Still it must be borne in mind that the very interpretation of these remains is effected only by application to the past of the laws observed in the present. A number of splinters of flint, all of a similar type, are found buried in gravel or the floors of caverns, along with the bones of antique quadrupeds—mammoths, and two other species of elephants, lions, bears, hyenas—all extinct long ages since. These flint shapes resemble the flint knives, arrows and hatchets used by the Australian and other savage tribes to-day; and it is inferred, therefore, that they were used by ancient men in a stage of civilization very similar to that of these modern savages. These flint implements have been found in gravel-pits near Amiens and Abbeville, in the valley of the Somme, in a cave near Wookey Hole in the Mendip Hills, in the caves of Gower in Glamorganshire, in the Brixham cave near Torquay, in ancient river gravel in the valley of the Ouse near Bedford, at Hoxne and Icklingham in Suffolk, in the valley of the Thames, in the valley of the Darent, Kent, on the shore at Swalecliff, near Whitstable, in the valleys of the Seine and Oise, and other localities which are constantly being added to the list. These flints have in the places now named been found associated with the bones of one or more of the following species of quadrupeds—the mammoth and other extinct elephants, the

rhinoceros, tichorinus, the cave bear, the cave lion, the cave hyena, the wild bull, the Irish stag, the wolf and the fox, and several species of deer. But not only the tools, in some instances also the bones, of these primitive men have been found. In caverns near Liege, Dr. Schmerling has discovered such bones in association with the bones of the extinct cave bear, hyena, rhinoceros and elephant. In one of these—the Engis cavern—he discovered the remains of three individuals, and found the skull of one young person embedded by the side of a mammoth-tooth. Another skull, that of an adult individual, was found embedded in breccia, with the tooth of a rhinoceros and other bones. In another of these Liege caverns—that of Engihoul—Schmerling found the bones of men at different depths in the cave-mud, and the bones of the extinct quadrupeds above and below them.

In forty of these Liege caves flint knives have been found, though the bones are so rare. Human remains of a remote geological age have been found also in the valley of Neanderthal, near Düsseldorf. A human skull and portion of a skeleton were discovered embedded in the original cave-loam, and probably belonging to the same age as that of Engis; but as no other bones are found in association with them, their age could not be exactly fixed. There has been much discussion respecting this Neanderthal skull. Professor Huxley asserts that it is the most ape-like of any that he has ever beheld.

Schaafhausen says of the Neanderthal skeleton that the thickness of the bones was very extraordinary, and that the elevations and depressions for the attachment of muscles were developed in an unusual degree. The ribs, too, seemed to indicate great power in the thoracic muscles. The skull of the native Australian seems to occupy a station midway between that of Neanderthal and that of Engis. And Huxley says, "The marked resemblance between the ancient skulls and their modern Australian analogues have a profound interest, when it is recollected that the stone axe is as much the weapon and the instrument of the modern as the ancient savage."

One of the most interesting deposits of these aboriginal human remains is that found near Aurignac in Haute Garonne. Here, in 1852, a peasant pursuing a rabbit to its hole and inserting his arm, drew out a human bone.

Digging into the hole, he came upon an upright slab, which proved the door into a cavern filled with bones. It seems that seventeen skeletons were removed thence to the neighbouring churchyard. Lartet, who afterwards explored the spot, found on the outside, near the entrance to the cave, a kind of floor, about seven inches thick, made of ashes and charcoal, and mixed with bones and flint implements. Among the cinders were found fragments of sandstone reddened by heat, and which had evidently formed a hearth. Mingled with the ashes and earth were the bones of the cave bear, brown bear, cave hyena, mammoth, Siberian rhinoceros, horse, ass, gigantic Irish deer, bison, &c. &c. These bones were all broken, as if the flesh had been the food of human beings who had split the bone in order to obtain the marrow. The spongy parts of the bones had been apparently gnawed and eaten off after they had been broken. Lartet infers that this was the work of hyenas, whose bones and coprolites were plentifully mixed with the cinders and overlying soil. Many of the bones of the herbivora had been burnt, as if the flesh upon them had been cooked. Such, then, were the facts. Now for their interpretation.

Lartet takes the funeral rites among tribes of North American Indians, described by travellers in modern times, to explain these remains of the past. The cave, then, was a sepulchral vault where a rude tribe had buried the remains of their friends. The bones of the cave bear found in the cavern were an indication of the kind of food placed with the departed to support them on their long journey. A new flint knife and a carved bear's tooth, found also in the interior, had been parting gifts buried with the dead. The cinder-mixed floor outside, with the reddened stones and bones split and burnt, were the marks of the funeral feast held by the mourners at the cavern's mouth; and after the human feasters were gone, prowling hyenas came and gnawed the bones, the remnants of the funeral banquet.

And now let us glance at the method which the geologists employ to construct the mighty calendar stretching back into the past, by which the distance of time between ourselves and the period when these primeval men inhabited Europe is approximately fixed.

First, then, it is argued that the fact that the same animals now extinct, the mammoth, the rhinoceros, the lion, the

bear, the hyena, &c., were found at this period both in this island and on the continent of Europe, shews that the island was then united to the continent, and that both animals and men roamed through wilds and forests extending from Ireland at least to the Uralian mountains.

Secondly, it is argued, by the marks of glaciers found on the sides and round the bases of most of our lofty mountains—Snowdon, for example—and the evident remains of moraines left in the mountain valleys by the melting of the ice, that at this period all the high mountains of this island must have been clothed by glaciers. Now these, with the moraines which they have left, could not have belonged to an earlier period, before the land was deeply submerged beneath the ocean, for then the moraines would have been swept away or covered by ocean drift.

Thirdly, the connection of this land with the continent implies an elevation of at least 600 feet above its present level, while the position of stratified drift on the side of the hills shews that just before this period the land had been depressed at least 800 feet below its present level, so that on the last elevation the land must have risen 1400 feet. Professor Ramsay says the land wes depressed 900 feet lower than this, so that it must have risen 2300 feet. Now measuring the rate of motion by that observed in the present rising of the Scandinavian peninsula, 2½ feet in a century, this will give five hundred and sixty centuries at the lower, and nine hundred and twenty centuries at the higher computation. Let us suppose the land without pause to have begun to sink again, the moment it had attained its highest elevation, and to go on sinking 600 feet till it had attained its present level. Let us then suppose that the first records of man date only from the period when the great continent with its glaciers began to sink. This would carry us back 24,000 years. And when we think of the mighty changes that have taken place in the physical conditions of this portion of the earth, whether through complete alteration in the direction of the gulf-stream, or through elevation above the ocean of the air-heating desert of Sahara, melting the ancient glaciers—when we think of the extinction of such numerous species of organized being, the mammoth, the rhinoceros, &c., that once inhabited these regions, we can scarcely avoid feeling these twenty-four centuries a moderate computation.

The remains of man found in the ancient Danish kitchen middens and the Swiss lake dwellings appear to be of more recent date than those before mentioned. They shew some slight advance in civilization; but as they belong to a period when the mammoth and rhinoceros had apparently passed away, their principal value seems to be to shew the long continuance of the savage period.

In Denmark, in hollows found in the northern drift, there lie strata of peat one above the other, from 10 to 30 feet in depth. Buried around the borders of the lowest strata, abundant remains of the Scotch pine are found, shewing that the face of the country was once covered principally with forests of this tree. Above them are buried, instead of the pine, frequent remains of the common oak, shewing that the pine had passed away and the oak had taken its place. Higher still occur the buried trunks of another kind of oak, with alder, birch and hazel. The forests which must have been composed of these latter trees have in their turn passed away, and the beech is now, and has been through the historical period, the prevalent forest growth. It has been stated that a stone implement was found under a buried Scotch fir at a great depth in the peat. By collecting and studying a vast quantity of such implements and other articles of human workmanship preserved in peat and in sand-dunes on the coast, as also in the shell-mounds of the aborigines, the Danish and Swedish antiquaries and naturalists, Nilsson, Steenstrup, Forchhammer, Thomson, Worsäae and others, have succeeded in establishing a chronological succession of periods, which they have called the ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron, named from the materials which have each in their turn served for the fabrication of implements. The age of stone in Denmark coincided with the Scotch fir and part of the oak. The rest of the oak period coincided with the age of bronze. Swords and shields of that metal now in the Museum of Copenhagen have been taken out of peat in which oaks abound. The age of iron corresponds more nearly with that of the beech-tree, which characterizes the historical period. The remains of the kitchen middens belong to the age of stone, though to an advanced period of it, when the ancient men had learnt to grind their flints (as do the Australians) as well as to chip them. The period of the Swiss lake dwellings appears to have reached from

the stone into the bronze period, and in some few instances to have come down even to the age of iron.

We have then traced the history of man far back into the past. We have seen signs of a gradual, though it may seem, compared to our civilization, a slight improvement from chipped to ground flints, from implements of stone to those of metal; but still this period of man's existence seems to stretch back only a hair's breadth into that awful vista of ages which geology opens dimly to our view.

After all, when we come back to this glacial period when man co-existed with the extinct quadrupeds, we are but in the outer edge of the post-tertiary and glacial epoch; we are still in the times which geologists call the recent. Behind us stretch millenniums beyond millenniums, during which—still interpreting by the laws of the present—we see the water slowly grinding down the rocks and depositing them as sand over the ocean bed, to be converted into new rock. The remains of the races of animals and plants existing during this long slow process of disintegration and re-creation, are entombed in the sand, to be found hereafter fossilized in the rock. We could now in some places descend through a thickness of more than ten miles of strata, which have been thus formed from the destruction of pre-existing lands. And, calculating from the rate of demolition and reproduction observed in modern times, we may safely say that the period necessary for all this cannot be less than nearly a hundred millions of years.

But when we come to the beginning of the period which the great stone book dimly reveals to us, what is still beyond? The records on the rocks which lie deepest, even the marks of stratification, seem obliterated by time and often apparently by heat, and it may be that strata have existed and become fused again which once bore in them the records of another period vast even as that over which we have endeavoured to glance. The mind breaks down under the effort to conceive the immensity of ages. Sir C. Lyell says:

"It is related of a great Irish orator of our day, that when he was about to contribute somewhat parsimoniously towards a public charity, he was persuaded by a friend to make a more liberal donation. In doing so, he apologised for his first apparent want of generosity by saying that his early life had been a constant

struggle with scanty means, and that 'they who are born to affluence cannot easily imagine how long a time it takes to get the chill of poverty out of one's bones.' In like manner we of the living generation, when called upon to make grants of thousands of centuries in order to explain the events of what is called the modern period, shrink naturally at first from making what seems so lavish an expenditure of past time. Throughout our early education we have been accustomed to such strict economy in all that relates to the chronology of the earth and its inhabitants in the remote ages, so fettered have we been by old traditional beliefs, that even when our reason is convinced, and we are persuaded that we ought to make more liberal grants of time to the geologist, we feel how hard it is to get the chill of poverty out of our bones."

And still, when we come to the beginning of this most ancient period, what is beyond? The indications of great heat and fusion still in the interior of the earth naturally suggest the idea that this globe has once been molten; and chemical analogies would then lead us back to the time when the liquid mass had not yet been condensed, but was portion of a vast gaseous nebula from which the sun and its planets were not then disentangled, and which, as it rotated on its axis, threw off successive rings that broke up and arranged themselves into planetary globes. The nebular hypothesis has received new confirmation from the spectrum analysis before referred to. The gaseous luminous nebulæ discovered by Miller and Huggins are exactly in the condition in which we should expect the primeval nebula to be.

And yet we cannot avoid asking even here, What was before this nebular period? Is this the beginning, or is it only the end of one and beginning of another of an infinite series of phases through which creation is passing? Was the nebula only the combustion of worlds that had passed through a previous history and come to an end? Are the sublime images of Scripture as to the final conflagration of the world, prophecies of the actual destiny of nature? If the nebula was the vaporization of worlds previously solid, and if the worlds now solid are hereafter to be vaporized, there must be somewhere in the universe—according to the doctrine of the conservation of force—some reservoir of force, unknown to us, capable of effecting the vast combustion. But what awful ideas pour upon us when we not only

think that in the state of things which we see to-day we behold but one of an almost infinite series of phases through which our present creation is passing, but also that this present creation itself, with all its millions of centuries, may be only one phase in an infinite series of creations stretching through eternity! All the present form of nature—earth below and stars above—constitute then but one vesture of the infinite and living force. As a vesture shall He, the source of that force, change the form, and "it shall be changed; but He is the same, and his years shall not fail."

We go back once more to notice the application of the great law which we have traced, to the explanation of the origin of species in the world of organic life.

Darwin and Huxley, Quatrefages and Kölliker, then, are dissatisfied with the old theories of creation, in which causes or laws were imagined that are not seen in action now. The old doctrine supposed miraculous interventions in the regular course of nature. It assumed that there were, at epoch after epoch, fresh acts of creative energy by which new species were introduced upon the earth. But Darwin attempts to explain the variety of species, both of plants and of animals, and the introduction of all new species in the past, by the operation of laws of variation and selection which are observed in the present. The grazier and the gardener find constant but small variations in the individuals composing their stock. They select for breeding the animals or plants possessing any variation which makes them more valuable than the rest, and then from their offspring select again the individuals possessing the variation in greatest perfection, and thus by this accumulative selection in the course of a few generations a new variety—cattle with shorter horns, sheep with finer wool, race-horses with more and more resemblance to the greyhound, fruit trees with richer and larger fruit—is produced. There has been similar variation, says Darwin, through all the past; and nature, by the constant struggle for existence of every creature, makes selection of the individuals possessing any variation that would give them the slightest advantage above their competitors in the race for life. It selects from the offspring of the favoured creatures those which have the useful variation in greatest perfection, and thus are produced new varieties which gradually develop into species.

Darwin is inclined to push his theory so far as to account for the origin of all organized beings. He says: "Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed by the Creator."*

But if Darwin's theory is true to this extent, there is no satisfactory reason for our stopping here. The same movement of the mind, seeking to explain creation in the past by the laws of development which we see in the present, would lead us to follow back the line of development until we come to those ultimate atoms or molecules of which all organized as well as inorganized forms are constituted. Accordingly, some of the savans follow the process to this extreme, and suppose that there is a development from inorganic to organic forms—that, in truth, each atom of matter is a germ or egg endowed with a low measure of vitality, which under certain conditions becomes quickened and leads to spontaneous generation. Thus, according to them, the creation of organic life is ever beginning again. It is a fact of the present. Inorganic atoms are constantly being united and quickened into low forms of organic life. Professor Kölliker says: "My fundamental law is, that the production of the entire organized world is founded upon a great plan of evolution, which constantly impels the simpler forms towards more and more complicated developments." He shews how one form does often produce germs which develop into different forms. "A bipinnaria, a brachiolaria, or a pluteus, is capable of producing so different a creature as the echinoderm. A hydriform polype produces the higher medusa, and the worm-like trematode-nurse forms the totally different cercaria in its interior; and," so he argues, "it cannot appear to be impossible that the ovum or the ciliated embryo of a sponge under particular conditions might become a hydriform polype, or the embryonic medusa become an echinoderm."

At the last meeting of the British Association at Bath, Dr. Dickson read a paper in which he took the ground that every individual molecule was endowed with life, and consisted of double actions of positive and negative; and Dr.

* Origin of Species, p. 484.

Bennett, after alluding to the experiments of French physiologists with regard to spontaneous generation, stated his conviction that infusoria could be created where no living cell existed before.

We do not pretend to endorse or reject these theories of development. We wait for further light. Many of the most eminent men of science have, it is true, embraced the theory of transmutation; but we frankly confess that our knowledge of all the laws and conditions of variation at present, and of the records of the past entombed in the rocks, is far too restricted to enable us to form satisfactory conclusions on so vast and mysterious a subject. For ourselves, we are prepared to accept whatever explanation of God's method in creation science can verify, knowing that it is only His method with which she is here concerned; and that, whatever may be the method used, He is equally present. And if we should at last be brought to acknowledge that a lower animal form has been gradually developed to humanity—that a reptilian form has been developed into the bird, the fish into the reptile, the medusa into the echinoderm, and the inorganic atoms themselves into the infusoria or sponge—this will not in the slightest degree disturb our religious faith. We shall only say, "God has chosen to adopt this method of creation, instead of the method which we once believed; but He has been present at every step. It is His outflowing, all-pervading Life that has quickened the lower forms and developed them into higher." We shall think of Him as quickening into higher organization the embryo of some anthropoid animal, and breathing into it the breath of human life, just as we used to believe He quickened into such an organization the dust of the inorganic earth. And we shall feel it no more degrading to have been created from material already vitalized in an animal form, than to have been created from dead inorganic matter, the very "dust of the earth."

As to the questions which suggest themselves—"When and how was the soul breathed into the human being? Had the lower animal a potential soul which could be quickened into the soul of man?"—we can give no answer, though we would point out to our readers that the same questions press upon us now from the simple facts of our physical birth and growth. The human embryo now passes

through stages very similar to the grades of the mollusk, the fish, the reptile, the bird, the quadruped. At which of these stages is the soul introduced? Is it potentially in the lowest and developed with the form? Here we must be content to remain for ever in ignorance. The genesis of material bodies may be a subject within the sphere of observation, but the genesis of spirits lies certainly beyond it.

We have thus endeavoured to bring into clear observation the law of thought, the force which is the great moving power in the modern intellectual world, the instrument of our knowledge and the source of our scepticism. We have endeavoured to shew the point in each department towards which the great movement tends. The prospect of being drifted away to such far and foreign goals will appear very terrible to many. They will seem to themselves carried away from all that was dear and familiar, into regions cold and stern and awful, where they feel as exiles from the home of youth.

But it is useless to complain, weak and childish to linger whining and shivering on the shore, trying by our weak cords to tie down and hold back the structures that are already loosened and ready to be swept away. Far wiser and manlier is it to cast ourselves upon the tide, put ourselves at the head of the fleet of explorers, and be determined to see where the great current will really bear us. The greatest danger now is from the materialists, who would have us go on so far as to leave behind all that we have loved and revered, but who, like the sailors of Columbus, cry they are come to the end of the world, when only the sea-weeds of a sluggish spiritual nature are lying across their path. We must insist upon keeping faith with the true spirit of science, and of going on to where it brings us to the great spiritual cause of all laws and all phenomena. Then the stream will have brought us to the true goal, where

> "Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither,
> And see the children sport upon the shore,
> And hear the mighty ocean rolling evermore;"

and we shall find that we have been sailing near the ocean always. We shall look back and know that our Christian belief has not been a mistake. We shall see how those who

from the olden time have spoken to us of God, stood upon the mountain-heights where they saw His awfulness and heard the murmur of His deep. The past as well as the present will still echo with His voice, and the Christ and those who have drawn us to the Father will never be separated from our love.

III.—THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, with copious Notes. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. 8vo. Oxford and London: Parker. 1864.

A VOLUME of above 600 closely-printed pages upon one of the most curious and enigmatical books of the Bible, proceeding from the profound learning and mature wisdom of the Oxford Professor of Hebrew, awakens anticipations of no common kind. The "Book of Daniel the Prophet," perhaps more than any other of the Old Testament, demands refined scholarship in the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues, only to be gained by the experience of years. And its historical demands can be satisfied only by a scholar who has thoroughly *read himself into* the spirit of the times which it describes and those to which its composition might be referred, so as to appreciate their intellectual and religious colouring as well as understand their hard facts. On both these grounds Dr. Pusey's name raised high expectations. He has been Regius Professor of Hebrew for thirty-six years; and in 1835 he gave to the world the proofs of his Semitic scholarship by publishing the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Though the acknowledged leader of a great party in the Church, he has lived the life of a student, if not of a recluse. To whom, then, could we look with more hope for an interpretation of Daniel?

But the very first sentence of his book blasts all these hopes:

"The following lectures were planned as my contribution against that tide of Scepticism which the publication of the

'Essays and Reviews' let loose upon the young and uninstructed" (p. iii). "Others who wrote in defence of the faith, engaged in larger subjects; I took for my province one more confined but definite issue. I selected the book of Daniel, because unbelieving critics considered their attacks upon it to be one of their greatest triumphs."—P. vii.

It is not, then, even claimed by the author that his book is either historical or critical. He ostentatiously declares it to be written in no historical spirit; to be prompted by no love of truth for its own sake, by no desire to engage cautiously and quietly in the examination of the subject, and rest in any conclusion to which this may lead him; but to be a mere partizan pamphlet, of which the avowed object is to support a foregone conclusion, which appears to him to possess an intrinsic righteousness higher than the spirit of the impartial truth-seeker. In political party-leaders, and in popular theological controversialists, we expect something of this grasping at the desired end without much scruple as to the means; but even in them we lament it, and sigh for the time when men shall understand how much higher is the *moral* principle involved in the mode of procedure than the end aimed at. But it fills us with more than disappointment—it rouses indignation—when we find one of our highest and oldest University authorities so little conscious of the very first principles of historical criticism, as boldly (were the writer a young man we should say *naïvely*, and hope that age and the refining influences of the society of scholars at Oxford would bring him wisdom) to parade his incompetency to deal fairly with history at all. He elsewhere even more nakedly refuses to deal critically with the subject he has selected for investigation:

"If any of us, on our side, say, 'Our Lord, being God and having a Divine knowledge, pronounced Daniel to be a prophet, and quoted words of his as prophetic and as still to be fulfilled,' we *do* thereby mean to close up the question of criticism. We, on grounds extrinsic to the book of Daniel, believe critical inquiry to be superseded by Divine authority."—P. 6.

And again:

"I cannot, indeed, examine them [the prophecies of Daniel] as one who doubts. No one who believes in Christ, can or ought to assume that to be doubtful, upon which Christ has set His seal. So it is as to the whole substance of the faith and each detail of

it. Our own knowledge is certain, and we shall never win others to our certainty of faith and knowledge by assuming the character of persons who have themselves to arrive at faith. Even in matters of certain human knowledge, men do not ignore their own knowledge, in order to impart it to others, or to remove their objections to it. Nor can I make-believe, as to what I do not believe, that these objections to the book of Daniel have any special plausibility."—P. 7.

Is it not astounding, not so much that a man of intellect can shut himself up so rigidly in his own ideas as to say, "Our own knowledge is certain," &c., but that he can think to win others (who give evidence of having also thought deeply on the same subject), whilst confessing himself unable even logically to put himself in their position, partake their doubts, and understand their conclusions? Every man is perfectly entitled to shut himself up with his own wisdom or his own folly; but such a one generally feels that by so doing he abdicates the power of persuading others. Dr. Pusey does not see this. He can talk *de haut en bas* of "We on our side," and assert that "the *Christian* is as certain of the truth of what *Rationalism* impugns, as of his own existence;" and yet thinks that his "contribution," animated by this spirit, may stem the "tide of scepticism." If the overbearing tone he (the "Christian") assumes towards the critics (who are all "Rationalists") must prejudice all the freer inquirers against him, and prevent even bare justice being done to whatever real learning he displays, the book seems even more mistaken from his own point of view, as a dereliction of principle, since he says:

"This has been, for some thirty years, a deep conviction of my soul, that no book can be written in behalf of the Bible like the Bible itself. Man's defences are man's word; they may help to beat off attacks, they may draw out some portion of its meaning. The Bible is God's Word, and through it God the Holy Ghost, who spake it, speaks to the soul which closes not itself against it.

"But if defences are weak, except as far as God enables us to build them, or Himself 'builds the house' through man, defences, not built as He would have them, will not only fall, but will crush those who trust them. The faith can receive no real injury except from its defenders. Against its assailants, those who wish to be safe, God protects. If the faith shall be (God forbid!) destroyed in England, it will be not by open assailants, (such as the writers in the Westminster Review, &c.) but by those who

think that they defend it, while they have themselves lost it."—P. xxv.

In the last sentence he deals out a random hit at such writers as Dean Stanley, against whom he betrays a bitter aversion. But to whom will every reader apply the sentence, "The faith can receive no real injury except from its *defenders*?"

We cannot avoid noting, and visiting with the severest condemnation, akin to disgust, that caricature of Faith, thrust into our sight on every occasion, which, confounding worldly things with heavenly, the scientific and historic truth of which the intellect is the only lawful and adequate judge, with the religious and spiritual consciousness that appeals to the highest spiritual powers of the soul, simply blinds its possessor, makes him deny proved facts, and abdicate in Christ's name (who we thought had made him free) the noblest exercise of the intellect; as here:

"In the possession of that truth [that God created the heavens and the earth] which God first taught the world through Moses, faith, yea, and God-enlightened reason too, is sure that there is some solution for the claims of Geology, be they what they may." P. xxiv.

The same thing appears in some passages already quoted, and in the following:

"In examining for my class the first volume of Dr. Colenso, I could only be amazed that any mind could be shaken by such arguments. *Faith, of course, could not.*"—P. xii.

The following words, more than any others, justify our expression, "a caricature of faith," because if we were at liberty to remove them from their contact with historical problems, and understand them of the purely spiritual truth which the hard mind of the writer seems unable to feel, they would have a deep meaning:

"It requires submission to our God and his grace, to believe." P. 561.

Dr. Pusey, therefore, practically addresses the critics in these terms: "Let us discuss the book of Daniel together; I will try to convince you that your conclusions as to its age and character are erroneous. The conditions of the debate are these. However cogent your arguments may be, and however much they might influence a candid mind, my

mind is shut against them. But in you I require openness to conviction. My own want of candour I call Faith, and regard as a virtue; but if I find the same in you, I shall assume that 'I *have answered* the objections' (p. 560), and apply to you Gibbon's expression about the 'stubborn mind of an infidel'" (p. 561). Who would accept these terms?

When Dr. Pusey says, as he does so often as to prove that it is a point upon which he is especially confident, that the unbelief of the writers of the critical, sceptical or (as he very inappropriately calls it) Rationalistic school, is not the result but the cause of their line of argument, we can only answer that in our judgment this is simply untrue of most of them:

"Disbelief of Daniel had become an axiom in the unbelieving critical school. Only, they mistook the result of unbelief for the victory of criticism. They overlooked the historical fact that the disbelief had been antecedent to the criticism. Disbelief had been the parent, not the offspring, of their criticism; their starting-point, not the winning-post of their course."—P. vi.

"The criticism of rationalism is but a flimsy transparent veil, which hides from no eyes except its own, (if indeed it *does* hide it altogether from its own,) the real ground of its rebellion, its repugnance to receive a revelation to which it must submit, in order that it may see."—P. 563.

What caused the ultimate acceptance of Galileo's astronomy, and what in the present age causes the triumph of the geologists, but the conviction forced upon the non-astronomical and non-geological public, that those men of science had reasoned with perfect impartiality upon the evidence before them? So far from starting with ingrained repugnance to belief, many, perhaps most, of them had had at the outset nothing to shake their Biblical belief, and had no conception of the wonderful results at which they were to arrive. And the same has been the history of modern Biblical and other criticism. Most of the critics whose investigations have stood the test of time, and lasted, in their main results, for more than a generation, have been men naturally of a somewhat conservative disposition, and certainly not such as to deserve Dr. Pusey's rash and unsupported calumny. This was surely the case with Bishops Lowth and Thirlwall, Niebuhr, Otfried Müller, De Wette, Arnold, Ewald and Lücke.

On this subject Dr. Pusey is so blind to every stand-point but his own, as not to see that he is guilty of the *very same dogmatic preconception* which he censures in the critics; and thus his censures, which appear to us mere calumnies against most of those for whom he intends them, are dangerous only against himself. Thus he says:

"In the notes, I have set myself to answer, more in detail than an oral lecture admitted, the criticisms, which have been raised as pleas for an unbelief which was antecedent to criticism. This I did, in order to meet the pseudo-criticism on its own grounds, for the sake of those who *would* see; well knowing that the grace of God alone could touch those who now *wish* not to see." P. xii.

Imagine this sentence to occur in a commentary on the other side; read *belief* for *unbelief*, and understand the *pseudo-criticism* as Dr. Pusey's; and see whether it is not equally true that "the grace of God alone could touch those who now *wish* not to see" the conclusions of criticism, as Dr. Pusey confesses is the case with himself.

"But nothing is gained by a mere answer to objections, so long as the original prejudice, 'there cannot be supernatural prophecy,' remains. Be the objections ever so completely removed, unbelief remains unshaken, because these objections are put forward to delude others, scarcely to blind itself; for they who believe not, know well that the ground of their unbelief rests on their conceptions of God and of His relation to Man, not on history. And therefore, while I have conscientiously read everything which has been written against the book of Daniel, and have met every argument in those writings, my own conviction is, that the point really at issue remains, when they are answered. For the real objection is, that God should reveal Himself to his creature man, in any other way than by the operation of man's natural reason, or that He should tell man anything, 'beyond the grasp of eye or hand.'"—P. xiii.

Read this passage as follows:

"But nothing is gained by a mere answer to defences (like Dr. Pusey's) so long as the original prejudice, 'there *must* be supernatural prophecy,' remains. Be the defensive arguments ever so completely removed, belief remains unshaken, because this defence is put forward to delude others, scarcely to blind itself; for they who believe know well that the ground of their belief rests on their conception of

God and of his relation to man, *not on history.* And therefore, while I have conscientiously read everything which has been written for the authenticity of the book of Daniel, and have met every argument in those writings, my own conviction is, that the point really at issue remains when they are answered. For their real objection to our critical conclusion is, that they insist that God must here reveal himself to his creature man in some other way than by the operation of man's natural reason, and that he tells man things beyond the grasp of eye or hand."

The moral character of this stubbornness of mind, which refuses to be convinced even on evidence, is of course the same on whichever side it appears; and Dr. Pusey is certainly the very last man who can afford to cast *this* stone.

But the critics are said not only to be deaf to arguments addressed to them from the other side, but to entertain an overweening sense of their own importance. They are always puffing their own work:

"They [the writers of 'Essays and Reviews'] took it for granted that the ancient faith had been overthrown; and their Essays were mostly a long trumpet-note of victories, won (they assumed) without any cost to *them*, over the faith in Germany." (P. iii.) "A self-laudatory school has spoken much of the laudation, as they call it, of Daniel," &c. (P. 22.) "What I have proposed to myself in this course of lectures is to meet a boastful criticism upon its own grounds, and to shew its failure, where it claims to be most triumphant." (P. 393.) "I have answered the objections. To convince, is the office not of man but of God."—P. 560.

Who is triumphant in the two last passages? The only evidence of boasting which is produced is the assertion of Bunsen, that the results of the critical treatment are "one of the greatest triumphs of modern criticism," and that of "a well-known writer, now dead," that "it is one of the highest triumphs and most saving facts of the more recent criticism, to have proved that the book of Daniel belongs to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes." Hard indeed, to charge the commendatory opinions expressed by friends upon the critics themselves, and then call the latter *self*-laudatory! They may also justly protest against an impertinence of language which is calculated to do harm; we mean the habit of speaking of the critics who assign the book to a later age than pleases Dr. Pusey as writing "*against* the book." This is

quite as bad as the vulgar, false and envenomed expressions which we have often heard lately, "Colenso *v.* Moses," "the Seven *against* Christ." A theologian and a University Professor ought to be above these cheap means of rousing ignorant prejudice; whilst as a matter of fact he must know that the questions do not concern the persons of Daniel, Moses and Christ at all.

Notwithstanding the amount of controversy which the book of Daniel has aroused, the questions involved are simple enough. The book is not difficult to understand; the story is simple and interesting, and falls in with much that we know respecting the countries and the age in which it is set. The chief point in controversy is whether the book is a narrative by Daniel himself, written at the time of the events described, or a romance about him, written later, and speaking through the mouth of Daniel, in the language of prophecy, of events prior to the writer's age. Those who, like Dr. Pusey, have closed their minds against the latter alternative, and are determined to believe everything exactly as they find it in the book, are not likely to be convinced. For them we write not; but to those who *will* consider the question candidly we may present a summary of the book and the chief points at issue. We utterly disclaim, for ourselves and our readers, that prejudice against admitting any prophecies of future events, which Dr. Pusey finds it convenient to charge against all those who refuse the prophetic character to the visions of Daniel. It is obvious that investigation must precede faith; otherwise we should be bound to believe the miracles of St. Francis and St. Carlo Borromeo, and even the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, equally with the visions of Daniel; and our minds would be at the mercy of every impostor. If Dr. Pusey imagines that the *canonicity* of the book imposes on him as a clergyman bound by the Articles of his Church, the duty of believing it, we can sincerely regret his servile position, so unworthy of a man who might be a scholarly investigator of the truth; but this renders it only the more incumbent on those who are bound by no such ties, to consider the question without fear or prejudice.

The question is twofold: historical, and prophetic or apocalyptic. The former is concerned with the narrative: the events of Daniel's life, and the various kings with whom

he is brought into contact. The latter has reference to the visions, interpretations of visions, and prophecies, which occur throughout the book. We shall here consider the historical question alone, and leave the apocalyptic to be treated on a future occasion. Although the book is so short that it may be easily and quickly read, it seems desirable to give a short summary of the story, in order to have it all before the eye at once, undisturbed by the long speeches and visions which break its continuity in the original.

"In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah," we are told at the opening of the book, "came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to Jerusalem, and besieged it; and the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand." Upon this conquest, Nebuchadnezzar determined to carry back with him to Chaldea several young men, of high and even of royal birth, handsome and intelligent, who would not disgrace his own court, and might be trained in the Chaldean language and learning; and previously to their admission at court they were to be kept in princely style as members of the royal household. Four of these are specially named, of whom Daniel is the first. Their lineage is not mentioned, although it appeared from a previous verse that high, if not royal, birth was an essential condition. Immediately upon their arrival at Babylon miracles began to appear. Daniel refused to "defile himself with the delicate viands of the king, or with the wine used for his drinking;" and he, together with his companions, accepted only a meagre prison-diet, which in the natural course of things would have given them a starved appearance and precluded them from admission at court, where plumpness seems to have been as much valued as among the tribes of Central Africa made known to us by Captain Speke. But "at the end of ten days their appearance was good, and they were fatter in flesh than any of the youths who were eating the king's delicacies;" and so they were introduced at court, and the king was more than satisfied with them, for "on every subject requiring intelligent wisdom, which the king asked of them, he found them ten times above all the professors of enchantment that were in all his kingdom." Thus ends the first act of Daniel's history, with a distinct acknowledgment by the king, that Daniel and his companions were wiser and better than all his native counsellors.

The second act opens with the statement that king Nebuchadnezzar had dreamt a dream which troubled and excited him, though the subject of it was irrecoverably lost on his waking. So excited was he, that he "commanded to call the Professors, and the Enchanters, and the Sorcerers, and the Chaldeans," and required that they should *tell the dream itself*, and then give the interpretation; in default of which they should actually "be cut in pieces." On their remonstrance against such an extravagant demand, he actually "commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon." In pursuance of this decree, accordingly, the executioners "sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain." Not till now does Daniel appear on the scene; although, if the king had, less than a year before (for this is still only the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign), found Daniel and his companions ten times better than all his magicians, it is astonishing that he should not have sent specially for him; and all the more if he lived at court, as is clearly implied. But now Daniel entreats a respite of the sentence, and in the mean time obtains, through prayer to Jehovah, the desired revelation. He then receives, through Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, admission to the royal presence, as a stranger, being described by Arioch simply as "a man of the *captives* of Judah." On his appearance he is not even recognized by the king as a former acquaintance and member of his household; but his narrative and interpretation of the dream proving satisfactory, and not uncomplimentary to the king, the latter went so far in the expression of his veneration as to fall upon his face and do obeisance to Daniel, and formally give that honour to Daniel's God as the giver of the true interpretation, for which Daniel had stipulated in the event of his success. But more than this: he made Daniel "ruler over the whole province of Babylon," and set him "in the gate of the king"—in other words, made him his Viceroy, Prime Minister and Religious Primate; and also set his three companions as his highest executive functionaries over the affairs of the province of Babylon.

The third act of the history is concerned only with Daniel's three companions. Nebuchadnezzar, having erected an enormous and magnificent idol, and required the presence of all his high officers,—Satraps, Governors, Prefects, and

also the Supreme Judges, Treasurers, Counsellors, Lawyers, and all the Magistrates of districts—to assist at its dedication, and bow down in worship before it, is informed that the three Jews, who had been set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, distinctly refused the required prostration. On their persisting in this act of rebellion against despotic authority, they are sentenced to be cast into a fiery furnace. This furnace was made so hot that it actually burned to death the officers who executed the decree; yet Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, although cast in bound and unable to move, were immediately seen by the king walking unbound and unharmed through the fire, accompanied by a fourth, whose form was "like the Son of God." The king is so astonished and terrified at this, that he not only rescues them from the fire, but acknowledges the power of their God to deliver his worshipers, forbids any insult to be offered to him (with the same threat which he had before used against the sorcerers who should fail to tell his dream), and makes the three Jews to prosper in the province of Babylon. What Daniel was about during this scene does not appear. Was he less faithful to his religion than his less celebrated companions? Was his position so exalted as to raise him above danger from the informers who obtained the decree against his companions? And if so, was he not bound to use that influence, so far as it would go, to save them? On the supposition that this is true history, we cannot help asking these questions, and can hardly answer them to Daniel's credit. If we have here only a collection of stories of heroism, true or fabulous, then there is nothing mysterious in the omission of Daniel from this story.

The fourth act of the history abruptly introduces Nebuchadnezzar the king issuing a proclamation to "all peoples, nations and languages that dwell in all the earth," shewing "the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought" towards him. He narrates another dream of his own, and the interpretation put upon it by Daniel, to the effect that "from men they will drive thee forth, so that thy dwelling will be with the beasts of the field; and grass like oxen will they make thee to taste; and seven years will pass over thee, until that thou knowest that the Most High is powerful over the kingdom of men, and gives it to whomsoever he will." This is then reported to have happened, one

year after the prophecy; but at the end of the period he confessed the power of the Most High, and was restored to reason, and re-established in his kingdom. Here the story closes, as abruptly as it commenced, without telling us either by what power Nebuchadnezzar was expelled, or what became of the country during the king's madness, or how his restoration was effected; without even prosecuting his history to the end, or informing us of the position in which Daniel found himself during the interregnum and restoration.

The fifth act of the history introduces another king, Belshazzar, of whom we have never heard before, and whose name occurs in no other book, whether in the Bible or elsewhere. Assuming his name to be known to the reader, the writer does not even, on the first mention of him, append any epithet to describe his relation to his predecessor; but it afterwards appears that Nebuchadnezzar was his father. Belshazzar holds a magnificent feast with a thousand of his lords, and uses the sacred gold and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the Temple of Jerusalem. During this feast a mysterious hand is seen writing characters on the wall. Here again is repeated the very same story as we have had twice already; the demand for a reading and expounding of the letters; the Chaldean magicians fail; Daniel is sent for (at the queen's suggestion; but why did he not come with the others, if, as the queen says, Nebuchadnezzar had made him "master of the Professors, Enchanters, Chaldeans, and Astrologers;" and how could Belshazzar himself forget him and fail to send for him?) Daniel reads the writing, which contains a warning that the kingdom of Babylon is to be given over to the Medes and the Persians; and, notwithstanding this unwelcome news, is again rewarded by being made the third ruler in the kingdom. Belshazzar is slain that very night, we are not told how; but "Darius the Median took the kingdom." This Darius organized the empire anew, dividing it among 120 Satraps, over whom three Ministers of state were appointed, Daniel being the first of these three. The other satraps and ministers made common cause against Daniel, and found him unassailable except through his religious scrupulosity. They therefore extorted from Darius a decree forbidding all religious petitions to any God whatsoever,

and allowing only petitions addressed to the king, as the fountain of all grace. Daniel is of course discovered at his prayers, informed against, and by the king reluctantly condemned to be cast into a den of lions. The next morning the king finds him in the den, safe and sound through the miraculous aid of his God. His accusers, together with their wives and children, are then cast in to the lions and devoured; and the king by edict formally establishes the worship of Daniel's God throughout his dominions; and the whole history of Daniel finishes with the words: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." The remaining chapters, vii.—xii., are entirely occupied with visions seen by Daniel himself, and interpreted to him by a divine messenger, who is sometimes mentioned by the name of Gabriel.

The historical value of these narratives can only be estimated by an inquiry into their accordance with what we know from other independent and reliable historical authorities. If, where other independent authorities who profess to give us true history agree together, the book of Daniel gives different statements, the presumption must of course be in favour of the historians and against Daniel; for the simple reason that to Daniel the history is not the main object, but only the framework in which his stories of religious faithfulness are set. The author himself, could he be resuscitated and put into our witness-box, would probably admit all this, and consider that historical errors in no way detracted from the value of his writings. If, therefore, we find the *history* full of errors, we do not thereby deprive the *book* of all value, nor even of such value as the author himself set upon it. But we do make it impossible to assign it to the authorship of Daniel himself.

For historical investigation, however, we are placed in a very difficult position. The history of three nations is primarily concerned: that of Judah, from which Daniel sprung; of Babylonia, the country to which he was carried; and of the Medes and Persians, the conquerors of Babylon. Of all these the history, in the period in question, is very obscure, and obtained in large part from ancient foreign and hostile sources, or from very much later friendly ones. The older accounts are not to be proved with any certainty continuous; so that by gratuitous assumptions of gaps here, and trans-

positions or mistakes there, any two may perhaps be brought into harmony. We cannot, therefore, pretend to absolute demonstration, but can only discover where the balance of probability lies, and see to it that we admit no gratuitous assumptions against the evident drift of the historians, or where the probability lies the other way, merely to save the credit of a book, which cares not for history at all.

The very first verse contains a very serious historical difficulty. Here Nebuchadnezzar is said to have invaded Judea in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim. One such invasion by Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned in the History (2 Kings xxiv. 1) as happening "in the days" of Jehoiakim. But the Historian, who is generally careful to note all deportations of Jewish captives (see xvii. 6, 23, xviii. 11, xxiii. 34, xxiv. 13—15, xxv. 18—21), mentions none here, and intimates that by timely submission Jehoiakim averted the extremity of hostilities, and certainly did not suffer the loss of even "a part" of the sacred vessels of which Daniel speaks, since, according to him, they did not fall into the power of the conqueror till the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, under his successor Jehoiachin. Besides, Jeremiah, the contemporary prophet, whose voluminous writings afford very full and life-like illustrations of the whole history of this period, speaks constantly of the deportations of Jews which took place under Jehoiachin (otherwise Jeconiah and Coniah) and Zedekiah, the two following kings, but never of any such under Jehoiakim; and in speaking of the latter's reign distinctly treats them as future. And Jeremiah further shews us (xxv. 1) that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was the fourth of Jehoiakim's, and consequently that the book of Daniel makes a serious mistake (impossible to a contemporary of such wisdom as Daniel is said to have possessed) in calling Nebuchadnezzar king in the third of Jehoiakim. The fact may very probably be that stated by Berosus as quoted by Josephus, that Nebuchadnezzar was not king till the fourth year of Jehoiakim, but took the field in the third year as Crown Prince for his father Nabopolasar, who was old and in declining health; and that in this capacity he conducted the war against Egypt and fought the great battle of Carchemesh on the Euphrates, and then, receiving the news of his father's death, returned to Babylon and was acknowledged king.

But if this be the true version of the story (of which we must not be too sure, knowing Berosus only through Josephus, who may have harmonized his statements as far as possible with the Jewish history), it does nothing to save the credit of the writer of Daniel, who distinctly makes Nebuchadnezzar invade Judah *as king of Babylon* in the third year of Jehoiakim. And a consideration of the relations of the great powers in that age confirms us more than ever in the conviction that no such invasion of Judah at that time was possible. The Assyrian empire, which had its capital at Nineveh, had at the time of its greatest power embraced Babylonia, Susiana, Media, Hamath, Damascus, Samaria, and even Judah, but had suffered the loss of all these distant provinces; of which Media and Babylonia at least had now become powerful independent kingdoms. But Egypt, which, ever since Tirhakah had advanced against Sennacherib, the great king of Assyria, had been striving to reduce the power of the great Asiatic empire and to extend her own in the direction of the Euphrates, was now the dominant power; and Pharaoh Necho, the present king, had conquered and killed Josiah king of Judah in the great battle of Megiddo, and set up his son Eliakim or Jehoiakim, with the title of king, but only as vassal to himself. Now Judah remained under this Egyptian influence until it was effectually broken by the unexpected victory obtained at Carchemesh, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, by Nebuchadnezzar, prince or king of Babylon, over the Egyptians. This victory was the beginning of the predominance of the Babylonians. After this Nebuchadnezzar could improve his success by marching westwards and reducing the provinces hitherto tributary to Egypt; including Judah, as mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 1. This agrees exactly with the account given by Jeremiah (xlvi. 1, 2, 13), who gives the date of the battle of Carchemesh, the fourth year of Jehoiakim. We see, therefore, that an invasion of Judah in the third year is simply impossible, as the power of Egypt was then supreme there, and that of Babylon had not yet been asserted. The book of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxvi. 6, 7) is the only other authority for a capture of Jerusalem coupled with a plunder of the sacred vessels in the reign of Jehoiakim; but this is only another witness against Daniel; for the event, if true, belongs to the eleventh and last year of Jehoiakim, since he was himself

carried to Babylon on this occasion, and yet is said to have reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. But a comparison of the Chronicler's account with the Historian's, for which we have not room here, will convince any candid reader of the utterly untrustworthy character of the former. On this cardinal subject Dr. Pusey says nothing worth noticing, and evades the difficulties in the loosest manner.

If the writer of Daniel had had the prudence not to compromise himself by the mention of the king's name and the exact date of the invasion, his ignorance might not have been so easily detected. For no reader of the second book of Kings can doubt that he has confused Jehoiakim and his son Jehoiachin. The latter reigned only three months; "and the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon went up against Jerusalem; and the city entered upon a siege. And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came against the city while his subjects were besieging it. And Jehoiakim king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon—himself, his mother, his men, his head-servants and his courtiers; and the king of Babylon took him, in the eighth year of his reign. And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of Jehovah and the treasures of the king's palace; and he mutilated all the golden articles which Solomon king of Israel had made in Jehovah's temple, as Jehovah said; and he carried into captivity all Jerusalem, all the chief men and all the finest warriors,—10,000 captives." The similarity of the names of the two kings may have occasioned the confusion, although to a Hebrew ear they would sound very different, and be recognized as derived from quite distinct roots. But the fact of Daniel assigning the event to the third year of Jehoiakim, even before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas it really took place in the eighth year of the latter, shews the error to be more deeply seated, and proves an ignorance or a carelessness about the history impossible to a contemporary.

The only event of Nebuchadnezzar's reign which could be fairly used as a test of our writer's credibility is the insanity of the king, during which he eschewed human society, and lived with the beasts of the field "till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers and his nails like birds' claws," but after which he recovered his reason and his kingdom. Dr. Pusey does not consider the trouble wasted

which is required to prove this insanity to be a form of madness well known to physicians—in which the sufferer is under the delusion that he is a wolf, dog, cat, or other beast; and he even goes the length of gravely citing medical authority to shew that the nails if neglected would grow like birds' claws. This of course has no bearing upon the question. The writer, whether contemporaneous or later, probably knew this fact as well as Dr. Pusey, and would in either case be likely to describe a known form of insanity, and the natural growth of the nails. But before we care to look into these details we must have satisfied ourselves whether there is any reason for believing in this insanity of Nebuchadnezzar at all. The form in which the writer couches his narrative, itself predisposes the reader to disbelief. It is so evidently a mere Moral Tale—like those, for example, of Miss Edgeworth—that, if it were not bound up with certain other stories that are believed to be true, it would have never occurred to us—nor to Dr. Pusey—to regard it in any other light. For blindness to the power of the Most High, the King of heaven, and for inordinate self-conceit, even the greatest on earth can be debased: "He hath put down potentates from their thrones, and exalted the humble;" "He that poureth contempt upon princes, and looseth the girdle of the strong" (Luke i. 52; Job xii. 21). Why should this moral tale be taken as narrative of strict fact, any more than that of the rich man who pulled down his barns to build greater, or than that of the rich man and Lazarus; in which latter a great historical name (Abraham) is made free with, as here with Nebuchadnezzar? And this vision and its fulfilment bear so striking a family likeness to the king's preceding vision, that we feel the two must stand and fall together; and as the vision in chap. ii. is avowedly only a vision, this cannot be meant to be taken gravely as literal fact. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that there is absolutely no historical evidence for any insanity, or for any expulsion from and restoration to royal power, of Nebuchadnezzar. In the case of ordinary kings of little mark this negative evidence might be worth little against a positive statement, made even by a writer of small credit. But as to Nebuchadnezzar the case is widely different. He was the first king that raised Babylon to be the leading empire of the East; he drove the Egyptians within

their own boundaries, and conquered their tributaries in Palestine and Syria. He it was who put an end to the kingdom of Judah, and made the imagined perpetual tenure of royal power by the line of David a falsehood. In everything that befell him, therefore, the Jews were deeply interested; Jeremiah constantly speaks of him as the greatest living king, and consequently a prominent instrument in the hands of Jehovah for effecting His purposes and His judgments upon nations; and even calls him the servant of Jehovah. A seven years' insanity of the king, and consequent interregnum, could not, therefore, but have been mentioned by Jeremiah, even if no anarchy had resulted thence; and it is imposing too much upon our credulity to ask us to believe that such an interregnum would raise no revolutionary aspirations in the subjects, and no efforts at emancipation in the captives, of Babylon. The silence of Jeremiah and the Historian, therefore, is negative evidence of a kind which may fairly be called conclusive. The demeanour of Josephus on this question is very amusing; thoroughly ashamed of his countrymen's silly stories, he feels himself humiliated at having to tell them in Greek to the polished heathen, and thus distinctly disavows all responsibility, and by implication shews his own utter disbelief:

"Let no one blame me for thus reporting all these things in writing, as I find them in our ancient books; for at the very beginning of this history I secured myself against the blame of such as might miss something and find fault with me for the omission, by saying that I was only translating the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promising to expound all those subjects, without adding to the facts anything of my own, or taking anything away from them."

How hardly put to it are the upholders of the truth of this story, is most clearly seen in the fact that they seize upon the expression, "Nabuchodonosor .... fell sick and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom," which is used by the Chaldean historian Berosus quoted by Josephus,—as if the sickness there spoken of *could* be the insanity! If it be so, the veracity of Daniel's history is so impugned by its would-be defenders, that we need write no

more; for the very point of the story is that Nebuchadnezzar recovers both his reason and his kingdom, by true poetical justice; whereas Berosus speaks of a sickness of which he died. He had, moreover, used the very same words of the last illness and death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, where no one could imagine insanity of this sort to be intended.

We next come to the fall of Babylon. We hear no more of Nebuchadnezzar; and chapter v. abruptly introduces a new king, Belshazzar, reigning over Babylon. We are therefore not bound at once to assume that he was the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar; one or more short reigns might have intervened. It would, however, be curious, if not suspicious, that Daniel should speak so minutely of his various fortunes during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius and Cyrus, and not even mention the names of the kings whose reigns occupied a place between the first and the second of this series; and those especially who maintain the integrity and unity of the book are surely bound to give some explanation of the fact. But on reading a few verses further, we find that Belshazzar is distinctly spoken of as the son of Nebuchadnezzar. When the mysterious hand writes the words on the wall of the banquet-hall, and the Chaldean astrologers are unable to interpret them, the queen-mother comes in and says to the king:

"There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in whom, in thy father's days, light, and understanding, and wisdom like the wisdom of the Gods, were found; so that the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father made him master of the Professors, Enchanters, Chaldeans and Astrologers;—if Daniel be called now, he will shew the interpretation. Then, Daniel having been brought in before the king, the king accosted him and said: Art thou Daniel, of the captives of Judah that the king my father brought from Judah?"

Here it appears to be said as distinctly as words can say anything, that Nebuchadnezzar was the father of Belshazzar. Yet Dr. Pusey denies this, and with the triumphant sneer of conscious superiority writes:

"These men teach the old prophet that he ought to have said, 'Nebuchadnezzar, thy grandfather,' 'and thou, his grandson.' Most accurate advice! Daniel would doubtless have followed it,

had he been speaking English. But what if, in Chaldee, it was impossible, without coining a new word? Neither in Hebrew nor in Chaldee is there any word for 'grandfather,' 'grandson.' 'Forefathers' are called 'fathers' or 'fathers' fathers.' But a single grandfather or forefather is never called 'father's father,' but always 'father' only."—P. 404.

Now certainly any reader of either Testament, whether in the original languages or in English, may easily convince themselves that Father and Son are used of ancestors and descendants many generations apart; every Israelite acknowledged himself a *son* of Abraham, and regarded Abraham as his *father;* and the same usage prevailed in the subdivisions both of the Hebrew and of other Semitic nations: the Benjamites are sons of Benjamin, the Hittites sons of Heth, the Arabian Koreishites sons of Koreish. But the case is different when the relation, instead of being that of a descendant to a distant ancestor, is that of grandson to grandfather. The grandson does not call his grandfather, whom he may have known personally, his father. The examples cited by Dr. Pusey do not bear investigation. When Jacob speaks of his "father Abraham" (Gen. xxxi. 42), and when Laban is called "the son of Nahor" (Gen. xxix. 5), the two brother patriarchs Abraham and Nahor are treated as progenitors of their respective races, the Israelitish and the Mesopotamian, as they would be regarded by the later writer of the history; and they are distinctly so treated in the words of Laban and Jacob: "The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, and the God of their father [Terah], judge betwixt us" (Gen. xxxi. 53). The expression used by David to Mephibosheth (2 Sam. ix. 7), "Saul thy father," is rendered suspicious by the mention of "Jonathan thy father" in the very same verse; and the Greek version, actually reads "Saul thy father's father," with the approval of Thenius, the best modern commentator on this book. On the case of Maachah (1 Kings xii. 2, 13) no argument can be sustained, since there were evidently two queens whose names have been confounded. And, finally, from the fact that Zechariah the prophet, who calls himself "son of Berechiah the son of Iddo," is called in the book of Ezra, "son of Iddo," we cannot infer that Ezra means grandson, not knowing whether Ezra is aware of the existence of that Berechiah at all.

But whether or not it was possible to say "father" for "grandfather" in correct Hebrew or Chaldee (which we dare not absolutely deny, though we find no example that bears sifting), it is quite certain that the writer of Daniel describes Nebuchadnezzar as the *father* of Belshazzar. The queen is distinguished from Belshazzar's own wives and concubines; these took part in the banquet, but she only came in on occasion of the panic. She bears herself as a woman of greater age and dignity, and is acknowledged by all commentators to be the mother of the king. To us it seems certain that she speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as her late husband; and when she says of Daniel, "the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father made him master of the astrologers," &c., who can think that she only means "*thy grandfather*"? An appeal to filial affection and the sense of filial obligation may induce even a bad man to follow up his father's policy; but it is rather too much to expect a careless and drunken grandson to be greatly worked upon by a reference to the grandfather. Moreover Daniel himself says, "The Most High God gave the kingdom.... to Nebuchadnezzar *thy father*," and after alluding to the events of Nebuchadnezzar's life, immediately proceeds: "And *thou his son*, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thy heart, notwithstanding that thou knewest all this;" from which we cannot believe that Daniel knew of any intermediate reigns.

Now what is the history of the close of the Babylonian empire preceding its conquest by Cyrus, as known from other sources? There are two authorities which give a continuous list of kings, and which appear to be independent of each other, and reliable. The first is Ptolemy, who gives a table, generally called the Canon of Ptolemy; the second is the Chaldean historian Berosus, whose work, written in Greek, is lost; but considerable fragments are preserved in the quotations of Josephus and elsewhere. To these may now be added the monumental cuneiform inscriptions; these must for the present be received with caution; but when their readings are fully established they will claim the very highest place as contemporary and official registers. The royal names which concern us appear in these in the following forms; the numbers after each name denote the number of years of the reign.

	Ptolemy.	*Berosus.*	*Monuments.*
1.	Nabopolassar, 21	Nabolassar, 29	
2.	Nebuchadnezzar, 43	Nabuchodonosor, 43 (*son of* 1)	Nabu-kuduri-utsur
3.	Illoarudam, 2	Evilmaraduch, 2 (*son of* 2)	
4.	Nerigassolassar, 4	Neriglissoor, 4 (*husband of sister of* 3)	Nergal-shar-utsur, Rubu-emga
5.		Laborosoarchod, ¾ (*son of* 4)	
6.	Nabonadius, 17	Nabonned, 17 (*usurper*)	Nabu-nahit
7.			Bel-shar-ezar
8.	Cyrus	Cyrus	

Other writers give evidence which satisfactorily confirms the above on many points of importance. Thus Herodotus speaks of a king Labynetus, who must be the first on our list; and the last king of Babylon, conquered by Cyrus, is by him also called Labynetus, in which we easily recognize Nabonned. The Jewish historian mentions Evil-Merodach son of Nebuchadnezzar as king (2 Kings xxv. 27, and the identical passage, Jer. lii. 31); and a recent ingenious writer has identified the Nergal-shar-ezer, Rab-Mag, mentioned as one of the Babylonian grandees by Jeremiah, xxxix. 3, 13, with the fourth of our list; Rab-Mag is his title, "Head of the Magi;" and the occurrence of this (in the form Rubu-emga) on the monuments, seems to render the identification almost certain. After Evil-Merodach it is evident there was a change of dynasty; Berosus says he governed in an illegal and impure manner, and that a plot was laid against him by Neriglissoor, who slew the king and succeeded to the crown. He calls this Neriglissoor the husband of Evil-Merodach's sister. Even on this evidence alone we might plausibly conjecture him not to have been of royal birth, and to have married the princess in order to give a show of legality to his claim. But the identification of him with the person called by Jeremiah the Rab-Mag, and on the monuments Rubu-emga, fills up the story most satisfactorily, and proves this change of dynasty to have been a Magian conspiracy, reminding us of the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis at a later date. In this instance the Magian was successful, and

transmitted the crown to his son. The fact that Laborosoarchod is not mentioned elsewhere, not even in the Canon of Ptolemy, need not induce us to doubt his existence; for he probably is omitted by Ptolemy because his reign was only a fraction of a year, and did not affect the chronology. Another conspiracy was immediately formed, and the conspirators "by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonned, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection."

The next stage in the Babylonian history is told with tolerable unanimity by all our authorities. Cyrus, the new king of Persia, after uniting the two distinct kingdoms of Media and Persia under his sway, advanced to the conquest of Babylon. Labynetus or Nabonned was the last native king of Babylon; Cyrus overcame him and added that great city and its dependencies to his empire. Both the great Greek authorities, Herodotus and Xenophon, agree as to the manner of the conquest, describing it as effected by turning the course of the river which flowed through the city into a multitude of other channels, and then marching by night through the dry bed of the river, and entering the city, at a time when the inhabitants were indulging in the revelry attendant upon a religious festival, through the gates which opened upon the river and had therefore not been secured. But Xenophon's story is treated as an historical romance, which it is not safe to believe where it differs from those of professed historians; and Herodotus does not record the fate of the king, and therefore does not contradict, unless it be by silence, the statement of Berosus, that Nabonned with his army left the city and fortified himself in a place called Borsippus, where he surrendered to Cyrus, and was allowed to end his days in the province of Carmania.

Daniel, on the other hand, calls the last king of Babylon Belshazzar; says that he was slain in the very night on which he had held his great feast and seen the handwriting on the wall, and that Darius the Median, son of Ahasuerus, took the kingdom when about 62 years old; and that Cyrus the Persian succeeded him. He tells us nothing, however, of the manner of the latter's accession.

Here, it will be observed, out of three names of kings, two (Belshazzar and Darius) are utterly different from those in

the histories. The questions that arise are these: With whom are Belshazzar and Darius to be identified? and, What is the real relation between Darius and Cyrus? or, Was Darius or Cyrus the real conqueror of Babylon?

We might simply refuse to consider these questions. We might say that the cases of historical inaccuracy already proved against the book of Daniel are so clear, that we are entitled here to reject its statements, and to say that, however explained, they could not affect the history. It is also clear that the evidence upon the conquest of Babylon, borne by this book, is so meagre, that any attempt to find out what is there meant is hopeless, unless we have recourse to the now exploded system of harmonizing discordant narratives. And in truth this is nearly the position in which we must be content to leave the question. Still, the writer, whoever he was, though ignorant or careless, cannot have utterly falsified so notorious a story as that of the fall of Babylon. We must, therefore, bestow a little respectful attention upon him.

Who, then, was Belshazzar, and who Darius? We need not start at the mere names, and say that they prove the ignorance of the writer. Kings, Popes, and other eminent personages, have a variety of names and titles; and the name by which a conqueror or great potentate is most known to after ages is often only an assumed title. Caius Octavius became Octavianus, and ultimately Augustus; Temujin became Jinghis Khan; Jacob became Israel. It is therefore not, on the face of it, reprehensible to try to identify Belshazzar with Labynetus or Nabonned. But this identification is not rendered more likely by the details given by other writers. Herodotus, indeed, tells us nothing of Labynetus but his name; and does not even say whether he was killed in the taking of the city. But Berosus attributes to him truly kingly virtues; he had employed his reign in the fortification of the city; and when the enemy came he did not remain behind the shelter of his own walls, but led the forces which marched to attack Cyrus in the open field; and when he could hold his fortified position at Borsippus no longer, he obtained from Cyrus an honourable retirement as governor of a province, where he died in peace. In Xenophon's Cyropædeia alone we find the king of Babylon

described in terms which strikingly agree with the Belshazzar of Daniel. Though the son of a good king, he was himself a man of the most violent and uncontrollable passions, and alienated his most powerful and most attached subjects by injuries that could never be forgiven; and he appears to have added licentiousness and intemperance of life to these faults. Two of his most powerful vassals, Gobryas and Gadatas, were driven into rebellion by their injuries, and lent to Cyrus their knowledge of the country and the language, as well as their military force, in his great expedition against Babylon. The story of Gobryas, told by himself with pathetic earnestness, is one of the most beautiful episodes of Xenophon's work, and will serve as an example:

"My lord," he says to Cyrus, "I am by birth an Assyrian, and possess a strong fortress, with dominion over a large extent of country, furnishing as much as 1300 horse, with which force I used to attend the king of Assyria [i.e. Babylon or Chaldea]. The late king was an excellent man, and my particular friend; but now that he has been killed in war with you, and his son, my greatest enemy, holds the sovereignty, I come to you as a suppliant, offering myself as your slave and ally, and entreating you to be my avenger; and I will as far as possible adopt you as my son, being now destitute of male offspring. For I had, my lord, an only son, handsome and virtuous, and full of all the love and reverence that a son can feel for a happy father. The then king, father of the present king, invited him, saying that he would give his own daughter in marriage to him; and I sent him, feeling very proud that I was to see my son husband of the Royal Princess. But the present king asked him to accompany him to the chase, and urged him to ride hard, thinking himself a far better horseman; so they hunted together as friends. A bear appeared, and they both gave chase, and the prince threw his lance and missed (would to God it had been otherwise!). So my son threw his (which he should not have done!), and brought down the bear. The prince was annoyed, but smothered his vexation this time. But on the appearance of a lion he missed again,—nothing very extraordinary, I fancy; but my son was again successful, and brought down the lion, and said, 'Why, I have hit twice in succession, and brought down an animal each time!' On this the guilty wretch could not restrain his envy, but seized a spear from one of the followers and thrust it into the breast of my dear, my only son, and took his life. And I,

his wretched father, took home a corpse instead of a bridegroom! I at my advanced age had to bury the best of sons, and the only one I should ever have, just when he was reaching the flower of his maturity. But the murderer acted as if he had killed an enemy, and never testified the least remorse, nor even sought to atone for his wicked act by bestowing any funeral honours on the dead. His father commiserated me, and shewed real compassion with my affliction. If he were living, I should never have come to you on the ground of that injury, for I received many proofs of his friendship, and gave him many of mine; but now that the crown has come to my son's murderer, I never can be loyal to him; and I am sure he will never regard me as his friend, knowing how I feel towards him, and how I now live in contrast with my former splendour,—dragging on my old age in solitary grief."

Unfortunately this account hardly helps us in the identification of Belshazzar, since Xenophon does not know the king's name, and only calls him "the Assyrian." But it confirms very strongly a discovery announced by the decipherers of the inscriptions, and the inference they found upon it. They profess to have found the name Belshazzar (in the form Bel-shar-ezar) as eldest son of Nabonned, admitted by his father to a share in the government; and they fill up the facts stated by the historians by the conjecture that he was left in command of the city when (according to Berosus) his father led the army into the field and fortified himself in Borsippus. Thus the truth of history is finally elicited by the comparison of these various historians, none of whom (except perhaps the inscriptions) know the whole story. But towards proving the writer of Daniel a contemporary and fully-informed witness, these investigations do absolutely nothing; for if Xenophon is mistaken as to the fate of Nabonned, the writer of Daniel is ignorant of his very existence, and consequently of the real parentage of Belshazzar.

The next question is as to Darius and Cyrus. When Belshazzar was slain, "Darius the Median received the kingdom, when 62 years old;" he is afterwards called "son of Ahasuerus." Who was he? The list of Median and Persian kings, as known chiefly from Greek sources, is as follows:

		Reigned	Accession
1. Deioces (son of Phraortes), king of Media,		53 years;	709 B.C.
2. Phraortes	(his son), " "	22 "	656 "
3. Cyaxares	(his son), " "	40 "	634 "

		Reigned	Accession
4. Astyages (his son),	king of Media,	35 years;	594 B.C.
[5. Cyaxares II. (his son),	„ „]		
6. Cyrus (son of Cambyses, a Persian noble, and of Mandane, daughter of Astyages),	king of Persia and Media,	29 „	559 „
7. Cambyses (his son),	„ „	7½ „	529 „
8. Pseudo-Smerdis, the Magian, usurper			
9. Darius (son of Hystaspes, a noble Persian)			521 „

If the death of Belshazzar and accession of Darius the Median described in Dan. v. 30, 31, happened at the well-known taking of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C., Darius the Mede (supposing him to have any pretensions to the royal dignity clearly assigned to him by the writer of Daniel) could be no other than either Astyages or Cyaxares II. According to Herodotus and most of the authorities, Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, was conquered by him in 559 and kept in confinement till his death, while Cyrus assumed the style of King of Persia and Media. It is scarcely possible that in 538 he should still be living, and allowed not merely to co-operate with Cyrus in his conquests, but to assume royal power at Babylon, as the book of Daniel asserts of Darius the Mede. Moreover, the chronology on this supposition becomes hopeless; for if his age was then only 62, at his accession to the throne of Media in 594 he was only seven years old, which is very improbable; and allowing his daughter to be born when he was only twenty, and her son Cyrus when she was twenty, we obtain 560 as the year of Cyrus's birth; whereas he added Media to his sway in 559. It hence becomes evident that Astyages must have been from twenty to thirty years older than his identification with Darius the Mede in 538 would render possible. The objection against the other supposition, that he was Cyaxares, son of Astyages and uncle of Cyrus, is the well-founded doubt as to the existence of that king. The historians call Astyages the last king of Media, and say that Cyrus conquered him in 559. Xenophon alone, in his Cyropædeia, which has always been regarded as a mere historical romance, makes Astyages to die peacefully, and Cyaxares to succeed him, and subsequently to give his daughter in marriage to Cyrus, with the kingdom of Media as her portion,

so that Cyrus appears not as conqueror, but as legitimate sovereign of Media. Against Xenophon the novelist we can call Xenophon the historian as witness; for in his Anabasis he distinctly speaks of the Persians "taking the dominion from the Medes." We may therefore dismiss Cyaxares II. from notice.

The only course now left appears to be to consider whether the taking of Babylon by Darius from Belshazzar was a different event from the celebrated conquest by Cyrus in 538. Marcus Niebuhr contends for this. He calls attention to the revolution that seems to have taken place at Babylon on the murder of Evil-Merodach, when Neriglissoor, a man not of royal birth, was made king; and conjectures that the wicked Evil-Merodach who was killed is Belshazzar, and that the internal revolution was fostered by the hostile Medes under Darius (i.e. Astyages), who took Babylon in 559 and became its king for a year,* after which he was conquered by Cyrus, as related by Herodotus, and the Babylonians were left free again. The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 would, of course, remain unaffected by this hypothesis; the twenty-one years between Darius and Cyrus being simply passed over in silence. In this case we must either find room for the short reign (perhaps less than a year) of Darius between Evil-Merodach and Neriglissoor, or suppose the latter to be allowed by Darius to reign as his vassal, and after the defeat of Darius to have become an independent king. This hypothesis is recommended by the two following considerations. Darius is called the son of Ahasuerus (Achashverosh): now Astyages was son of Cyaxares. The name Ahasuerus is on the monuments *Huwak'hshatra;* and Cy-axares is probably Kai (or king) Axares, or [Huw]ak'hshatra; so that on this hypothesis the book of Daniel, though giving to Astyages an unknown name (Darius), gives his parentage correctly. And the assumption of this earlier conquest of Babylon would satisfactorily correct the anachronisms in the life of Astyages, which were shewn to be fatal to the other. But this result is attained at the expense of so much gratuitous conjecture, that we must reject it even more decidedly than the two

* The book of Daniel, however, though it speaks of only one year of Darius's reign, implies, in the expression, "In the first year of Darius," a longer reign, and is, therefore, a witness against rather than for M. Niebuhr's hypothesis.

preceding hypotheses. For, 1, it assumes a capture of Babylon by the Medes of which we know not a word; 2, it identifies Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach, against the reported documentary evidence of the inscriptions, and the arguments we have used above; 3, it accounts for a revolution which is explained with great probability by Berosus from domestic causes, by the pressure of foreign foes.

This hypothesis of M. Niebuhr's, if adopted, would be only another witness against regarding the writer of Daniel as contemporary and well-informed. For, 1, he makes Daniel tell Belshazzar that his kingdom "is given to the *Medes and Persians*," which is distinctly false if Astyages king of Media only was the conqueror; 2, he assumes that Darius the Mede had his residence at Babylon, which was certainly not true of Astyages; 3, he makes Darius pass decrees "according to the law of the *Medes and Persians*, which altereth not," whereas the very wording of this sentence could not exist till after Cyrus's conquest of Media; and it could hardly have become a common proverb till those laws had long existed, and even become so antiquated as to provoke a smile; 4, he passes over the twenty-one years between Darius and Cyrus without a word, and in phrases like, "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," implies that the latter immediately followed the former; 5, though speaking of the supposed taking of Babylon by Astyages, and including the reign of Cyrus within his survey, he does not even allude to the far greater conquest by Cyrus.

The suggestion that Darius might be a viceroy of Cyrus not possessed of sovereign power, imputes to the writer of Daniel quite as great untruthfulness as summary rejection of his account would do, and has therefore absolutely nothing in its favour. According to the writer of Daniel, the reign of Darius precedes that of Cyrus, whereas this hypothesis makes them contemporary; and Darius is always called *king* (vi. 4, &c.), and is distinctly described as *not* the ruler of a single province, but swaying an immense empire containing a multitude of provinces, and nations speaking a great variety of languages (vi. 1, 2, 25, 26).

Our final judgment, therefore, is against all these hypotheses respecting Darius the Mede: 1, he cannot be Astyages, and the conquest that of 538, because chronology

forbids; 2, nor Cyaxares II., because there is no sufficient evidence for, and there is abundant evidence against, the existence of such a king; 3, nor Astyages at the date of 559, from the utter absence of evidence for any Median conquest at that date.

In other words, this Darius the Mede is simply a fabulous personage. It is not worth while to inquire minutely whence the writer can have taken the name. It is the result of such a confusion of historical personages as may easily be made in a later age, especially in reference to foreign potentates; and which is most of all to be expected at a time when history was ransacked for moral stories rather than for its truth. We have seen our author confound Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; and if he could do so with the well-known kings of his own nation, how can we expect him to be more exact in reference to the Median and Persian kings? The mention of the division of the empire into Satrapies (vi. 1, 2), reminds us of the Persian Darius, son of Hystaspes, whose accession was in B.C. 521, who first perfected that system, said to have been commenced by Cyrus; and possibly a confused remembrance of that Darius may account for the *name* of this Median namesake; whilst the nationality ascribed to him shews that the writer supposed him to be one of the separate kings of Media before the union. If Darius be fabulous, we are of course spared further inquiry into the length of his reign, the interval between his reign and that of Cyrus, and the relation in which the latter stood to him; and of Cyrus himself there is nothing to be said, since the author tells us nothing.

This book, then, was written at an age so late, that the Medes and Persians were always coupled together as forming one nation; that their laws had become a by-word on account of their stupid conservatism; that the history of the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and of Babylon by Cyrus, had been forgotten, and could be alluded to with the gravest inaccuracies of detail. How late the composition of the book must be placed, we cannot further determine without an examination of the various visions related by our author, and especially the apocalyptic chapters with which the book closes.

IV.—THE POSITION OF ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The Religious and Social Position of Catholics in England: an Address delivered to the Catholic Congress of Malines, August 21st, 1863. By H. E. Cardinal Wiseman. Dublin: Duffy. 1864.

Essays on Religion and Literature, by various Writers. Edited by H. E. Manning, D.D. London: Longmans. 1865.

An Encyclical Letter of Pius IX. Pope: given at St. Peter's in Rome, the 8th of December, 1864.

A NEW political fact has more than once, during the last year or two, perplexed the minds of the Tadpoles and Tapers, who know beforehand how every member of the House of Commons will vote in a great party division, and love to predict the result of a general election. The Roman Catholic interest—notwithstanding associations formed by the struggles of more generations than one, and obligations incurred in the great victory of 1829—is being surely transferred from the Liberal side to that of their rivals. Nor is this merely a fresh phase of the everlasting Irish difficulty. The Catholic element in the House of Commons is indeed almost exclusively Irish: no Catholic member represents a Scotch constituency; in England, Arundel alone sends a son of the great Catholic house, at whose castle-gates the tiny borough lies. But in many English towns and counties, Catholic electors have turned, or have attempted to turn, the scale in favour of Conservative candidates. The proximate cause of the change is, of course, the sympathy accorded by all English Liberals to the cause of Italian liberty and unity, combined with the belief that Lord Derby would not unwillingly see the Austrians back again in Milan, the Bourbons once more on the neck of Naples, and by consequence the Pope serenely safe on the hills of the Eternal City from any possible wave of revolution. But this is hardly the whole. Catholic electors seem of late curiously willing to condone Tory crimes, curiously unwilling to overlook Whig errors; they will accept a candidate who has voted against Maynooth every year for the last twenty, if only they think him sound on the Italian question; they

will reject another if tainted, however faintly, with Garibaldian sympathy, though whenever Catholic claims have been raised he has gone into the same lobby with Sir George Bowyer. Are we to conclude that, in their new and absorbing anxiety for the temporal power of the Pope, Catholics are transiently forsaking their rightful political connections; or, on the other hand, that having now conquered a full social and political equality with Protestants, they are deserting the allies by whose help the battle has been won, and permanently entrenching themselves in the position which is naturally their own?

There is very little instruction upon this matter to be derived from the past history of Roman Catholicism in England. Ever since the Reformation, the position of the Catholic minority has always been anomalous. Under Elizabeth, the dangers from which Protestantism had so lately escaped, the dangers to which, in case of the accession of Mary Stuart, it might again be exposed, narrowed all the possibilities of political action open to the Catholic gentleman to avowed or secret treason. When Charles I., the husband of a Catholic princess and himself not disinclined to the ancient faith, raised his standard at Nottingham against the Puritans, personal predilection and religious animosity concurred with political choice in rallying the Catholics to the Cavaliers. Under Cromwell's stern rule, the only alternative offered to them was that of entire abstinence from politics or open-eyed rebellion against the Government. Then, under Charles II., Catholics and Dissenters alike depended for whatever privileges they furtively enjoyed upon the personal favour of a King, who, sooner than rouse a dangerous opposition, would abandon any friend, and professed no principle which he would not sell for a subsidy. But when the secret sympathies of Charles were exchanged for the avowed favour of James, the position of affairs became (as, indeed, we believe it to have been during the first half of the present century) both perplexing and deceptive. Whether or not the Catholics, or the King for them, desired supremacy, the first thing to be secured was equality; and the lesser advantage could be secured only by the concealment or denial of any desire for the greater. So the Catholic monarch, offering to all his subjects—Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, Quaker—a religious

liberty which the Established Church refused both to the communities which had dissented from herself and the community from which she had dissented, exhibited to the world the spectacle, with which we are unhappily familiar, of the ancient Church contending for liberality, of the Church of the Reformation advocating repression. Fortunately for the liberties of England, the Nonconformists saw the snare, and, magnanimously throwing in their lot with the Churchmen who had passed the Act of Uniformity, were rewarded for their patriotic self-denial by a hundred and fifty years' added exclusion from full civil rights. But from this time almost to our own, the Catholics, with the exception of a transient flash of the old Cavalier spirit in 1715, and again in 1745, sank into enforced quiescence. The continued exclusion from the great national seats of learning told unfavourably upon the nobility and gentry who were their natural leaders. English and Irish Catholics rose to great distinction in the military and diplomatic service of France, Spain, Austria; but the Catholic country gentleman of Lancashire or Staffordshire was necessarily a more bucolic and venatory being even than his Protestant neighbour, inasmuch as he had never mixed with his equals at Eton or Oxford, and could aspire neither to the honour of a seat in Parliament nor even the paler glories of Quarter Sessions. But during the whole of this time he was learning to think and feel with the Whigs. They alone professed any desire to extend to him the privileges of a citizen. They alone engaged the sympathies of the Dissenters, who laboured under similar though less oppressive disabilities. And when at last, in 1829, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts gave liberty to both, it seemed as if the Liberal party might as safely count upon Catholic as it still counts upon Nonconformist support.

The progress of events since 1829, is traced with great clearness by Cardinal Wiseman, in the speech which, in August, 1863, he delivered to the Congress at Malines. We shall not take the trouble to analyze his statistics, because, while artfully arrayed to produce a great impression upon the mind of the careless reader, they omit all mention of the single fact which it is important to know. They describe an enormous increase of priests, places of worship, religious houses, but they make no attempt to estimate the number

or to analyze the constituents of the Catholic community either in 1829 or in 1863. They enumerate an imposing array of engines of conversion, but carefully abstain from stating the number of converts. Those who note the immense lee-way which the Catholic Church had to fetch up, the exertions necessary to reclaim and minister to those who, both by birth and habit, were her own, the legitimate sphere of labour open to her in the Irish and foreign population of our great cities, and the absolute nullity of her influence upon the average Protestant mind of the country, will not be made uneasy by any such carefully guarded statements as these of Cardinal Wiseman. But he makes another class of statements which are far more significant. He recalls the gradual development of his Church's organization; how in 1840 Gregory XVI. doubled the number of Vicars Apostolic in England; how in 1850 Pius IX. introduced a regular Episcopal hierarchy. Then he goes on to enumerate the efforts which have been made to educate the lowest class of poor Catholic children, and to state that, for such purposes, the Church during the last fifteen years has received (in the shape of grants from the Committee of Council) £268,062 from the general taxation of the country. He records that these schools are visited by Inspectors who, though they must be Catholics, are nevertheless salaried by Government. He recounts the circumstances which attended the foundation of Catholic reformatories and schools of industry, recognized and approved by the Home Secretary; the nomination of Catholic chaplains to the army, eighty-one of whom are now receiving from Government annual salaries, amounting to £5921; a similar provision for the religious instruction of Catholic sailors; the permissive Act, now being brought into operation, for the election at quarter sessions of Catholic gaol chaplains; and an agitation, not yet brought to a successful conclusion, for a like concession in the case of workhouses. All these things, he tells us, the Catholics have won in fair fight: these rights are the spoil of their own bow and their own spear. They have confidence in the justice of God; they have also "an unbounded confidence in the ultimate justice of their fellow-countrymen." They pursue their ends by constitutional measures; they ask not for favour, but for right: "justice, as due to their fellow-citizens, is all they demand." But still the Catholic

members of the House of Commons are an insignificant fraction of the whole; a great party in the State persistently opposes all their demands, however abstractly just they may be; and without the disinterested aid of another party, greater and stronger still, this series of successes could not have been attained. But it is a significant fact, that when Cardinal Wiseman proceeds "to discharge a debt which weighs upon his heart," it is not to the liberal statesmen of England, who have braved so much obloquy to secure to his Church rights which she denies to every other, but—Heaven save the mark!—to the Belgian Bishops:

"I return thanks, in the name of all the Bishops of our Hierarchy, to my Lords the Prelates of the Belgian Episcopate, for the inestimable services which they have rendered us, and which have contributed so largely to the progress of which I have been speaking."*

Yet even such a palpable omission as this is courtesy itself, compared with the terms in which Mr. Oakeley, not having yet forgotten all his Anglican superciliousness, acknowledges the aid of Nonconformist friends of religious liberty:

"Here are we in this country, the treasurers and guardians of the Eternal Truth, the inheritors of the original religion, the members of that Church whose ancestry alone is royal, whose pedigree alone untarnished, and whose relations with the world she has to conquer are alone unfettered by the boundaries of human empire, and independent of the fluctuations of human caprice—here are we, I say, through the effects of that misery which is proverbially the parent of unnatural coalitions, compelled to cast in our lot with those separatists of yesterday, even in their largest comprehension and minutest intersection; with the rejected of the rejected, the offshoots of the dissevered branch; with the fautors, however unconscious, of heresy doubly distilled, and the victims of schism twice divided; and compelled to think it gain, if we can get anywise into port by the aid of a towage so rude, or under a convoy so shabby. Certainly it is an abject position for the Queen of the Nations and the Bride of the Lamb!"‡

The foregoing is not the only passage in the curious and suggestive "Essays on Religion and Literature," of which

* Address at Malines, p. 43.

† Essays, &c., "The Position of a Catholic Minority in a Non-Catholic Country," p. 145.

Dr. Manning is the editor, in which it is frankly admitted that the position of Catholics in England has hitherto been anomalous.

"Catholics"—we again quote Mr. Oakeley—"even the most valiant and ingenuous, must there (i.e. in the arena of politics) be prepared to act a part and sustain a character in that dignified drama, in which there is no duplicity but such as is common to all, and no deception, because deception, like injury, pre-supposes as a general rule an unwilling subject. We are all, in fact, thrown, against our inclination, upon a discipline of economy or management; we must adapt our sentiments, so far as it may be safely and rightly done, to the popular standard of acceptance, adjust our claims to the measure of probable recognition, and shape our language by the rule of the public intelligence. This, then, is our position."*

It would hardly be possible, we think, to describe more accurately the political action of the Catholic Church. No human organization was ever of so marvellous a pliancy and suppleness: it deliberately resolves to be "all things to all men;" it bends, like the reed, to every blast, that it may be the better prepared to meet the next. In England, the least tolerant of churches fights under the banner of toleration, and from Protestants claims an equality of privilege, which it never fails to deny to Protestants, when it can. In America, it builds itself up on the voluntary principle, a sect among sects. In Prussia, it makes a concordat with a Protestant state: in Belgium, it engages in a too successful parliamentary struggle: in France, it plays upon an Emperor's dread of assassination and an Empress's fear of hell. All these are only varying manifestations of one changeful policy: to learn her preferences, to ascertain the ends for which that policy is pursued, we must look to countries where the Church is supreme in her own seats—to Rome, where the worship of Protestants is tolerated, for the sake of their lucrative presence, *without the walls*—to Spain, where they are not allowed to worship at all. To shew that the Catholic Church is, in its essence and by its history, committed to what may be very gently called the Conservative side of the perpetual struggle of politics, is surely to prove a self-evident proposition. Whatever may appear to be, for a time, its line of action, whatever alliances it may temporarily con-

* Essays, p. 139.

clude, here it must be found at last. Self-government in the State is too nearly akin to self-government in the Church, to be in favour at Rome. Political exigency, like misery, makes men acquainted with strange companions, as when Innocent XI.'s good wishes accompanied William of Orange in his expedition against the last Catholic king of England. But with due allowance for such exigencies, the Catholic Church will always be found to take the side of the kings against the peoples.

Catholicism itself, however, is not animated by an absolute uniformity of spirit. Within the Church a Conservative and a Liberal party (if, indeed, we may use terms which, as thus applied, are far more indicative than descriptive) have existed from a period long anterior to the Reformation. For after the great schism had divided the Eastern from the Western Church, the mind of Europe, at least where civilization was least imperfect, conceived of the Latin communion, with the Bishop of Rome at its head, as the single legitimate successor of the church founded by the apostles. But this idea was not quite the same, looked at from the centre and from the circumference. The Popes, with their attendant court of Cardinals, naturally endeavoured to concentrate all spiritual power in themselves; to cement the churches of Britain, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, into one great spiritual republic, for which they should themselves prescribe laws and policy, and to assert their own independence of the collective opinion of the Church, speaking by the voice of a General Council. On the other hand, grew up as naturally the idea of national churches: even churchmen had patriotic rights to defend against a foreign potentate; while conflicts arose perpetually between the Pope, as the ecclesiastical superior of Bishops and Abbots, and the King, to whom they owed feudal homage for their temporalities. The national churches were themselves indivisible parts of the one great communion; and, on the one hand, were unwilling to have their individual peculiarities obliterated, their special rights denied; on the other, maintained the supremacy of the Church as a whole over any single Bishop, however high, in place and power: hence the type of Catholicism known as Cismontane, or non-Italian. The Roman court desired that all power exercised throughout the Catholic world should centre in itself, and in a barbarous and corrupt age spared no pains, scrupled no means, to effect its object:

hence the Ultramontane form of Catholicism. That these tendencies have been long at work, and therefore that the boasted uniformity of Catholic practice and policy is less real than apparent, very few instances will suffice to shew. Even now the visitor to Milan may notice that in that most impressive of Catholic churches attention is not distracted from the high altar by the multitude of smaller shrines usually crowded between every pillar; and, if he be skilled in ritualistic lore, will discern that he is listening to another than the common Roman liturgy. Such are remnants of independence which from the time of Ambrose, Milan's greatest Archbishop, have, even in Lombardy, defied the centralizing power of Rome. An instance of the same tendency, though belonging to a later age and a different region of life, may be furnished by our English Statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire, passed by a generation which yet prosecuted Wiclif and burned Lollards. And, to come down to post-Reformation times, the long struggle of the *Regale*, carried on with the Holy See by Louis XIV., that eldest son of the Church, who destroyed Port Royal and revoked the Edict of Nantes—a struggle which involved the assertion of the famous liberties of the Gallican Church—is a third conspicuous example.

During the three hundred years which have elapsed since the Reformation, various yet concurrent causes have tended to strengthen the Ultramontane party in the Church. The chief of these has been the Reformation itself. It is a well-known fact, that the first result of the defection of Germany, Switzerland, England, Scotland, Holland and half of France from Rome, was a revival of the Papacy; a series of able and resolute Pontiffs ascended the Papal chair; an unwonted vigour animated the councils of the Holy See; and in the Order of Jesus a fresh power was called into existence to redress the balance of the religious world, disturbed by Protestantism. If the Catholic Church was to come victorious out of the struggle, it was essentially necessary that its policy should be devised by one brain, its force wielded by one hand; and a sense of the common danger in part laid to rest the jealousies of national churches. An effect in the same direction was produced by the disuse of General Councils. For the last Council which laid claim to an œcumenical character was that of Trent, convoked to

pass an authoritative condemnation of the errors of Luther, and not even the most anti-papal Catholics breathe a wish for the assembly of another. Yet in the absence of Councils and the continued need of Catholic organization, arising from the hostile presence of Protestantism, the power of the Pope becomes every day more unquestionably supreme. The material civilization of Europe has, in a certain sense, worked to the advantage of Ultramontane theories; its kingdoms have been practically drawn together into one grand federation; intercommunication is easy, rapid, safe; and the Bishop of Rome can now more readily direct the affairs of the Catholic world, than once the Archbishop of Canterbury those of his half-barbarous province. The French revolution has, like the Reformation, effected the concentration of the forces opposed to it: in Austria, in France, in Spain, in Italy, reform encounters foes, reaction friends, in the clerical class; while the worldly diplomacy, no less than the spiritual influence of Rome, has steadily worked in one direction. In England especially many causes have combined to give the Catholicism of the 19th a far more Ultramontane form than that of the 15th century. Here, till within the last thirty years, there has been no possibility of a National Catholic Church. Many of the Catholic ecclesiastics who labour here are of foreign birth or education; while all, owing to the determination of our Government to hold no direct diplomatic intercourse with Rome, are entirely dependent upon the Holy See. It is quite true that some of the old Catholic families, still imbued with the traditions of the last century, range themselves on the opposite side; but the zeal of the younger generation, powerfully stimulated by the success of their Church, still more the fresh ardour of converts from Anglicanism, leads them to sympathy with the Ultramontane party. The tone of the "Essays," which Dr. Manning edits, and over which Cardinal Wiseman throws the shield of his protection, is more Roman than Rome itself.

But notwithstanding this gradual prevalence of Ultramontane views in the Church, the Liberal party still lives. Yet its lines have fallen into anything but pleasant places. It has to maintain the thesis that a true allegiance to the Church is not incompatible with human freedom and progress; that science may pursue her magnificent career of

discovery undisturbed by the fear of clerical anathema, and social problems be solved in simple accordance with everlasting principles of truth and right. And all this is to be done with due submission to an aged Italian Priest who can silence when he cannot refute, and has unlimited liberty to condemn those who have no opportunity of defence or appeal! Only one result can follow from such a conflict of ideas. Dr. Döllinger, heading the liberal Catholic theologians of Germany, convokes a scientific and literary congress at Munich. The Pope condemns the congress. Sir J. D. Acton in England edits the Home and Foreign Review, as the organ of the same opinions. The Pope silences the Review. But these were only preliminaries of a more decisive blow. In his now notorious Encyclical of the 8th of December, 1864, Pius IX. declares war against modern society and science. Every principle of government and social organization which Englishmen at least are resolved to regard as the ripest and most precious birth of time, is here declared to be anathema. As if to provide against all possible misconception, the 80th and last damnable error of the portentous catalogue appended to the Letter is, that "the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism and modern civilization." So monstrous is this document, that even Catholic Spain hesitates to receive it; while the French Emperor has forbidden the Bishops to read it from their pulpits. But though Catholic states protest, the Catholic Church accepts it. The most that so-called liberal theologians have hitherto ventured to do, is to attempt to shew that the Encyclic is not as bad as at first sight it seems to be. But no Luther arises to burn the bull. The Catholic Church is at last decisively and openly at war with science, toleration, self-government; and whoever is with her is against these.

We will not waste the reader's time either in characterizing the Encyclic with greater minuteness, or with arguments directed against the position which it takes up: it is fair to assume that they understand the one, and do not need to be convinced by the other. But bearing in mind the coincidence, in point of time, of this Letter with the complete conquest of religious equality by English Catholics, and noting also how completely Ultramontane in tone is the manifesto issued in the volume of Essays which we have

placed at the head of this article, it is not inopportune to ask, what is to be the political future of Roman Catholicism in England? In attempting to answer this question, we have no desire to utter predictions as to the duration of the alliance which is now being formed between the Conservative and the Catholic party. Catholic ecclesiastics are shifty politicians, and their support of any party in the State is of the kind which hides future weakness in present strength. But should the Liberals be condemned to see themselves ousted from office by a coalition between their enemies and the very men who, but for them, would have had no political influence to exercise, they may console themselves with the reflection, that the price exacted for Catholic support will be precisely such as an ostentatiously Protestant party will find it unspeakably irksome, if not in the end impossible, to pay.

The real difficulty which, apart from mere bitterness of theological prejudice, has always underlain the question of the relations between Protestant and Catholic in England,—which came up for decision at the time of the disputed succession in the reign of Elizabeth, when James undermined his throne by the claim of a prerogative of dispensation, and once more in the struggles which preceded the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts,—is this: Is it possible for a sincere Catholic to be a loyal citizen of a Protestant country? Nor is this a mere question of personal loyalty to a monarch, or of an honest preference for constitutional government. The difficulty arising from a divided allegiance practically disappeared long ago; and if at Catholic dinners the Pope is toasted before the Queen, the utmost possible harm that has been done is the commission of an offence against good taste. No one believes that the most fanatical admirer of Pius IX. wishes ill to the benign sway of Queen Victoria, or cherishes any desire to replace Lord Palmerston and the House of Commons by Cardinal Antonelli and his attendant Monsignori. The question to be answered goes far deeper than this: it regards not forms of government, but the results which forms of government are designed to produce. Is not the Protestant, in many important respects, different from the Catholic ideal of society? We compare the two religions in regard to their efficacy in promoting certain social ends; but in so doing, do we not too hastily assume that the social ends which they respectively aim to

promote *are the same?* And if this is so, must not a true Catholic in a Protestant country be more or less of an alien, a traitor within the gates,—for a time, indeed, claiming the protection and availing himself of the privileges of the existing order of things, but always watching his opportunity to change that order into something quite different? So that if full toleration of Roman Catholics, and their admission to a complete religious equality with Protestants, remains the duty of every Protestant State which is faithful to its own essential principles, it is useless to expect that the religious and social life of the Catholic minority will ever flow in one mingled current with that of their Protestant fellow-citizens.

The misfortune of this subject is, that hitherto it has been argued, not on political, but on religious grounds. This man believes in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and prays to her as the Mother of God—*therefore* he is not fit to vote for Members of Parliament; that attends divine service in an unknown tongue, and bows in reverent awe when the priest lifts up for worship the present Deity—for God's sake don't give him a commission in the army or suffer him to command a frigate! The process of so-called reasoning is really no reasoning at all; the grounds alleged would not justify a partial, and yet have been made to cover a total, deprivation of political privilege. Men, especially statesmen, who had a little wider vision than the average Evangelical Protestant, in time grew tired of this nonsense; they felt that if difference from a central standard of belief ought justly to debar a man from civic rights, Protestant creeds were sufficiently various; and that there was no magical virtue in the word Protestant to unite Churchman, Baptist, Quaker, Unitarian, Methodist, in a mystic fellowship of political capacity from which the Catholic was necessarily shut out. Nor would any but an English or Scotch Protestant, full of an insular prejudice, deny that the Roman Catholic Church has rendered great services to mankind, and that a pious and learned man may join her communion without rendering himself justly liable to the charge of childish credulity. It may still be maintained, with more than a show of argument, that in the case of the rural populations of Southern Europe, her faith and worship are the first and necessary stage in their progress to a higher

form of religion. It cannot be questioned that the grandeur of her claims and the rigour of her discipline marvellously call out in her servants all those virtues which spring from unhesitating obedience to a higher than any personal will. Every form of Christianity has its peculiar product of human character; and that which we call saintliness grows more abundantly and ripens a sweeter fruit in Catholic than in Protestant fields. But all this, except in so far as it is necessary and right to protest against the absurd English under-estimate of Catholicism as a form of religious impulse, is beside the mark. Whether Catholicism be, on the whole, a truer and more efficacious form of religious belief than any kind of Protestantism, is a question for theologians alone. It is quite another question—and the only one which concerns the politician—whether there be anything in Catholic theories of the relation of the Church to the State, or of the Church to Society, which introduces a special difficulty into the position of the Catholic citizen in a Protestant commonwealth.

It has been too hastily assumed, we think, during the last thirty years, that these special difficulties do not exist. We will briefly indicate one or two points at which they are likely to arise.

In the first place, the position assigned to the Catholic Church by the law of the land, is entirely different from that which she claims for herself. The State offers toleration; the Church demands supremacy. In the eye of the law, Catholics are merely a very large and powerful body of Dissenters from the Established Church. The privileges accorded to them, above other Dissenters, are justified, we presume, on the ground that the prevalence of Catholicism in Ireland, as well as its existence in England, introduces a large Catholic element into that class of the population which mans the army and navy and fills our goals and workhouses. Could we suppose an equal number of Baptist soldiers, sailors, felons, paupers, Government would, if asked, appoint Baptist chaplains in proportion, and pay them out of the public funds. The practice of the State in regard to Catholics is a fair, if somewhat extreme, deduction from the principle of toleration: to refuse the means of religious instruction to the classes to which the paid chaplains minister, would be, by implication, to deny them the free

exercise of their worship. But the Catholic Church accepts toleration, not as a principle, but only as an instalment of the privileges solely inherent in herself; she will have equality only so long and under such circumstances of disadvantage as she cannot claim predominance. She is not one among many churches; there is but one Church, the eternal, the indivisible, and all others pretenders, rebels against her divine authority. So in taking toleration—as all she can get—in England, she in no way prejudices her divine right to deny toleration in Spain, and in England too, if ever her hour of conquest should come. If we interpret rightly the doctrine of the Pope's Encyclical Letter, as well as of the English Catholics who contribute to Dr. Manning's volume of Essays, the presence of a Protestant in a Catholic State is a nuisance which ought to be summarily abated.

The single fact, then, that the equal privilege of differing churches is in the minds of Catholics no realization of an ultimate principle, but merely an arrangement in which they temporarily acquiesce because advantageous to themselves, is of itself sufficient ground for watchfulness on the part of a Protestant State. But, in the next place, the Catholic theory of the relation between Church and State is essentially different from any which prevails among Protestants. The volume of Essays to which we have so often referred, closes with a long and elaborate paper, by Mr. Edward Lucas, on "Christianity in relation to Civil Society." Its argument is subtle and involved, although the theory which it aims to establish is simple and trenchant enough. Christianity is of course equivalent to the Catholic Church. And in all those matters in which it is possible for Church and State to have a common interest, the Church is absolutely supreme. What are those matters?

There is, first, the question of marriage. This the Protestant State practically takes into its own hands. It enforces the performance of marriage as a civil contract, leaving the Church at liberty to superadd the religious ceremony. That civil contract carries with it the needful legal sanctions: if the Church can give any spiritual sanction to the religious rite which the contracting parties think worth having, she is free to do so. Then comes the question of education. The Church claims the exclusive right

of educating her children, from the infant school up to the university. In England, the matter is settled by permitting Catholics, like any other body of Dissenters, to establish and regulate their own schools and colleges, and extending to them pecuniary support in the measure and under conditions offered to all. In Ireland, an attempt to unite Catholics and Protestants in the same places of instruction has met with only a modified success: extreme men hold themselves aloof from both the National Board of Education and the Queen's Colleges. Still, the difficulties which have here been experienced are not peculiar to Catholics, but are such as might have arisen in connection with any bigoted and exclusive body of Protestant Dissenters. Next is the difficulty of property held in mortmain. There can be no reason, under any system of complete toleration, why Catholic churches and schools should not receive and enjoy endowments, so long as, in regard to the kind of property so left, they are under the same restrictions as all other charitable institutions. But while civil society looks with suspicion upon all clerical influence exercised upon a death-bed disposition of property, it is doubly distrustful of a system which bids the dying sinner believe that by a timely offering to the Church he can atone for past unfaithfulness and purchase ministrations which will smooth the dark and rugged path on which he is about to enter. Once more, the whole relation between priest and laymen,—the knowledge, on the one hand, gained in auricular confession, and, on the other, the possibility of turning that knowledge to account by the power of withholding the sacraments of the Church,—may and often does introduce into society a silent, subtle influence, which it is almost as difficult to trace as impossible to counteract. In Ireland, this peculiarity of the Catholic system has frequently impeded the course of justice: the consciences of the people have been in the priests' keeping; and what the confessor treats as only a venial offence, the peasant is not easily persuaded to believe a serious crime. But we must look to Catholic countries for a full development of this secret influence of the clergy. Wherever a monarch or a minister is a devout Catholic, the different religious orders intrigue for the appointment of one of themselves as his confessor, well knowing that they will thus be able to lay hands upon the helm of state.

If, in consequence of the practical infidelity which so largely prevails, it is not easy to bring this influence to bear directly upon men, they are to be approached through their wives, sisters, mothers; and the family director not only prescribes the penances, but dictates the politics, of the household. The mainstay of the Papacy at the present moment is beyond doubt the unknown and nameless confessor of the Empress Eugenie. The destinies of the French Church in the reign of Louis XIV. varied with the varying characters of his Jesuit directors—Annat, Ferrier, La Chaise, Le Tellier—the real, though obscure, primates of the Gallican Church. And, in the last place, the Catholic Church and the Protestant State come into collision as to the social expediency of the monastic life. The State may, as the English Government is now doing, treat as a harmless religious peculiarity the association of a few monks here and there, who undertake the charge of a reformatory, or regard with complacency the collection into a nunnery of a band of devoted women, whose business in life is to educate the neglected children of the poor, or to tend the sick beds which natural kindness has deserted. But the principle of the monastic life once admitted, what limit is to be put to its extension? At a time when Catholic Governments are ruthlessly suppressing convents, and treating the whole system as an ulcer upon the body of the State, are we prepared to admit the possibility of its revived growth among ourselves to the luxuriance of the century before the Reformation? Or if this be regarded—as by most readers it will be—as a mere visionary terror, is there not in the seclusion, the discipline, the irrevocable vows of conventual life, at least an opportunity afforded for such infringement upon personal liberty as it would be the first duty of the State to resent?

In nothing that we have said do we desire to intimate that Roman Catholics have not the right to full toleration, to complete religious equality with Protestants, at the hands of a Protestant State. The ground of toleration with us, at least, is no *argumentum ad hominem*, as Mr. Oakeley naïvely confesses it to be with his own Church: it is a duty which we owe to our own sense of right, not a privilege which we suffer to be extorted from us by outward pressure. Though Spain re-established the Inquisition, and the Pope forsook

his fancy for Jew boys to kidnap Protestant children, we would not advocate the revocation of any acts of justice done to Roman Catholics since their original disabilities were removed. In a country like our own, toleration is no question between Church and Church, but the foundation deliberately laid down by the State on which to erect the stately structure of equal citizenship. But in the above summary of possible points of collision between the Catholic Church and a Protestant State, we submit that we have made out a case for watchfulness of Catholic claims and encroachments. The assault is not begun by us. We have been willing to believe that a devout Catholic could be a loyal citizen of a Protestant commonwealth, and we have proved by repeated concessions the practical sincerity of our belief. But Pope Pius IX. has sounded the tocsin of civil commotion, and it is no more than an act of legitimate self-defence to muster the National Guard.

C.

V.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

1. Germany.

The Protestant Church of Germany is not openly divided into so many small sects as we see in England. Varieties of opinion exist as plentifully as amongst ourselves, but it is not considered of vital importance to split off into minute sections as soon as a trifling divergence is discovered in doctrine, or a slight improvement can be suggested in the methods of ecclesiastical government. An anti-state-church feeling has never widely obtained among German Protestants, driving men out of connection with the national and established churches. No lengthened liturgy, containing repeated direct doctrinal statements and implied doctrinal conclusions, brings before the worshipers in their churches the inevitable conviction of discrepancies between ecclesiastical confessions of faith and modern freedom of thought. The want, finally, of full freedom of association has deprived the disaffected of the means of organizing dissenting communities, and has induced many persons to remain in outward communion with

churches in whose doctrinal symbols they no longer believed, but against which they had no means of protesting with security. The theory, too, as will be presently seen, of some of the churches, permits of a departure from acknowledged confessions of faith when true theological science leads the inquirer to the conclusion that a change is needed. Thus while the superficial observer might travel from Basle to Memel, or from Hamburg to Vienna, without discovering any signs of theological difference, like the countless churches and chapels of England, which compel the astonishment of foreign visitors; a more careful investigation reveals as many varieties of theological opinion in the churches of Germany as exist amongst ourselves. The great and acknowledged differences sink into comparative insignificance before the less prominent but deeper-lying lines of demarcation, and the outward unity is seen to be made up of an almost infinite number of antagonistic atoms. Three great churches only are recognized in Protestant Germany, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the United. The two former date from the very earliest days of the Reformation; the latter is the work of our own time. In order to understand the present condition of Protestant Germany and of the various controversies which agitate its church, the history of these communities ought to be carefully examined. We can, however, only give some of the leading features of that story, and leave to abler hands the task of relating this history at length.

The great work which was begun by Luther was not, as long as it remained in his hands, a thorough work. Great indeed are the claims which he has upon the gratitude of mankind for the courage he displayed in entering the lists against the abuses of Rome with his celebrated theses, and for the still higher courage demanded by the more startling assault he made, when on the 10th of December, 1520, he burnt, at the east gate of Wittenberg, the decretals of Clement VI. and the other works which he had deemed worthy of sharing in that veritable auto-da-fé. We know what struggles he passed through in gaining the position thus taken up, and instead of blaming him for not having carried to a complete and consistent conclusion the principles upon which alone his conduct could be justified, we must confess that even to this hour complete freedom of judgment

and of inquiry has not been obtained for the great majority of members even of the so-called Protestant Church.

Luther himself was never able to throw off all the old traditions of Romanism, and surely he is not to be censured for this. It is not from any want of appreciation of the great services he has rendered to human progress that we acknowledge his deficiencies on some points. Afraid of the evident extremes to which some theologians were hastening, dreading alike the fanaticism of Anabaptists and the more thorough-going Protestantism of Zwingli and the Swiss Reformers, Luther soon took refuge from complete free inquiry, in faith in creeds, approved of not by the church alone, but guaranteed and accepted by temporal princes. Instead of continuing his reforming activity, vigorous to the end of life, we cannot fail to notice how the more consistent labours of the Reformers of Zurich and Geneva drove him back towards his former creed, made him ready to allow the worship of the saints and auricular confession, and confirmed him more and more in his theories on the Lord's Supper, which are so closely allied to Transubstantiation as to render an appreciable distinction between them and that doctrine almost impossible to ordinary intelligences. It was his doctrine on the Lord's Supper which chiefly divided him and his adherents from the Swiss Reformers and their followers in Germany. Luther asserted with his usual vigour of expression his complete dissent from the Roman Catholic view, that laymen should not communicate in both kinds.* On the other hand, he approached very closely to the doctrine of Transubstantiation by asserting that though there was no change of substance in the elements, yet that with and under and in the bread, the body of Jesus was really and substantially present.† The Confession of Augsburg even proceeds to condemn those who do not hold this doctrine.‡ In opposition to this view, Zwingli at first maintained that Jesus never meant his words to be taken in the narrow, literal sense claimed for them by the

* Concludo itaque, negare utramque speciem laicis esse impium et tyrannicum. Luth., Opera, ed. Jena, II. p. 262.

† Dicimus sub pane, cum pane, in pane adesse et exhiberi corpus Christi.

‡ De cœnâ Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in cœnâ Domini, et improbant secus docentes. Conf. Aug. art. x.

Roman Catholics and by Luther, and asserted that the elements were merely symbols, and the Sacrament the sign of the grace granted of complete union with Christ. With the great willingness that the Zurich divine always displayed to enter upon any course which promised unity, he adopted the theory propounded at a later period by Calvin, as a middle term between his doctrine and that held by Luther, and with the Genevese reformer maintained that the true believers and the elect were by spiritual communion partakers of the real body and blood of Christ, while the reprobate and the infidel only receive the symbols. Nowhere does the hasty and fiery temper of Luther appear to greater disadvantage than in the controversies arising out of this subject. In one of his letters, quoted by Michelet,* he says of the interview held at the instance of the Landgrave of Hesse at Marburg, where he met Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, &c.,

"They supplicated us to bestow upon them the title of 'brothers.' Zwingli even implored the Landgrave with tears to grant this. 'There is no place on earth,' said he, 'where I so much covet to pass my days as at Wittenberg.' We did not, however, accord to them this appellation of brothers; all we granted was that which charity enjoins us to bestow even upon our enemies. They, however, behaved in all respects with an incredible degree of humility and amiability. Their object, however, as it is now apparent, was to bring about a feigned concord with us, in order to render us their partizans and the patrons of their errors. O thou wily Satan!—but Jesus, who delivered us out of the snare, is more able than thou! I am now no longer surprised at their impudent falsities; I perceive that they can act in no other manner, and I exult in their downfall."

The controversy thus bitterly begun did not for a long time lose its acrimonious character, although Melancthon, in accordance with his mild and conciliating nature, strove to re-unite the divided forces of the Reformers. His efforts, some of which it is impossible entirely to approve, were all in vain, and he only succeeded in gaining among strict Lutherans the reputation of being a Calvinist at heart; while, on the other hand, his conduct in the adiaphoristic controversy led some to accuse him of Romanizing tendencies.

* Hazlitt's translation, p. 218.

These divisions in the Lutheran Church lasted with increasing bitterness from 1548 to 1576, when Augustus of Saxony, having by the free use of imprisonment and other punishments silenced the followers of Melancthon (then dead), successfully induced the Saxon clergy to adopt the Formula Concordiæ, or Book of Torgau, which finally fixed upon the Lutheran Church the doctrine of Consubstantiation, and excluded from its pale all the other Reformed churches of Europe. It was in vain that subsequent attempts at reconciliation were made. Our English Solomon, unable to keep all theologians at peace at home, tried his learning and persuasive powers in vain in seeking to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists abroad. It was fruitless that the French Protestants at the Synod of Charenton, in 1631, offered to admit the Lutherans to communion, their faith being declared harmless, holy and free from all gross errors. The Lutherans refused to listen to any reconciliation which did not consist in a renunciation of Calvinistic error, and affirmed that the hope that even Calvinists might be saved was an inspiration of the devil. Men like Calixtus and Hornejus of Helmstädt, and their followers, who in the Lutheran Church strove to evoke a more liberal feeling in favour of re-union and comprehension, were regarded with suspicion, if not treated with downright disrespect. When Vladislav IV. of Poland, in 1645, summoned a friendly meeting of divines of Catholic and Protestant Christendom, with the hope that in charitable discussion they might discover some means of re-uniting the scattered members of the universal church, the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg refused to co-operate with the deputation of the Helveto-Bohemian Confession, and bore their full share in the angry discussions which made the so-called "colloquium charitativum" of Thorn a source of increased bitterness amongst all parties.*

There can be little hesitation in ascribing to the narrow bigotry of the strict Lutherans the unfortunate divisions which have kept the Reformed Church, as the Calvinists are called in Germany, separate from them. Basing themselves rigidly upon their symbolical books, they were guilty of some of the chief errors of Popery, and, simply changing the tyranny of a priesthood into that of creeds and formu-

* Krasinski's Reformation in Poland, II. p. 245, et seq.

laries, repressed the vigorous growth of religious life in every district where their rule extended.

Side by side with them, the Reformed Church, not bound in Germany by the logical but exaggerated severity of Calvin, grew in strength and influence. Its universities, not hampered with so many doctrinal tests as their Lutheran rivals, gained ground year by year, and by degrees absorbed nearly all the learned theologians of Protestant Germany; and while among the Lutherans a reaction towards the formalism of Rome gradually set in, the direct communion of man with God, which the Reformed Church insisted upon as the necessary result of the universal priesthood of Christians, even led by degrees to a freer treatment of the objectionable features of Calvinism, and not only to a more learned, but also to a more liberal science of religion.

Until the beginning of this century, all efforts for comprehension were vain; but the approaching tercentenary of the Reformation, and the increased desire for national unity which had arisen in Germany under the pressure of the French invasion and the uprising against the oppressor, combined to make new propositions for union seem more feasible. King Frederick William III. of Prussia determined to take a decisive step towards softening down the jealousies of the rival churches, and producing a unity of organization among those who ought to be at one in their opposition to the common enemy of Protestantism. On the 27th of September, 1817, he issued an edict calling upon all to lay aside their differences, and to combine as far as possible on practical matters. In his "Signs of the Times," the late Chevalier Bunsen gave a very excellent summary of the interesting plans of the King.

"Will you leave your differing theological notions concerning the Sacrament to the schools and the learned when you go to the table of the Lord, and when you are called to common action as a church? In other words, would you not rather constitute a National Protestant Church, and live under one ecclesiastical organization, than persist in a division which has borne such bitter fruits? You will be at liberty to use the Lutheran or the Heidelberg Catechism, or one in which your peculiar points of difference are kept in the back-ground and softened down; you will be at liberty to preach according to whichever form of doctrine your conscience dictates,—the one Lutheran, the other Reformed,

a third chiefly in the spirit of the form of agreement which may hereafter be adopted; but you must refrain from all condemnation of your brethren, and all attacks upon the other forms of doctrine admitted within the pale of the union. This work shall be sealed by a Union Liturgy which shall keep as closely as possible to Scripture, and by a united church government. A purely evangelical celebration of the Sacrament will unite you as brethren in faith and love in one worship, a common constitution, a single ecclesiastical body."*

On the following Sunday (the edict being issued on a Wednesday) the King set the laudable example of partaking of the Lord's Supper with the court at Potsdam in a congregation made up of mingled Lutheran and Reformed Churchmen. There seemed really for a time to be a prospect of the union so long sought after. The Synod of Berlin, with Schleiermacher at its head, declared for the new movement, and within ten years Nassau, the Bavarian Rhine Palatinate, Baden-Baden, Hesse Darmstadt and Würtemberg, all joined the Evangelical Union. All were agreed to leave unquestioned for the time the symbolical books of the two rival confessions, but to introduce a more thorough Presbyterian form of church government, and to form a Liturgy, the chief features of which should be drawn from the rich sources of Lutheran devotional writings. A clerical committee was appointed in Prussia to prepare this latter work, but unfortunately the members of this body worked with too great deliberation, or the King's wishes travelled with too great speed. In either case, the Evangelical Union was startled in the year 1821 by a new proclamation, issued by Frederick William, no longer containing recommendations, but a positive command to adopt a Liturgy which was then published. The rumour soon became general, that though the King's chaplain had given his name to this compilation, and had had some share in its preparation, yet the greater part of the work was done by his Majesty's own hand, assisted by a faithful general of the army, a very devout man, it was not denied, but one whose previous course of study did not mark him out as specially calculated to smooth difficulties between theological disputants. As might have been expected, the act of imposing this Liturgy upon the clergy, as well as its

* Signs of the Times: Bunsen. Miss Winkworth's transl., ed. 1857, p. 361.

mode of preparation, roused a strong feeling of indignation, and Schleiermacher, with twelve other clergymen, protested against the form of prayer. The very strong feeling manifested on every side compelled the King to withdraw his Liturgy, and to substitute another, the alterations in which rendered it less objectionable. But some churchmen were not to be overcome by concession, and the King had the desire for union so much at heart as to wish to see the semblance of it, if he could not obtain the reality. He therefore gave directions that on the 25th June, 1830, the tercentenary of the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg should be celebrated by the reading of the Union Liturgy in all Prussian churches. Several of the extreme Lutherans refused, and were immediately suspended from their cures. The opposition was not rendered less earnest by the persecutions which had to be borne; but the King was determined not to give way. He published a new decree in February, 1834, which may in one respect be compared to our Act of Uniformity, enforcing at the same time an agreement in ritual, and giving opportunity for doctrinal difference. This curious document is in one sense a concession to the confessional conservatism of both churches, as it allows the symbolical books of both to be maintained, and at the same time insists with greater severity than before on liturgic uniformity, henceforth prohibiting pure Lutheran worship. As might have been expected, no good results arose from this mode of conciliation: the extreme Lutherans met in private and performed their ceremonies in their houses; the police interfered, broke up their assemblies, and imprisoned some of the more active members. The persecution was not allowed to drop until the accession of Frederick William IV., who introduced a milder ecclesiastical rule, and permitted the old Lutherans to organize themselves as one of the licensed Dissenting communities of Prussia. The inherent difficulty of procuring an assent to some middle term which should include all that the Lutherans held precious, while it excluded points of doctrine which were considered Romanist in tendency by the Reformed Church, has been the stumbling-block of the United Evangelical Church of Germany. The nearest approach to a general consensus was made in the able document drawn up by Nitzsch and Dr. J. Müller, and adopted at the Synod of the Prussian Church in 1846.

Representing as these eminent men do the moderate and conciliatory portion of the church, they seized upon those points on which a unity of opinion already existed, and strove to place these prominently before the Synod, and while allowing that with regard to the doctrine of the Sacrament, the office of the keys, &c., there were no doubt actual differences, the consensus asserted that these referred more to theological definitions than to practical questions, and gave no ground to keep up distinctions in the church of Christ. The consensus drawn up in this spirit, a document characterized by Julius Hare as the "grandest confession of faith ever framed in any church of Christendom," never obtained legal force, but is often referred to as one of the symbols of the Evangelical Church. A simpler declaration of faith, also drawn up by Nitzsch, seems to us to have been a bolder attempt at union than the more lengthy document so highly praised by Hare. It steps outside both confessions, and seeks in a free Christian spirit to base the new church upon the more advanced conclusions of modern investigation, freed from the burdensome obligation of the older creeds.* These he was willing to recognize as "venerable reliques and historical documents, but their binding power, their meaning as legal foundations of their church, would have been lost."† Against this, the boldest attempt at true unity made in the united Evangelical Church Synod, protests arose from all sides, from Lutheran and Reformed churchmen alike, who missed what they called the fundamental principles of Christianity from the new creed. The Rhenish Provincial Synod, which had sent Nitzsch as its representative to Berlin, joined the protest, and passed a formal vote of want of confidence in the man whom till then they had looked upon as their great leader. All that has been gained by the new church has in fact been to create

* The creed proposed by Nitzsch is: "The minister of the word of God must declare his belief in God the Father, the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, who emptied himself and took upon him the form of a servant, and, as a prophet of God, mighty in word and deed, proclaimed peace; who for our sins was sacrificed (dahin gegeben), and for our righteousness was raised again, and seated himself at the right hand of God, and rules eternally as the Head of the Church. And in the Holy Spirit, by which we call and recognize Jesus as our Lord, which is given us in him, which bears witness to the faithful that they are children of God, and is the pledge of their inheritance which passeth not away, which is kept in heaven." (Schwarz.)

† Schwarz, zur Neuesten Theologie, 3rd ed., p. 360.

a third great division in Germany, as now, beside the old sections of Lutheran and Reformed, the Evangelical Union claims the sympáthies of the largest part of Prussia and the states before named. But in the bosom of the Union itself unity has not been attained. The two confessions have, since the year 1852, their acknowledged representatives in the Presbyteries and the Upper Church Council, which indeed were divided into Lutheran and Reformed sections; between which, as committed to neither, was Nitzsch, the only true unionist who then held a place in the chief ecclesiastical assembly of Prussia.

In the churches, the great practical questions of the day have taken very similar forms in Germany to what we see obtaining in England. Roman Catholicism has had in the high Lutheran party as strong an ally as it ever possessed among the Puseyites. Especially strong is this section in Mecklenburg and Hanover, the most conservative states of Germany. Although essentially opposed to the principles of Protestantism, the leaders of this party claim to be the special representatives of Luther. They unfortunately seize upon his weak points, and justifying themselves by his unwillingness to cast off all traces of his first faith, uphold many forms and ceremonies as well as doctrines which are more Popish than Protestant. Saving faith has ceased among them to be anything more than an impassive acceptance of church dogmas; they confine the idea of the communion of saints to the clergy and the presbyters; they insist upon the need not only of the general confession of sin prior to communion, but also of private confession to the priest; they intensify Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, make the communion-table an altar, and the elements a sacrifice with magical efficacy; they invert the Protestant theory of the means of grace: instead of the minister being the living medium of God's spirit manifesting itself in preaching and in prayer, they exalt liturgical services; they advocate in some places the use of peculiar vestments; in every way they raise the idea of the importance of the priesthood and lower the authority of the congregation. It is true that all these attempts meet with little or no sympathy in any place where the minister, by his own personal influence on the sympathy and love of his flock, does not carry the people with him. In a place like

Hermansburg, where a man like Harms* has created a real enthusiasm by the Christian power of his work, all these high-church theories may easily be introduced among uncritical and simple-minded farmers; but every now and then an explosion shews the native Protestant element still active among the people. The whole kingdom of Hanover was lately convulsed by the attempt to introduce a Catechism based upon these novel theories; and while it was believed that the people had lost all interest in religious matters, this attempt to interfere with their freedom of thought shewed, by the excitement it called forth, how deep a hold the love of that liberty still has upon the German people.

In examining the constitutions of the various German churches, it is curious to see how political freedom has accompanied the development of freedom in church government. The strongest reactionary measures are adopted in Mecklenburg, where flogging is an accepted method of punishment, and extreme Lutheranism refuses to admit the slightest opposition to its behests; a profession of freedom in church management, accompanied by a complete and irresponsible governmental supervision, marks the pseudo-constitutional sway of Prussia; while the freest form of ecclesiastical rule distinguishes the Grand Duchy of Baden-Baden, the freest and perhaps the best-governed state of the German Confederation.

According to the written letter of the Prussian Constitution, the Evangelical, like the Roman Catholic, Church should have the power of managing its own affairs; but good care has been taken to make this proviso a mere delusion. The first committee of management in each parish is elected, it is true, by the congregation. But the members must be chosen by it from a list which is submitted by the clergyman, the patron of the benefice and the wardens, who are officers appointed by the clergyman. When once a committee has thus been chosen, they appoint their successors. These committees are of course subordinate to the provincial synods, when any are summoned; but so lax has been the government of the church, that in some districts they have never met, and there has been no assembly where the con-

* For a lively though somewhat overdrawn account of the great success of Harms, see an interesting book by the Rev. William Heming Stevenson, entitled "Praying and Working."

gregations might express their wishes, if they had any. The chief authority rests in the Upper Church Council *(Ober Kirchenrath)*, which is appointed by the Government, and reports directly to the Minister of Spiritual Affairs and Public Instruction. At the present moment, with consistent disregard of constitutional methods, the Minister of Public Instruction has been chosen to fill the post of President of the Church Council. Should, by any possible misadventure, a popular sentiment reach the Ober Kirchenrath, its President may do what he can to stifle it; at best, he reports to himself as President, and replies to himself again in his capacity of Minister. The bright prospects which Prussia seemed at one time to shew for moral and religious progress and for political freedom, have of late been sadly overclouded; but undeniable evidence might be adduced to prove that the liberal portion of the church have not forgotten the high hopes they once excited, but still give promise of better days to come. The weekly newspaper of the liberal party, the Protestant Church Gazette, edited by H. Krause, of Magdeburg, keeps up the true spirit of a free church based upon enlightened and unfettered science, and prepares for the ultimate triumph which cannot long be withheld from the faithful adherents of undogmatic union. In various other quarters the struggle for a freer development of congregational institutions promises a gradual escape from the bureaucratic influences which have retarded all religious as well as political progress commensurate with the high position which education and enlightenment have reached in the greatest of the Protestant states of Germany. An additional ground of hope for real freedom in church affairs is to be found in the unavoidable power which the example of Baden-Baden must have upon the other Protestant members of the German Confederation. Advanced as this happy duchy is in political freedom beyond the neighbouring states, it has shewn its true reverence for religious freedom by adopting, after much and long discussion, a free church constitution, which, without separating the connection of the ecclesiastical institutions from the state, enables the one to give aid to the other without fettering the natural and organic growth of either. The constitution is to a great extent Presbyterian; a regular gradation of authorities, rising from the Council appointed by each con-

gregation to the highest authority, the Upper Church Council *(Ober Kirchenrath)*, combines the advantages which are to be gained from minute knowledge of the details of each congregation's affairs and its peculiar needs, with the wider range of view which the best men, obtained by a process of selection, are able to take from a more distant and extended prospect. But the foundation of the whole system lies in the complete freedom of the congregation, which chooses its own representatives unfettered, and brings the lay element into the management of ecclesiastical affairs, thus breaking down anything like a special priestly power, and preserving, not only for the laity, but also for the clergy, the freedom of thought and of speech which is so sadly encroached upon wherever theologians alone are allowed to govern the church. The constitution is but new, and has hardly yet had time fully to develop all its influence, but already most satisfactory proofs have been seen of the great good which its introduction has produced. As these signs of true life are of especial interest to the observer of church life in Germany, we will devote a short time to their consideration. One of the striking features of all congregations in Germany is the marked absence from them of men. These seem to hold aloof from participation in the public services, and except at the Easter communion or at Christmas-time, rarely cross the threshold of the church. Since they have, however, been admitted to a participation in the management of church affairs in Baden-Baden, they have shewn themselves far more anxious to participate in church benefits, and a marked increase has been reported in the attendance at the various regular and ordinary services. This is not a merely random statement, but the result of an accurate inquiry, and has already led to an alteration of the system by which, when new churches are built, their size is determined. Up to the present time, it has always been the rule to provide sittings for five-twelfths of the population, but it has been found necessary to increase this proportion to seven-twelfths—an increase of a most encouraging and satisfactory nature. While the Prussian clergy complain of the difficulty of finding men suited to the various offices in the church, and now and then have to complain of the inefficiency of those they are obliged to choose, no such obstacles to good church management are encountered

under the Baden constitution. The good influence which has thus been exercised, by creating a new life in the congregation, is undeniable, and, imparting a religious tone to society in general, gives an assurance, of which Englishmen will not fail to see the value, of a continuance and a growth of the political freedom which first enabled it to spring up. But the character of the new constitution, and the mode in which it is administered, has during the past year been put to a test which has at present a peculiar interest to persons who are watching the progress of free religious thought in England, and the modes of meeting its results in the assemblies of the clergy and in the courts of law. Professor Schenkel, of Heidelberg, the director of the Theological Seminary in that place, had been led, by the wide circulation of M. Renan's Life of Christ, to think that the results of his special studies of the Gospels might help to form a healthier tone of public opinion than would be produced by the study of the French writer's brilliant but imaginative and unscientific sketch. Since the publication of Strauss' first Life of Jesus in 1835, when Dr. Schenkel was still a student, he had felt it a matter of conscience to frame for his own personal satisfaction a picture of the Saviour which should have a living foundation in history. In his first lecture, when he appeared as a teacher at the University, this was the subject of his discourse; and in connection with his public teaching, but more especially with his own private studies, he had continued his investigations and labours in this important branch of theological science. During all this time he was accumulating materials which were not specially applicable to the particular courses of lectures he was in the habit of delivering, but which he had at his disposal when the excitement produced by Renan's book made him think it desirable to publish his own views. It is true that he could not defend the dogmatic position of the older church. The decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, the dogmas of mediæval and old Protestant schools regarding Christ, no longer represented to his mind the consciousness of Christendom; but at the same time, in the unscientific methods of Renan, and in the full extremes of Straussian mythism, he saw dangers which could be met only by a free but reverent, a scientific but not unbelieving criticism. We cannot enter here into a statement of the results at

which Schenkel arrives, nor describe the methods which he adopts in his book. Interesting though the theme would be, it would lead us too far from our special object. The work has, however, had a very great circulation in Germany. Published at first without any idea that it would be a popular work, printed in an expensive form, one-fourth of its bulk being taken up by learned notes, and written, as unfortunately too many German books are, in a style intended only for highly and to a great extent specially educated persons, it reached a third edition in a few months, and is now circulating in a cheap form. The secret of this success is not entirely owing to the merits of the book itself, which, though marked by the learning and power which Dr. Schenkel always displays, is too much tinged with the old if not already antiquated methods of rationalistic divines to have deserved all the popularity it has obtained. As in the case of our own Essays and Reviews and Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, the critics of the book have been its best friends. The outcry which they have raised against it has directed public attention towards it, and now it cannot be overlooked. There was a peculiar source of vexation to the conservative section of the church in the fact that it was Schenkel who had written this work. He was acknowledged, it is true, as a leader among the liberal theologians of Germany, but it was not known how completely he had left the old landmarks. In his early years he had been regarded as the most promising pupil of the school which professed to act as mediators between the extreme orthodoxy of Hengstenberg and the heresy of the Tübingen divines. He was a man who had gained the confidence of Ullman and Umbreit, and through their influence had been called to the University of Heidelberg. But freeing himself more and more from the weak inconsistencies and half-measures of the mediating school, he had by degrees been taking up a higher and a more independent position. The champions of orthodoxy found themselves stricken by one whom they had hoped to see among the ranks of their protectors. When Bunsen entered the lists against Stahl, Schenkel joined the side of free thought, and, advancing year by year, his sketch of Christ's character shewed how far he had been led. He was charged with all manner of iniquity. As a German clergyman told the writer of these lines, "The chief sting

of his book was the apostacy of which it was a symptom." The result of the angry feelings thus aroused were seen at a meeting, held on the 26th of May, 1864, at Carlsruhe, when 70 or 80 clergymen met to discuss the book; and after a long debate decided to protest against the doctrines it contained, and to petition the governing body of the church to dismiss Professor Schenkel from his office as Director of the Clerical Seminary. The number of signatures to the protest rose to 119, and the intention was publicly made known, that not only in this case, but that in all others, a determination had been come to, to apply a strict doctrinal test to all theological teachers, and that every possible influence would be brought to bear upon the authorities to induce them to share this course of conduct. The Protestant Union held a special meeting to consider this encroachment upon the freedom of the church. Six hundred persons, amongst whom were 60 clergymen, several Professors of the University of all faculties, men holding high civil offices, military and commercial men, tradespeople and peasants, assembled and passed with complete unanimity a series of resolutions condemning the protest of the conservative and reactionary party, upholding the right of free science, and expressing perfect faith in the Upper Church Council as the best defender of that freedom. Not only in this general meeting at Durlach alone, but in several other places, declarations were issued protesting against the attempt to limit a teacher's freedom. In Carlsruhe, the first clergyman of the parish had signed the original protest; he found himself opposed in consequence by the committee of his own church. The first diocesan synod of the year subsequent to the protest witnessed the complete discomfiture of the protesters.

But the final and most severe blow to the intolerant attempt to deprive Dr. Schenkel of his position in the Seminary at Heidelberg came on the 17th of August, in the decision of the Ober Kirchenrath. This document, full of practical wisdom and sound judgment, well deserves the wide circulation it has met with in England as well as Germany. We can only give a few extracts, as it has appeared in full length in most of the religious newspapers.

After some formal introductory remarks, this noble document declares that the statements of the creeds should

be continually submitted to the examination suggested by free study of the Scriptures, and ought to be tested by the results of that study; and the institution of this comparison is the especial duty of the learned members of the clerical body. It asserts that the Council leaves without any fear for Christian truth the full and free expression of doctrines from which the members may dissent, to the court of theological science, which is alone competent to decide in such a cause. Honouring all theological convictions arrived at by honest and serious study, the Council declares that it feels itself bound to guard the right of every one not only to examine, but also to publish the results of his examination, as the only course by which the truth and glory of Christ can be advanced, and the church maintained in proper relation to the historical development of Christendom. With the infinitely improved scientific knowledge of the day, modern theology is able to grasp its sacred theme more fully than in olden times, and ought not to rest entirely upon inherited possessions; and the clergy ought to recognize the fact, that the conditions which satisfied men in the 16th or 17th, cannot meet the requirements of the more highly educated Christians of the 19th century. We require a truly historical picture of Jesus Christ, and to obtain it have no other means than the study of Scripture: the creeds represent the measure of the understanding of former ages, and ought not to limit the far richer means of comprehension at our disposal in the present day. Any attempt thus to bind modern thought must fail; and to prevent the future ministers of the church from learning the difficulties which will beset their path, is simply lessening their future usefulness. Nothing will so weaken the reverence of the laity as seeing the clergy trying to restrain free thought, and raising anew a cry for courts in which they may try heretics.

The high tone of this document shews how firmly the freedom of the church in Baden is secured, and how wisely the authorities have learned to regard the work of theologians of the present day. Of course there have been threats of further proceedings on behalf of the protesters. In one of their organs they have threatened secession from the National Church, but there is no fear but that more cautious counsels will prevail. It is unfortunately a rare sight to

see men laying down the dignities and certain advantages of established position for the humbler and uncertain emoluments of dissent, and the protesting 119 are not likely to add to the number of martyrs or even of confessors.

It is not unpleasant to add that the voice of Protestant Germany, even when expressed by the chosen champions of its orthodoxy, has not ventured to condemn Schenkel, or fully to support the Baden malcontents. The Church Diet of Germany, which since the year 1848 has annually gathered together the best of the orthodox school of German Protestants, met last year at Altenburg, and was attended by men whose names have a European reputation. Amongst the speakers were Professor Beyschlag, Dorner, the learned author of the "Christology," Tischendorf and others. The special subject for discussion was, "What profit will the Church obtain from recent works on the Life of Jesus?"* The theologian who introduced the subject in a prepared paper was Professor Beyschlag, of Halle. He spoke only of Renan and of Strauss, and pointedly refused to speak of Schenkel's book, "partly because it was important only for Baden-Baden, partly also for personal considerations." But even against Renan and Strauss he refused to call upon the Diet for an anathema, as it was owing to the neglect of the church, which for fifteen hundred years had not considered the life of Christ, that such works had arisen. The church had only shewn interest in dogmas, and had regarded Deity and Humanity as two factors which were to be added together. A person pre-existent from all eternity could have no growth. The two natures and wills which were united in him are mutually destructive. Dogmatizing on the person of Christ had been accompanied by dogmatizing about the Bible, which had been spoken of as if dictated from heaven. By this means all historical criticism had been prevented. Renan and Strauss's works were only the most mature fruits of the reaction against these errors. The triumphant consciousness with which these writers appear, was only to be met by the recognition

* We are not quite sure of the exact title of the subject discussed. We give the above from the report in the Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift, p. 738. The Patriot newspaper, translating from the Revue Chrétienne of M. de Pressensé, words the subject, "What profit will the Church obtain from the recent attack on its faith?"

of the fact that Jesus lived as a complete and true man, that the history of his life was subject to the general laws of human development, and that the Biblical documents concerning his life must be treated according to the same rules of historical criticism which we apply to all other human documents. We shall then find that the Gospels do not present to us, like ecclesiastical Christology, a God travelling through this world unrecognized, a docetic appearance of the Logos, or a double nature, but describe a real man, whose unity with God is not metaphysically presupposed, but ethically attained, whose consciousness does not refer to a pre-mundane existence, including a previous intercourse with God; on the contrary, all such expressions are to be understood as reflex influences of consciousness immediately stamped by God into the course of history, and existing as fundamental ideas from eternity in God himself. In his report of this able, and, when the audience is considered, courageous paper, M. de Pressensé says that the audience could not follow the author in the transcendental part of his statement. The truth is, there had been a desire to include Schenkel in the same condemnation with Strauss and Renan, and Professor Beyschlag had found himself compelled to take up in principle the same ground which Schenkel occupies. He was called to curse, and he was compelled to bless. Some men less learned than he, the Krummachers and their adherents, declared themselves dissatisfied, and demanded the express condemnation of Schenkel; but it was in vain. The representative of the 119 protesting clergymen of Baden appealed to the assembly for their avowed support, but the truth was too powerful, and no formal censure was expressed. A concession was made, however, which must be mentioned to complete the story.

Six resolutions had been passed, which are intended to condemn Renan and Strauss, and to point out the lessons which are taught by these writers to the church: they are intensely interesting, as shewing that even in the most conservative assembly of German theologians the old dogmatic position cannot be maintained, but homage must be paid to the progress of science and the increase of knowledge. But it was felt that some notice must be taken of the proceedings in Baden-Baden, and a seventh resolution was added —how, it is not clearly known—to the previous six. The

reference to the protest of the Baden clergymen is very mild and gentle, and is accompanied with a word of warning and a recommendation of charity, which certainly is much needed. It completes the story of the proceedings which have been as yet excited by the Schenkel controversy, and marks the good fruit of the new church constitution of Baden. As a fitting ending, then, we place it on record here, as the strongest condemnation which orthodox Protestantism has thought fit to pass upon a work, of which its enemies say, with how much justice we will not decide, that it denies the incarnation, the atonement, the resurrection, and the supernatural generally in the history of Christ:

"We believe with joyful hope that wherever there shall appear some false picture of the life and person of our Lord, there also the power of evangelical truth, manifesting itself by means of true theological science, will avert the danger. We cannot but consider as perfectly lawful the positive testimony which the members of the Evangelical Church oppose thus far to the attacks made on their faith. We add, that it is essential that wherever such conflicts take place, there should reign an abundant measure of wise and patient charity, as well as of strength and courage. This is why all the living members of Evangelical Christianity feel themselves bound to bear with sympathy and prayer the weight of sufferings and care which such a struggle involves."

* * *

2. France.

We take up the history of the quarrel in the French Protestant Church at the point at which it was left in our last volume.* M. Athanase Coquerel fils, excluded from the pulpits of Paris, has been preaching with great acceptance in many important churches of the provinces. M. Colani, the well-known liberal divine of Strasburg, has been elected Professor of Christian Philosophy in the Seminary of that city (a Protestant institution independent of the University), in succession to M. Matter, the historian of Gnosticism. Both the Liberal and Conservative parties have united in the nomination of M. Jean Monod, of Nismes—a theologian who seems to occupy a central, if not doubtful, position between the two—to the chair of Dogmatic

* P. 373.

Theology in the Protestant College of Montauban. On the other hand, M. Réville, of Rotterdam, who had been invited to preach at Paris and at Geneva, has been formally excluded from both pulpits, in the former city by the Presbyteral Council, in the latter by the Consistory. M. Ath. Coquerel has failed conspicuously (as, indeed, he no doubt expected) to induce the Consistory of Paris to elect him to the office of pastor, vacant by the death of M. Vermeil. His sixteen years of service to that Church not only justified, but almost necessitated, his candidature; although it was quite plain that the Consistory which would not tolerate him as an assistant minister, would certainly refuse to appoint to a more honourable and independent post. Accordingly, on the day of election, 15 out of 18 votes were given to M. G. Monod, also an assistant minister in the Church of Paris, who, though M. Coquerel's junior by five years, had the countervailing advantage of being unexceptionably orthodox. And again, the Presbyteral Council has refused to grant to the elder M. Coquerel the services of an assistant, M. Theophile Rives, whom, in accordance with precedent, he presented to them for election. The allegations against the candidate were two: first, that he had originally come to Paris as an agent of the obnoxious *Union Protestante Liberale;* second, that although he was perfectly willing to use the ordinary liturgies of the Church, and to read the Apostles' Creed, he would not give a dogmatic interpretation of them in accordance with the opinions prevalent in the Council. The hardship upon M. Coquerel is the greater, inasmuch as this is the second time that his choice of an assistant has been rendered null. The animus of the proceeding is unhappily clear enough. Of three Liberal ministers of the Church of Paris, M. Martin Paschoud is in infirm health, M. Athanase Coquerel père is almost 70 years of age: if the former is deprived of his assistant, and the latter is not allowed to obtain one, both will be forced to intermit their services, and at last to resign their office. What the Liberal laity of the Church of Paris, who form almost half of the whole communion, will say to this scheme for depriving them of the only religious instruction which they value, remains to be seen.

But the deepest interest of the hour centres in the election of members of the Presbyteral Council and of the Consis-

tory, which has just taken place. Up to 1852, these bodies practically renewed themselves every third year; but at that date the elections were thrown open to the universal suffrage of the Church. For some years little interest was excited, and the number of electors who took the trouble to procure a legal enrolment of their names was very small. In 1852, the register contained only 1100 names, while it was not till ten years afterwards that, by a spasmodic effort of the Orthodox party, the number was raised to above 2000. The result was the election of the Councils which have made such wild work with the liberties of the Church. Now, both parties seem to have been well aware that the real battle was to be fought in the registration courts. The list of electors, open during a large part of the past year, was closed on the 31st of December, and the election took place in the following January. But, in the mean time, the party in power had issued "Instructions" as to the method of registration, which, it was alleged, touched the graver question of the qualification of electors, and were in fact contrary to the fundamental law upon which the franchises of the French Protestant Church are based. Against these "Instructions" the Liberal party formally protested, appealing to the Minister of Worship and Public Instruction. That functionary, after long delay, replied on the 18th of December, by a circular addressed to the Presidents of all Consistories and Presbyteral Councils throughout France, in which, without making specific allusion to the proceedings at Paris, he reminded them that their duty is "to confine themselves to the strict execution of the ministerial decree of the 10th of September, 1852." This circular the Paris Liberals looked upon as a manifesto in their behalf, while, on the other hand, the Consistory declared it was applicable to nothing that they had done, and persevered in the course which they had chosen.

Under these circumstances the election took place on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of January. The outgoing members of the Council were MM. Laffon de Ladebat, Guizot, Mallet and Th. Vernes. Two other places, vacant by death, were also to be filled up. Both parties agreed to recommend M. Laffon de Ladebat. The result was, that out of 2630 votes, he received no fewer than 2438. Next to him came four Orthodox candidates, namely, M. Mallet, with 1396;

M. Vernes, with 1340; M. Chabart Latour, with 1339; and M. Alfred André, with 1337 votes. As it is necessary that every successful candidate should have an absolute majority of the votes given—i. e. in this case, 1316 votes—these five were alone elected. The other candidates stood as follows:

M. Barbezat (Liberal) 1306	M. Duméril (Liberal) ...1262
M. Gros (Liberal) ...1281	M. Fabre (Liberal) 1260
M. Guizot (Orthodox) 1279	M. Clamageran (Liberal) 1247

The result will be, that a fresh election for the sixth seat will take place on the 5th of March, when the struggle will probably lie between MM. Barbezat and Guizot. In the mean time, the three Liberal ministers of Paris have protested against the whole election as irregular, alleging as a ground the previous falsification of the register by the "Instructions" of the Presbyteral Council. The Consistory has naturally decided in favour of its validity; but the protest has also been laid before the Government, who may possibly take a different view.

Whether or not this last step has any practical effect, the election must be looked upon as a signal triumph of the Liberal party. The small majority by which the Orthodox candidates were elected, the fact that even the Liberal candidate lowest on the poll came within sixty votes of an absolute majority of the electors, and the signal defeat of so distinguished an advocate of intolerance as M. Guizot, are all sufficiently significant. Even if they have to wait for it three years longer, victory is certainly within the grasp of the Liberal Protestants of Paris. It will then only remain for them to shew that they know how to return good for evil, and that they can be as careful of the rights of their orthodox fellow-worshipers as they have been firm in the defence of their own.

C.

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—JEWISH CONCEPTIONS OF THE MESSIAH.

Jésus-Christ, ou Les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps. Par T. Colani. Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée. Strasburg and Paris. 1864.

It may well seem extraordinary that at this distance of time from the promulgation of Christianity, and after so much learned study of the records of its Founder's life and preaching, it should still be a question, What was his own idea of his character and office? Those who believed in him among his contemporaries and first followers accepted him as the fulfilment of certain predictions, the realization of certain conceptions, which had taken possession of the national mind. Did he present himself to them as fulfilling these anticipations, wholly or in part? If partially, where did he draw the line between what he claimed to be and what he disclaimed being? They had special designations for the illustrious personage whose advent they were expecting: he assumed or acquiesced in them. Did he adopt them in the sense in which they were current, or with certain reserves and modifications? If so, what means did he take to inform others of these reserves and modifications, and guard them against the error of supposing that he meant exactly the same thing as themselves?

In these questions two important points are involved. On the one hand, Strauss argues against the historical reality of the events of our Gospels, on the ground that the Jews in our Lord's time and the following generation, when these narratives were framed, were possessed by a certain conception of what the Messiah was to be and to do, and have

invented a history which should accord with this conception. Their idea was derived partly from supposed prophecies which were to be fulfilled, partly from analogies presumed to exist between the Messiah and the illustrious personages of Old Testament history. Thus the story of the miraculous conception owes its origin to a misapplication of Is. vii. 14; the flight into Egypt to a similar perversion of Hos. xi. 1. Moses, the deliverer from Egyptian bondage, was a type of the Messiah, the deliverer from Roman domination; accordingly, Moses having been providentially preserved, when the first-born of the Israelites were destroyed, Jesus was miraculously to escape from the jealousy of Herod. As Moses fed the people in the Desert, so the Messiah must miraculously feed his followers; Elijah raised a widow's son, Christ raised the son of the widow of Nain. And so on through a long series of parallels, in which the ingenuity of the author is much more strikingly displayed than his candour or the soundness of his criticism. In this way the historical Christ disappears entirely, and we have instead a set of fictitious adventures, devised with the object of realizing the Jewish conception of the Messiah. On the other hand, Renan, fully adopting the historical personality of Christ, supposes that, beginning with the character of a moral teacher, he subsequently assumed that of Messiah, the Son of David, the founder of the kingdom of heaven, the Son of Man who was to come in glory with legions of angels, and to confound all those who had been opposed to him, to raise the dead and to judge the world. And this mixture of exalted and spiritual ideas with the apocalyptic dreams of his countrymen, M. Renan considers to have been essential to the success of his gospel.*

Without adopting either of these opinions, many a serious and thoughtful reader of the New Testament has been perplexed by the language in which our Lord speaks of his kingdom and his future coming, which seems to involve anticipations never accomplished. The system of interpretation devised by Mr. Cappe, following in the steps of Hammond, which finds their fulfilment in the glory which Christ obtained in his ascension, the miraculous powers conferred on his church, and in the destruction of Jerusa-

* Vie de Jésus, ch. xvii.

lem, when believers escaped and unbelievers perished, has not obtained much currency. It is a seasonable work, therefore, which M. Colani has undertaken, in endeavouring to shew what were really the conceptions of the Messiah which prevailed among the Jews, and to define the extent to which they were adopted by our Lord. He is known as not only an eloquent preacher and professor, but also an accomplished biblical critic, and his tract is well worthy of attention.

The belief was deeply rooted in the minds of the Jewish people, that they were the special favourites of Providence, and that their religion and their rule, as alone of divine origin, were sooner or later to be extended over the nations. With this expectation was combined another, which sprang up in the corrupt and disastrous times of their history, that a descendant of the house of David, which had given them their two most illustrious sovereigns, should be the means of accomplishing this triumph, and should found a kingdom never to be overthrown. The prosperity which the nation should enjoy under his rule is painted in the most brilliant colours; but it was not to be a mere material prosperity; it was to be a period of peace and righteousness and religious knowledge. With this exaltation of the favoured people was to be coupled a judgment of the heathen — something, however, very different from the moral judgment attributed in the gospel to the Son of Man. They were not culprits brought up to be tried and, if found guilty, sentenced, but traitors and rebels to be punished. There is no mention of a Messiah in the capacity of judge, nor indeed in any relation to this period of regeneration, down to the latest of the prophets, who adds the circumstance that the appearance of Elias was to precede the "great day."

From the time of Malachi, who lived about 430 B.C., to the author of the book of Daniel, whom M. Colani, in accordance with the general verdict of criticism, places about 167 B.C., there is an interval of two centuries and a half, during which we have no means of ascertaining what was the Jewish conception of the Messiah. In the prophetic visions which the author of this book attributes to the ancient seer, this conception is supposed to be so distinctly set forth, as to have become the typical idea of the Messiah, even to our Lord himself. M. Colani denies this. The title

nowhere occurs in Daniel. This will seem a bold assertion to one who reads in our English Bible, ch. ix. 25, 26, of "Messiah the Prince" and of "Messiah being cut off." In both passages, however, it is not a title, but the participle "anointed prince;"* and the "most holy" which was to be anointed is not the Messiah, but the sanctuary, the holy of holies, as it is called in the Law. In the vision which occupies part of the seventh chapter of Daniel, after the animals which represent respectively the Chaldean, the Median, the Persian and the Macedonian empires, have had their dominion taken away, the Ancient of Days is represented as assuming his throne, and the books of judgment as opened before him. "And, behold, one like a Son of Man" (for there is no definite article in the original) "came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him, and there was given to him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Commentators almost unanimously agree that the personage in human form here spoken of is the Messiah. M. Colani dissents. The symmetry of the vision requires that, like the other animals, he should represent a kingdom; but as he is the type of the Jews, a nobler race than those typified by the lion or the bear, the nobler human form is assigned to him. The judgment (the vengeance of God on the oppressors of the Jews) is not exercised by him, but by the Ancient of Days (vii. 10). The "kingdom and the dominion" (ver. 27) are not given to an individual prince, but to the holy ones, i.e. God's chosen people. The personage in human form who is brought near to the Ancient of Days does not descend upon the clouds, but rather ascends from the earth. The book of Daniel, therefore, not only contains no mention of the Messiah by that name, nor of the Son of Man, as equivalent to Messiah, but attributes to others the function commonly assigned to him.

Little is to be learned from the Apocrypha respecting the conceptions of the Messiah which prevailed in the interval between the composition of the book of Daniel and the

* See Revised Translation, Dan. ix. 25, 26. Le Clerc, "unctum ducem." The anointed prince who was cut off was probably the high priest Onias III., treacherously murdered (2 Macc. iv. 34).

preaching of the gospel. We see that the belief in a future period of glory and independence for Israel, and in the subjugation of the heathen to the law of Jehovah, still lived in the hearts of the people; the emphatic allusions to the throne of David, as an everlasting throne,* indicate the expectation of the revival of his dynasty, but no person, human or superhuman, is pointed out as introducing or presiding over the coming age. The book of Enoch, written in the time of the Maccabees, and from which a passage is quoted in the Epistle of Jude, ver. 14, does indeed speak distinctly of the Messiah as the Son of Man, and in other ways identifies him with Christ as described in the Gospels, but it has evidently been interpolated, M. Colani thinks, by a Christian hand.† Altogether the book, in the parts admitted to be genuine, is of so dreamy and vague a character, that it is impossible to deduce from it any clear idea of the national belief respecting the person and office of the Messiah.‡ The point on which M. Colani specially insists is, that he does not appear in the character of a judge in the genuine portion of these visions.

With the assumption of the throne of Judæa by the Idumean family of Herod, under the protection of the Romans, the thoughts of the people recurred to the promise of the ancient prophets, that a king of the family of David should appear to deliver the people from heathen oppression, and to establish a kingdom in Jerusalem, which should unite the scattered members of the nation, and reduce the rest of the world to the condition of subjects and tributaries. The attempts of their actual sovereigns to *hellenize* them only served to render more intense the expectations of those who clung to the ancient religion. The Targums (paraphrases) of Onkelos on the Pentateuch and Jonathan on the Prophets

* Ecclesiasticus xlvii. 11; 1 Maccab. ii. 57.

† He refers in proof to a work of Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apocalyptik*, with which we are not acquainted.

‡ See extracts from the book of Enoch in Colenso on the Pentateuch, Pt. iv. pp. 309—327. To this book and the fourth book of Esdras, one general remark is applicable. They represent the opinions of their individual authors; they were never adopted, as the book of Daniel was, into a canon, and therefore may not more truly express the general mind of Judaism, than the millenarian and apocalyptic theories of Christian divines express the general faith of Christendom. This distinction, we think, has not been sufficiently attended to in drawing inferences from these books and applying them to the age of the gospel.

exhibit the idea of the Messiah fully formed. Their age cannot be precisely fixed, but whether they just preceded or just followed that of the preaching of the gospel, they are unimpeachable evidence of the belief of our Lord's contemporaries. It corresponds with what we learn on the same subject from the evangelists. The name Messiah is of constant occurrence, and represents a well-defined idea. He is the descendant of David, coming forth from Bethlehem (Micah v. 2); his kingdom is the kingdom of God. These Jewish commentators set the example, so largely followed by their Christian successors, of applying passages in the Old Testament to the Messiah, in entire disregard of their real meaning. It is the Messiah who is to bruise the serpent's head (Gen. iii. 15); he is Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10); he is the star that is to rise out of Jacob (Numbers xxiv. 17); the just ruler (2 Sam. xxiii. 3); the branch (Is. iv. 2); the child to be born (Is. ix. 6); the rod from the stem of Jesse (Is. xi. 1); he is the servant of God, the chosen one in whom his soul delighteth (Is. xlii. 1); it is his shadow under which the returned people are to dwell (Hos. xiv. 7); his name has been spoken from eternity. His kingdom is to be a kingdom of righteousness; the sins of the people retard his appearance. His office as a king, according to Jewish notions, involved necessarily that of a judge; but it does not clearly appear from the Targums whether a final judgment, a separation of the righteous and the unrighteous in a future state of reward and punishment, entered into the popular conception of the Messiah. The parable of Lazarus and Dives shews that, in our Lord's time, side by side with the notion of a general judgment, existed already that of a separation of the two classes, commencing at death. The fourth book of Esdras, which M. Colani refers to the reign of Nerva, and which he supposes to have been the work of a Pharisee, proves that even then the idea of a grand assize, presided over by the Messiah, formed no part of the Jewish eschatology.*

Such were the conceptions and expectations of the reli-

* This uncouth but convenient word has been invented by the Germans to denote the Jewish and early Christian doctrine concerning the end of the age or of the world (*eschatos*, last). The fourth book of Esdras is found in the Latin Vulgate. The Greek original has been lost, but there is an Ethiopic and an Arabic translation.

gious and patriotic Jews when Christ began his ministry. Did he believe himself to be, did he announce himself as being, the person by whom they were to be fulfilled as the Messiah, the Son of David, the Son of God, the Son of Man of Daniel's vision? Most readers of the New Testament will be surprised that such questions should be asked, and they would unhesitatingly answer them in the affirmative. M. Colani thinks they can be affirmatively answered only with various restrictions and modifications, and divides his inquiry under the following heads. (1.) At what moment of his ministry did Christ declare himself the Messiah? (2.) In what sense did he understand the title? (3.) Did he believe that he should return after his death to fulfil those functions of the Messiah which he had not exercised during his life? In pursuing the inquiry he limits himself to the three first (synoptical) evangelists, considering the fourth as having modified our Lord's teaching, in accordance with a metaphysical principle, and making free both with tradition and his own recollections.*

In answer to his first question, M. Colani fixes on the confession of Peter, recorded in nearly the same terms by the three evangelists, with the same specification of time and place.† On the road to Cæsarea Philippi our Lord asks his followers, "Whom do men say that I am?"‡ and being told, "Some say John the Baptist, and others Elias, and others one of the prophets," asks, "But whom say ye that I am?" and Peter replies, "Thou art the Christ."§ How does he receive this declaration of faith? By pronouncing, "Flesh and blood had not revealed it to him, but the Father in heaven." Now if such a revelation were necessary, argues our author, Jesus cannot himself have assumed with his apostles the character of Messiah. Accordingly, Mark, "who is assuredly the oldest of the three in their actual form, and who has served as a type to Matthew and Luke," nowhere makes him speak as the Messiah before this scene on the

* P. 232.

† Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27; Luke ix. 18.

‡ So in Mark and Luke. The addition in Matthew, "the Son of Man," makes the question unmeaning.

§ Matthew adds, the "Son of the living God;" Luke, "the Christ of God," a phrase which does not elsewhere occur, but which might suggest itself to the mind of a companion of St. Paul. 1 Cor. iii. 23, "Ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's."

road to Cæsarea. The voice heard at the baptism in Jordan preceded the calling of the apostles. The unclean spirits are represented (Mark i. 24, iii. 11, 12) as acknowledging Jesus to be the Holy One of God, or the Son of God, but he enjoins silence upon them, and the only inference which the multitude draw is, "what is this new teaching?" In the Temptation (absent in Mark), Matthew and Luke represent Satan as saying, "If thou be the Son of God," which seems to imply a previous assumption of the character, if not openly, at least mentally, by our Lord. No one, however, we think, would lay any stress upon the contents of such an unreal narrative. Other passages may seem to have more weight. Matthew (xv. 22) represents the Canaanitish woman saluting Jesus as Son of David—a title which if he does not accept he does not reject. Such a confession on the part of a heathen is highly improbable, and it is not found in Mark (vii. 25). In Matthew xiv. 33, the disciples, after seeing their Master walking on the sea, exclaim, "Thou art the Son of God;" but if this confession of his Messiahship had preceded the scene with Peter, what force or propriety would there have been in his question, "Whom say ye that I am?" or his praise of Peter's faith? The words of our Lord in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke iv. 21), "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears," do not necessarily imply, says M. Colani, a claim to be the Messiah; since the office of comforting the broken-hearted might belong to another as well as to him. But we may ask, did the reading of the passage of Isaiah stop where the summary of the evangelist stops? This is not probable; and if the context was read, in which the Jews are promised "that strangers shall feed their flocks and the sons of the alien be their plowmen, and that they should eat the riches of the Gentiles," the audience in the synagogue could scarcely draw any other inference than that he announced himself as the Messiah whom they expected. In various passages of the Sermon on the Mount our Saviour imputes to himself an authority which has been generally understood, without sufficient reason, to involve an assumption of this character. "He might claim to be greater than Jonah or than Solomon or the Temple; he might declare his disciples happy in seeing and hearing what prophets and righteous men had in vain desired to see; he might denounce judgment on the

cities which had not repented at his preaching, without assuming to be more than a great prophet, commissioned to introduce men into the kingdom of heaven." If this be not admitted, we must suppose that Matthew, in whom chiefly, sometimes exclusively, these passages occur, has erroneously placed them too early in our Lord's ministry, or, under the influence of a disposition to bring into prominent relief the authority of Jesus, has surrounded him too early with "une auréole Messianique."*

Thus ingeniously does M. Colani loosen some of the knots which embarrass his hypothesis, that our Lord never assumed the character of Messiah till he was on his way to Cæsarea Philippi. There is one, however, which he is compelled to cut. In explaining the parable of the tares Jesus says, "The Son of Man shall send his angels and gather out of his kingdom them which do iniquity, and cast them into a furnace of fire, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Here he clearly assumes the office of Messiah and Judge. The expedient of supposing a transposition of the parable will not avail here; because, according to our author, the function of Judge did not belong to his conception of his office. We must suppose, therefore, that the words "Son of Man" have been substituted for some term describing the Supreme Judge, or that the interpretation is an unauthorized addition to the parable. Indeed, M. Colani is disposed to consider all the explanations of the parables as unauthentic, and representing the ideas of Judæo-Christians in a subsequent age, rather than those of our Lord himself.†

Next to the question at what time did he declare himself to be the Messiah, naturally comes that of the sense in which he claimed this character. What in his conception was the kingdom of heaven, the kingdom of God, of which John had announced the approach, which Jesus declared to the Jews to be already among them (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, Luke xvii. 21)?‡ It was not like that predicted by the prophets,

* P. 87.

† J'ai des doutes très serieux sur l'authenticité des interprétations des paraboles que nous trouvons dans les évangiles. Si la parabole avoit besoin d'un commentaire, c'est qu'elle était manquée, et si les apôtres eux-mêmes ne les ont pas comprises, dans quelle intention a-t-il pu les donner aux peuples?—P. 172.

‡ M. Colani has a singular interpretation of Matt. xi. 12, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force:"—"Whoever can,

the conversion of heathens to the Law, nor like that of the Judaizers, an entrance to the Christian church through the Jewish temple. His kingdom of God is wholly spiritual, a power purely moral. But did he not assume titles which in the opinion of his contemporaries would identify his kingdom with that which the Jews expected, and himself with the Messiah such as the popular mind conceived him? Of the three titles commonly supposed to be equivalent to Messiah, Son of God, Son of David, Son of Man, the last, according to M. Colani, had no reference to the Messiah; the others our Lord rather acquiesced in than assumed. He denies that before the time of Christ the "Son of Man" was understood of the Messiah. The book of Daniel does not prove it; it does not speak of the Messiah, but of a symbolical human form. If borrowed from the Old Testament, it was more probably from Psalm viii. 5—9. It is an expression of humility and human sympathy; he uses it to designate his office, his ministry, especially in relation to his brethren of mankind. In Ezekiel, Jehovah, when he gives the prophet a message to the Jews, addresses him as Son of Man; Jesus applies it to himself in a similar sense. It would have been more to the purpose could an instance have been produced in which a prophet called himself a Son of Man; as used by a supernatural being in addressing a man, it is evidently equivalent to "mortal;" it derives its whole propriety from the contrast with an immortal nature, and in the mouth of one who was not supposed to be any other than a human being, it would be a strange mode of describing himself. Besides, the definite article shews it to be a title, just as *the* Son of God distinguishes our Lord from the whole body of disciples, who in a large sense are sons of God.

M. Colani having thus limited the signification of Son of Man, is embarrassed by some passages in which it is used in a way which favours the idea of its being equivalent to Messiah: e.g. Mark viii. 38, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous gene-

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by using violence, strip himself of his old ideas, may penetrate into the kingdom." A more natural interpretation, we think, would be, that our Lord deprecated all hasty and violent attempts to bring about the establishment of the kingdom, such as the temper of the Jews was perpetually producing, as when the multitude "would take him by force and make him a king," John vi. 15.

ration, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." Of this he remarks, "The first part is of an incontestable authenticity; the second part (who does not feel it?) is one of those formulas which the memory of the narrator mechanically adds." Matt. x. 23, "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man come." These words seem plainly to point to what is called the second coming of Christ. M. Colani, who denies that our Lord expected or foretold such a coming,* says that when the Christians quitted Jerusalem for Pella, at the approach of the Roman armies, they consoled themselves with the hope that the second coming would take place before they had been entirely driven out of Palestine, and this hope "has penetrated into the text." If so, the interpolation has been inappropriately made; for Pella was not one of the cities of Israel. The promise to Peter that he and his fellow-apostles should in the regeneration, when the Son of Man came in his glory, sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel, which is not found in Mark or Luke, is dismissed as an interpolation. It would be in flagrant contradiction with Christ's refusal to the sons of Zebedee to assign them thrones in his kingdom. Might it not, however, be urged on the other side, that theirs was a question about priority, and that our Lord's reply, "It is not mine to give," instead of discountenancing the idea that such dignity was to be enjoyed in his kingdom, only blamed them for endeavouring to secure a pre-eminence for themselves, which after all was not in his disposal? The declaration of Christ before the Sanhedrim, "Hereafter† ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven," was never made by him, says M. Colani; but the Christians, not being able to understand his condemnation, have put into his mouth the confession of faith which they themselves made before the Jewish tribunals. Not very consistently, however, with this supposition, he insists that Matthew's reading, ἀπ ἄρτι,

* "I say without any hesitation, No! Jesus did not hope to return from heaven to finish his work. In dying he had completed it, according to his own conception of it. Henceforth it was to be the work of the invisible Spirit to cause the seed which he had sown to grow."—P. 215.

† Ἀπ' ἄρτι, Matt. xxvi. 64. Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Luke xxii. 69. Mark xiv. 62 has no adverb of time.

is the true one, and that it must be rendered *forthwith* (dès à présent); that the Sanhedrim so understood it; and as they did not see him descend in the clouds, they adjudged him an impostor But if ἀπ' ἄρτι be the genuine reading, the interpolator has done his work unskilfully, for *he* knew that Christ did not forthwith descend, and yet put this declaration into his mouth. The passage which closes the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, and which begins, "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory," is handled in the same way. Instead of the Son of Man, our Lord must have said "the King," as he does afterwards; but the evangelist, understanding Christ by the King, has substituted "Son of Man." The circumstances attending the destruction of Jerusalem are minutely foretold; so minutely that the evangelists must have borrowed from history; but the words connecting this event with the return of the Son of Man are glosses.* M. Colani reproaches Renan with timidity, in adhering too closely to the texts of the evangelical history, and thus disfiguring his portrait of Jesus. He might retort with some plausibility, that in endeavouring to idealize his own portrait, his censor has set the principles of criticism at defiance. And if all the passages in our Saviour's discourses which identify the Son of Man with the Messiah, which assign him the office of Judge of the world, and describe him as coming with angels on the clouds of heaven, are spurious additions, how came these conceptions to be so vivid in the minds of his disciples, that they have been reflected back into the history? Supposing that the words in Acts i. 11, "This same Jesus shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven," were not really spoken, at all events they express a Christian conviction and expectation; and how did that arise? Not, according to M. Colani, from Jewish conceptions of the Messiah; not from his own teaching. His disciples not only did not understand his meaning when he called himself the Son of Man, but decidedly misapprehended it, and founded upon his language one of the most influential articles of their creed. For such his return to judgment certainly was. Is this a probable account?

* "Tous les mots qui essaient de rattacher ce discours à la venue du Fils de l'homme sont necessairement des gloses de l'évangéliste, gloses qui ont passé dans le texte et qui en faussent le sens."—P. 200.

An advocate must not damage his own witness; but it seems to us that the Christian advocate does seriously damage the testimony on which he has to rely, when he supposes the Gospels to have been tampered with, by interpolations designed to give to the opinions of a later age the sanction of Christ's authority. This is not a case of an accidental substitution of a phrase of later origin, familiar to the historian, for the actual word of Christ. We can easily imagine, for example, that he did not tell Peter that he was the rock on which he would build his *church*, but used some words expressive of the confidence which he felt in his zeal and energy; and that the narrator has made him speak in the language of his own time. This is a kind of prolepsis to which all relators of a discourse from memory, after an interval of years, are liable. But this is a very different thing from supposing, as M. Colani does in the case of the parable of the tares, that an explanation has been framed and appended to it for the purpose of confirming the eschatological ideas of the Judæo-Christians. If passages against which no critical evidence, external or internal, can be alleged, are to be struck out, because they stand in the way of a theory, it is difficult to see what basis of argument respecting the doctrine of the New Testament is left. A Gospel becomes thus a kind of scrap-book of passages genuine and spurious, made up into a volume by we know not whom, and given to the world under a respectable but unauthorized name.

The obvious meaning of our Lord's words as they stand in the evangelists is, that at the fall of the Jewish polity and close of the age, consummated in the destruction of the city and the temple, he should appear again with some visible and glorious manifestation in the character of a Judge. Such, though without reference to the fall of the Jewish state, was the expectation of St. Paul; such for a long period was the expectation of the Church. It was certainly not literally fulfilled, either in that or any subsequent generation, and it is difficult to find a fulfilment, even in a figurative sense, without straining figurative interpretation beyond all reasonable bounds. If the conclusion from this should be, that we must modify our conceptions of our Lord's prophetic knowledge, we may console ourselves with the thought, that in this part of his teaching we of this age have no personal

interest. Whatever the judgment described in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, and connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, may have been, it was a judgment only of that generation. It has nothing in common with that judgment of the quick and the dead of which the formularies of the Church speak, no bearing on the question of the nature or duration of future rewards and punishments, and is in no way the foundation of the Christian's hope of immortality.

II.—RELIGION AND THE WORKING CLASSES.

ONE of our national characteristics, at the present day, is a self-consciousness which perpetually aims at self-knowledge. Unlike the citizens of a young commonwealth, who are too much engrossed in the actual work of life to have time or thoughts for studying themselves or their neighbours, modern Englishmen are especially interested in all statistical inquiries into their social state, and the "condition-of-England question" divides itself, before their eager gaze, into a number of questions relating to the condition of each separate class in the land. In obedience to this dominant tendency, we propose to call attention to the position in which Religion stands in relation to the "working classes" of this country. Not professing to have any new information on the subject, we shall refer to facts which are well known and generally acknowledged, with the intention of deducing from them some important practical conclusions.

By universal consent, the section of the community who earn their bread by manual labour are spoken of as "the working class," and the appellation is convenient, though not strictly correct in its apparent inference that there is no work except that of the hands. This class necessarily contains many subdivisions, and one of the difficulties connected with the subject arises from this fact. Among "working" men are included the "labourer," who simply exerts his strength and requires the help of neither skill nor knowledge, and the "artizan" and "mechanic," who have to learn their

trade by a long apprenticeship, and who become more and more expert in that trade, year by year, as they practise it. Between the highest and the lowest grades, there are many other different kinds of employment, requiring differing amounts of intelligence and exercising different degrees of useful influence on the workman. Hence we may understand how it is that, in all social and political discussions, we constantly find such opposite estimates given of the characteristics and tendencies of the working man, one person speaking of him as little better than a brute or a savage, requiring to be kept in awe by superior power and needing such guidance as we give to children, and another extolling his intelligence, self-control and social virtue, as rendering him nature's true nobleman. Both representations may be honest and sincere, if he who makes the former has in his mind the Irish hodman or the Staffordshire collier, while he who makes the latter is thinking of the mechanical triumphs achieved by the artizans of establishments possessing a world-wide fame for their steam-engines and machinery. It would be equally impossible to state any facts or draw any conclusions, which should be generally recognized as correct, about the state of Religion in relation to the working class, if we included in that class so many various elements; and without attempting to make any minute subdivisions, we may safely distinguish between its two great sections, the skilled and the unskilled labourers. The former section includes all those who have to "learn their trade" before they can practise it, who generally therefore serve an apprenticeship, and whose employment is not purely and solely mechanical, but leaves some scope for ingenuity and encourages the growth and development of intelligence. It is of this higher section of the working class, and of *them only*, that we are now about to speak. We know that the characteristics we shall ascribe to them are by no means universal. There are many individual exceptions. But our own observation, and all the evidence we have been able to gain from others, lead us to believe that, speaking of *the class*, the following description of them is, in its essential features, correct.

The first thing that strikes us, when we come in contact with the better class of working men, is their general intelligence. On almost every subject they have an opinion of their own, and their remarks are always shrewd and often

original. There is more pleasure, and more profit too, to be found in a conversation with such men, than in one with very many of what are called "educated" people. The very nature of their employment often induces habits of thought and calls for mental exertion. The skill required grows with the intellectual growth of the labourers. The machinery with which they are familiar leads them to studies relating to it, and an acquaintance with pure, and still more with applied mathematics, is very common. In the pursuit of such knowledge, or in other studies, or in miscellaneous reading, they find their pleasure, rather than in animal indulgence, after the day's work is over. And if they do afford us not unfrequent instances of a contrary kind, if intemperance and kindred vices are unhappily not unknown, their standard of morality is at least as high as that of the classes which are socially above them, and they need fear comparison with none in regard to the crimes committed by them in reference to their numbers. In domestic life they value the social affections; they are anxious to have neat, clean and comfortable homes, and shew themselves good husbands and fathers. They appreciate highly the virtues of honesty and industry, are truthful, trustworthy and straightforward. As citizens we find them active in promoting social improvements. Every Mechanics' Institution, every movement for sanitary reform, every advocacy of education, finds among them industrious supporters. They are thus up to the general standard of the community in morality; they are above it in intelligence and public spirit; they are not notably deficient in the cultivation of the mind, the heart, the conscience or the will. What lack they yet?

We feel compelled, by the inexorable logic of facts, to acknowledge that in this class there is comparatively little religion. Among them have been the strongholds of secularism, socialism, and every similar system which denies or ignores that man has a soul. We know an instance in which a personal inquiry, in a large manufacturing establishment, revealed the astounding fact that not one of the principal workmen professed any positive belief in the existence of God. We have frequently been told by working men that it is an uncommon thing to meet with a workshop in which there are many religious professors, and that it is more common to hear religion either denied or laughed at. In

those Christian congregations which are considered to include members of this class, it is very often the case that the wife and children attend the place of worship, while the man is seldom if ever found there. Many similar facts might be brought forward, and the statements of other observers and the results of statistical inquiries might be appealed to, to confirm the conclusion to which we have been brought by our own observation. But this is scarcely necessary, for probably no one will deny that among the working men of England there is at the present time comparatively little religion.

After making all necessary deductions on account of individuals to whom these remarks do not apply, there is still the fact remaining, that there is a large proportion of the better sort of working men, the aristocracy of labour, entirely without religion. Surely this fact imperatively demands attention. Here we have a number of our most useful and most valuable citizens, important members of society, the bone and sinew of our national existence, the strength on which England's true greatness is founded, men of whose position and character the country might reasonably be proud, but who nevertheless have among them this inherent source of weakness and decay, that the highest part of their nature, the immortal soul, is as yet uncultivated. It may be useful to ask, in reference to this state of things, first, What is its cause? second, Where may be found its remedy?

It is surely unjust to lay the blame on the men themselves. If they have never met with a religion fitted to command the assent of their reason and gain control over their hearts, the fault is not theirs. We should not commend them if they professed an allegiance they do not feel, or assumed the semblance of religion, while they are devoid of its reality. It may be that they make a mistake when they sit down contented, and, because they have no religion presented to them that meets their wants, are satisfied to do without religion. It may be that there is often a materialistic tendency in their pursuits and modes of thought, which renders them averse to religion, and indisposes them to accept it. It may be that there is a false and sinful pride of intellect in many of them, which makes them fancy it is a grand proof of superiority to reject what others implicitly

believe. But, after all, the man who is without all spiritual faith and influence is more to be pitied than blamed, and the love of God which saves from punishment the believer in an untrue religion whose heart is pure and sincere, will not condemn the disbeliever in all religion, unless his disbelief is the result of a pollution or a deadening of his moral nature. This is not usually the cause in the case before us. Generally speaking, the fault is not in the men, but in the form and manner in which religion has been presented to them. The popular Christianity of the last three centuries has been the principal cause of the popular unbelief of the present century. We may shew this by going a little into detail.

Every man values the most that which it has cost him the most trouble to obtain. These men have had to struggle hard to gain whatever mental wealth they possess; by their own exertions they have brought their intellectual powers to some degree of strength and activity. As a natural consequence, they estimate very highly the value of these powers, and are sternly resolved not to sacrifice them at the bidding of any authority. Hence they repel with contempt every attempt to persuade them to distrust their reason, and reject every doctrine that appears to them unreasonable. Again, they pride themselves on their independence, will take nothing on the mere word of another, will not grant that any one is their spiritual superior, or justified in deciding for them in matters of faith and practice. Their moral nature is strong and quick, and rebels against any form of belief which is not congenial to its instincts. Offer them a religion which calls for the sacrifice of the intellect, which treats doubt as a sin, which forbids free inquiry, which has its mysteries the unveiling of which is profanity, which sets up an authority external to the individual conscience, which opposes and at the same time vilifies human nature—it is *impossible* for them to accept it. Their nature frets in vain, remaining unsatisfied, with nothing to meet its deepest wants. Their hearts ever and anon thrill with a responsive echo, as the voice of pious aspiration reaches them. But all this is resolutely crushed down into silence, because the intellect is called up in opposition to it, and it is beyond their power to adopt a faith which demands from them to take everything for granted, and to ignore and

renounce the reason and the conscience as safe guides to human thought and life.

But it does not therefore follow that all religion is impossible to such men. Some parts of their nature are already strongly developed, and it is now generally acknowledged that the growth of one set of powers fosters rather than discourages that of the rest. Here there is much real mental activity and independent thought; here there is also at least an awakening of the conscience and a habit of using the will. That the affections are not dwarfed or stunted among them, many thousand cottage homes can testify, where pure love spreads its refinement over much that is outwardly rude and harsh, and husband and wife, brothers and sisters, parents and children, cling together as one flesh. Surely, then, these men, strong in body, active in mind, with warm hearts and firm wills, are of all others the very material a religious teacher will most covet, amongst whom he will reap his richest harvest. What must be the characteristics of the religion that is to be successful among them?

It must depend not on tradition, that tells us, "Believe because the ancients believed;" not on authority, which says, "You must," and seeks its sanction in the threats of future vengeance on the doubter and unbeliever; not on the letter of any book, bringing the free spirit into bondage to the sentences of a creed or the articles of a church. It must be the religion of human nature. Taking man as he is, it must aim at calling forth into active growth the germ of devotion which his Creator has made an inherent part of his being. It must make its appeal to human wants, instincts and reasonings. It must be a religion of common sense, which, however far it rises above the reason, at least neither silences nor contradicts the reason, but encourages and fosters its free exercise. It must be a religion of daily life, which finds its essence, not in ceremonies, but in love and duty, and which can consecrate the home and the work, as well as be felt in the hour of worship. When a religion that has these characteristics, that is individual, free, natural, reasonable and practical, is fitly preached to the working men of England, they will in no long time be gathered into its fold.

There are two tendencies which are especially to be

guarded against in addressing this class on religious topics. It does not answer to approach them either with the dry bones of biblical scholarship and Hebrew antiquities, or with the wearisome antagonisms of theological controversy. They are not to be interested in the history of the Patriarchs, the wanderings of Moses in the desert, the constitution of the early Christian church, or the interpretation of the Apocalypse. They turn a deaf ear to the wranglings of opposing sects, and, while the antagonists are mutually accusing and anathematizing each other, they, like Gallio of old, care for none of these things. Negative preaching is altogether useless here. Attempt to prove to them that those who differ from you are in error; you will perhaps succeed in obtaining an audience; but after all you will have effected nothing, for you will only have strengthened their impression that religion is all a fallacy and delusion. They need direct *positive* teaching, such as will establish faith in their souls and kindle piety in their hearts; and it is by such teaching only that the spiritual hunger and thirst can be satisfied, and the mental desert made to blossom like the rose.

In order that religion may be thus fitly preached to the working class, it is very important that the right men should be employed for the purpose. It has been a fatal mistake to suppose that any well-meaning and right-feeling person may succeed as a missionary to the poor, whatever his mental qualifications. The first and the great prerequisite for the successful performance of this work is *strength*. Body, mind, conscience, will and soul, all must be vigorous in him who seeks to spread religion among the people. Mere scholarship will not suffice. Indeed, if it give a man the habit of relying on others rather than on himself, and stand in the place of practical power, scholarship does harm rather than good. No amount of book-learning, no mere acquaintance with other men's ideas, no laborious attention to a pre-arranged system, will stand in the place of real strength. And it is not only strength of intellect that is needed; moral and spiritual strength are even more necessary. A firm will to conquer obstacles, a conscience that will not be satisfied unless duty is performed in the best manner possible, a faith that gives a prophet's fervour and a martyr's endurance, are essential for the work. Without

at least an approach to these qualifications, it is folly to attempt it, and the attempt will only lead to ultimate disappointment and misery.

It is a natural thing that those who perceive the existence of a class of persons as yet without religion, and who think that they have a religion suited to their wants, should make efforts to press it upon their attention. We could mention many instances in which the attempt has been made; and wherever the religion offered has been of the kind above described, and has been preached in the spirit we have advocated, and by the right kind of men, there has been a ready and abundant response from the people. Wherever a strong, true man, call him by what name you will, speaks straight to the hearts of his brother men, and, disregarding all the fetters of tradition, creed and ceremony, trusts to the eternal principles of absolute religion, he finds plenty of souls ready to hail him as their teacher and guide. It is a calumny to speak of our working men as irreligious. They are many of them *non-religious*, but few, if any, are so prejudiced against religion as to refuse it a fair hearing, and most of them sincerely rejoice when they find they can be religious without ceasing to be free, natural, independent and rational.

Here are fields white unto the harvest. If there is any man who thinks his religion is of the kind required, this is a call to him to enter on the labour. If there is a body of men whose principles fit them for the work, that fitness is a mission to them from God. In no narrow, sectarian spirit, in no desire to perpetuate any of the little systems which must soon have their day, and then pass into oblivion, happy if they can be absorbed into the Infinite Truth of which haply they have caught some feeble rays, but in the simple, single-hearted desire to awaken pious hope and love in breasts where as yet they are slumbering,—to give a religious light and warmth to homes as yet ignorant of them,—to make the goodness of a Heavenly Father felt, and the heaven of holiness experienced, among those who need only this to render them an honour to our nature—in this spirit be the work undertaken, and who can doubt that God's blessing will rest upon the labourers!

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III.—THE WRITINGS OF FÉLIX PÉCAUT.

Le Christ et la Conscience. Par Félix Pécaut. 12mo. Paris: Cherbuliez et Cie.

De l'Avenir du Théisme Chrétien consideré comme Réligion. Par Félix Pécaut. 12mo. Paris: Cherbuliez et Cie.

It is a fact so familiar as to be proverbial, that there are some things in which all human beings feel alike—that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin." It is also a fact, though a less recognized one, that there are again other things in which individuals, classes and nations feel so differently, that the display of their peculiar sensibilities, far from making others feel akin, inspires them with something very like aversion. To take our examples only from the largest instances, the various passions and sentiments of the Classic and of the Teutonic nations rather jar on one another than call out any hidden harmony; and, in our own day, English reserve and German *gemüthlichkeit*, the "sentimens délicats" of a Frenchman and the "fervido cuore" of an Italian, have the least possible attraction the one for the other. Till we have lived long in each country, fed on its literature and drank the wine of friendship with its sons and daughters, we are rather offended than won by its peculiar spirit, rather tempted to laugh at than to be softened by its tenderness. Perhaps we "insular Britons" feel this anti-social repulsion more than others; at all events, we shew it more candidly. How cordially most of us dislike "German sentiment," with its (wholly imaginary) tendency to lax morality, and the unlimited indulgence in smoke, metaphorical and actual! How we despise American "rhodomontade," and the infantine simplicity which, in spite of all Yankee *'cuteness* and precocity, still makes the nation harp on first principles, and apparently believe in their objective validity in this God-created, but (of course) Devil-guided universe! Above all, how we distrust French ideas, French phrases, French turns of thought, the pitiless logic, the unattackable dialectics, the sentimental ornamentation, of a true French writer! To hear a Frenchman talk of "la femme," with mingled gallantry, fathomless pity and acute curiosity, is enough to set a true John Bull, who knows Mrs. Bull by heart these twenty

years, and finds her a good, comfortable wife, not in the least mysterious or pitiable, stamping with rage. To find him apostrophizing a mother, "Une mère, voyez vous c'est une chose," &c. &c., and winding up every peroration with the Divine Name as a grand rhetorical flourish, is cause enough to justify all the wars of history. We don't like to hear that Napoleon lost Waterloo because, as M. Hugo says, "il gênait Dieu." First, we don't believe in such a philosophy of history; and, secondly, we are less shocked by a man breaking the third commandment for the purpose of devoting somebody's eyes to eternal perdition, than for that of producing a rhetorical *coup de théatre*.

Very naturally, these national antipathetic feelings come out most strongly in the case of the deepest and most sacred sentiments, wherein a single jarring note is always painfully discernible. The intensity of pleasure we derive from complete religious sympathy, is only paralleled by the soreness of the mental ear to which approximate, but imperfect, harmonies are presented. The nearer the approximation may be, if the harmony is *not* achieved, the worse is the jar. Thus if we read the religious writings of Pagans or Moslems, we feel no annoyance at the wide divergence between their expressions of piety and our own. But the habitual variations from our tone of sentiment of another and intimately known Christian nation, by whom the same order of ideas is discussed with similar power, is a stone of stumbling we cannot easily overpass. We believe we shall not misrepresent our countrymen if we say, that to nineteen out of twenty English readers of the most thoughtful classes, the rich religious literature of France is almost unknown, not from any inability to appreciate it, or, in the main, from any great difference of opinion with its authors, but because of a certain latent objection to see sacred sentiments in the dress in which French taste habitually clothes them,—a dislike even to the terminology of Gallic religion.

Nor is this antipathy (doubtless just as reasonably reciprocated by French readers towards English writers) concerned specially with differences of opinion, such as those which render the peculiar phrases of our own High-church and Low-church, orthodox and liberal parties, mutually so distasteful. English Catholics are not particularly fond of Bossuet and Massillon, and we believe that few English

evangelical Protestants would read with less disgust than ourselves the exhortations of M. Adolphe Monod to regard the awful Creator as *débonnaire*, and to address Him in prayer always with confidence in this astounding attribute of the "debonnaireté de Dieu!" Nay, among the English liberals of even the least reverential section, by whom Strauss's opinions are accepted ideas, the *Vie de Jésus* of M. Rénan, with all its poetry and even tenderness of feeling towards Christ, is invariably somewhat shocking, and while they can coolly read a grave German debate as to whether imposture mingled in his performance of miracles, they turn with a sense of pain from hearing him styled "ce 'charmant docteur,' jaloux pour la gloire de son Père" in the beauty of Magdalenes, and proffering "délicieuses paraboles" of the Prodigal Son to the *pétit société* of fishermen and *douaniers*.*

It is a circumstance worthy of very joyful recognition that there is a school of theological writers now arising in France between whom and our English sensibilities no such barrier as that we have described has any existence, and with whom, whether we coincide or not in matters of opinion, the most reverent of us are sure to sympathize profoundly in sentiment. Perhaps here also may be found one proof the more of the truth, that the nearer any mind approaches to a strictly monotheistic faith (provided that faith be a true and therefore a moral one), so much will it gain in spontaneous reverence of spirit—so much the further will it be from the hateful familiarity of cant on one side, and the rude defiance of atheism on the other.

We do not design in this article to give any general account of French liberal Protestantism, of which M. Bost

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* So completely has this English repulsion to Rénan's tone been recognized by the more clever of our ecclesiastical parties, that something very like an instigation to read the *Vie de Jésus* may be traced in all allusions to the work in the High-church organs. It is, of course, "fearfully blasphemous;" still it is so original, poetical, learned, attractive in all ways, that strong minds, well rooted in the faith, may be tempted to read it—and (as the reviewers know very well) induced to confound it and all books of liberal theology in common disgust. On the other hand, such works as Jowett's, Colenso's, Martineau's, Newman's, have (if we may believe these critics) nothing in them in the slightest degree novel or interesting. *They* are the dangerous books —they are the books from which orthodoxy in earnest strives to deter all readers.

has lately issued so able a defence,* or of the "Strasburg school," of one of whose most distinguished writers (M. Réville) the readers of this Review have had the advantage of personal knowledge. Our object is to introduce to better acquaintance a writer who goes beyond most of even the liberal Protestants of France, and claims a place in the same class as that of Professor Newman in England and Theodore Parker in America — in a word, a professed "Theist." Viewing his opinions as regards supernaturalism either as mistaken or correct, there are, we believe, few Unitarians who will not rejoice to come into contact with a mind at once so lofty, so wide and so profoundly devout, as that of M. Félix Pécaut.

The first of M. Pécaut's books known to us is an essay of considerable length, *Christ and Conscience.* The second is a shorter work, *On the Future of Christian Theism considered as a Religion*† (1864).

When Strauss and Rénan and the other great critics of our time afford us their lights to judge what was and was not true of the recorded words and deeds of the historical Christ, and construct for us images more or less vivid of what they suppose him to have actually been as a living person upon earth, they do but accomplish a portion of the task which lies before the theologian who shall effectually rectify the errors of the past and map out the creed of the future. They shew us what Christ (probably) *was;* and this step being (approximately) ascertained, they leave us to estimate the place he ought to hold in the religion of mankind. But why he has occupied for eighteen centuries a very different place from that to which their theories would thus consign him—why he now holds such supreme dominion over countless thousands of hearts—what is the value of their alleged spiritual experience of his power—in a word, what is the basis of fact in human consciousness which underlies popular Christianity—this the mere historical critic cannot help us to learn. We want the philosopher,

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* "Le Protestantisme Libéral. Par M. le Pasteur Th. Bost." 1 vol. 12mo. Paris: Gernier Baillière. 1865.

† Both published by Cherbuliez et Cie., Paris, and to be had of Messrs. Trübner, Paternoster Row. An English translation of *L'Avenir du Théisme* will, it is hoped, shortly appear.

the religious man—nay, the man of *double* religious experience, who has felt all the great phenomena of the inner life under the two dispensations of supernaturalism and naturalism—to tell us this. Yet this is the very heart and nucleus of the matter. Historical truth *ought* logically, no doubt, to harmonize absolutely with consciousness, and must do so when men have fully received and digested it. But as a matter of common every-day life, it is our own consciousness of how an historical fact affects us which inclines us to adjust its records to our political or social bias; and as a matter of religious experience we may safely affirm that every argument in Strauss's arsenal must inevitably fall dead on the mind of a man who imagines he recognizes in his own soul the positive experience of Christian phenomena disproving them all. If Christ's atonement has saved *him*, it is quite clear that Christ was not what Strauss asserts him to have been. It is the real, actual relation of Christ to the consciousness of humanity, the question of "Le Christ et la Conscience," which we must decide, if we want not only to open the way to fresh light, but to shut the door on the perpetual and eternal recurrence of error.

This task it is which M. Pécaut undertakes, namely, a very careful examination of the actual facts of the inner consciousness of devout persons as regards their supposed relation to Christ, and an inquiry as to how far these facts testify to the reality of such relation. In conducting this most solemn investigation into the *penetralia* of the soul, M. Pécaut proceeds by the simple process of discussion between a Theist and a man of the very widest and most enlightened type of what we in England should designate as Broad Church views; and we can only say that as to the fairness of the representation of these views, no book written by any professed adherent has ever seemed to us to give so noble and beautiful an exposition of them. Even were the purport of the discussion a matter of indifference, it would be a great gain merely to read such a delineation of deep spiritual experience. But the conclusion towards which the long argument winds itself bears the highest value. It is, that the supposed experience of any action on the soul by Christ as an Incarnate Deity (i.e. as distinct from the historical Teacher and Exemplar) cannot be maintained, and that the One God and Father in His own person

fills the whole circle of the soul's heaven—in Himself alone Creating, Redeeming and Sanctifying God.

Few things are more needed to amend our current philosophy than the adoption of sounder ideas concerning the proper scope and domain of what is called "consciousness." It is small marvel that materialists should make light of arguments founded on this basis, while those who use them indulge in the wildest licence in setting down to the credit of consciousness notions which, from the constitution of the human mind, cannot possibly be derived from such a source. Every day we may behold historical events, ecclesiastical dogmas and metaphysical theories, thus treated as "first principles" and "facts of consciousness," till the jest of the German Professor, "constructing the idea of the camel out of his moral consciousness," appears a plain statement of the actual method our divines and philosophers are in the habit of adopting when they "evolve" a scheme of theology or ethics. Till we have corrected this absurd error, and confined the use of the word "consciousness" to things of which it is possible for a man to have moral or spiritual perception, we shall but waste words in arguing, and at the same time bring undeserved discredit on the source—fallible, indeed, yet still the ultimate and highest source—of our knowledge.

Probably, as regards religious consciousness in particular, a considerable amount of lucidity would be gained were we to relinquish the vague term "sentiment," and adopt the plain phrase the RELIGIOUS SENSE. To those who believe in the sacred mysteries of Divine communion, in the reality of those events of the inner life which constitute the history of every regenerated soul, the words "a religious sense" scarcely can appear metaphorical. They express, perhaps as simply as may be, the fact acknowledged by all such believers, that there is in man an Eye of the spirit which truly beholds God, an Ear which hears His voice, a Feeling which perceives His ineffable presence in the high hour of visitation. Of course the phrase is unfit for the use of those who deem these things uncertain or illusive, but all the more is it suitable for those who steadfastly hold their reality.

Supposing such a term to be generally adopted, it is clear that the result would follow, that any misapplication of the

organ in question would be more easily detected than while the vaguer phrases of Sentiment or Consciousness were employed. To say, for instance, that a man's religious sense assures him of an *historical* fact (such as the life of Christ), would speedily be recognized as no less absurd than to say that a man's moral sense supplied him with the *zoological* fact of the camel's conformation. In either case, once we are compelled to define the faculty we speak of, we inevitably perceive the absurdity of transferring to it the office of another and wholly different faculty—namely, the intellect, as informed either by testimony or the bodily senses.

Again, in the case of another error, favoured by some of the leading minds of our day, the phrase "religious sense" serves to dissipate the obscurity of the language usually employed on the argument, and to reveal the untenability of their position. It is alleged by some excellent men, attached by strong affection to Christianity, yet unable to find in either Church or infallible Bible firm anchorage for their faith, that they know *by direct consciousness* that there is an Incarnate Deity, and that He acts immediately upon their souls. Now that the religious sense may and does inform us of the action (and consequently of the existence) of *a* divine, invisible Lord and Guide, is what we all most heartily believe. But that it can inform us further that the Being whose awful monitions or blessed consolations or sanctifying influences it receives, is *not* God the Father and *is* God the Son, is what cannot in any way be believed in accordance with the known laws and nature of the sense in question. Nothing but a special revelation to the individual soul that such was the case (a revelation of which, so far as we are aware, no claim has ever been made), could enable any man to assert that he had made such a discovery. Nay, it is probable that none of those who hold by this peculiar form of Christian evidence would actually lay claim to the power of making such a distinction between the divine agents whose influences they experience, on any other ground than that, the common voice of Christendom having assured them that the work of God on the soul was triformous, they naturally and logically classified their experiences on such an hypothesis, and referred them accordingly to the Creator, the Redeemer, or the Sanctifier. Such a process would be most natural and blameless under the circumstances, and the

consequent conviction that there were really three Divine influences perceived by the soul, would follow of course. Yet by no means can the calm inquirer admit such testimony to prove the existence of three Divine Persons, any more than the similar testimony of Romanists can be admitted to prove the invisible influence of Mary and the Saints. The religious sense cannot be held competent to witness such multiplicity of Divine Persons, for by no means conceivable could it discern the difference between one and another, save under the contingency of a *moral* difference in their monitions perceptible to the moral sense. If there were a Devil, a man might perfectly distinguish his influence from that of God. But any holy and sanctifying influence is the same as God's influence. How, then, can it be distinguished therefrom?

Surely the truth which underlies all our differences, all the mystery of prayer, heard, and *felt* to be heard, even by those who have offered it under conceptions of God most clouded and distorted, is simply this. There is a voice which calls to us all through the thick darkness of our mortal night; we hear it, and give it many different names—but it is the *same* voice always. And we, too, answer that voice with the same cry, albeit in faltering, feeble accents;

> "Infants crying in the night,
> Infants crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry;"

and the Great Parent who is "about our bed" hears us all, hears His poor helpless children none the less if sometimes they call in their ignorance on other than any of His thousand names. Even an earthly mother leaves not her babe untended because it cries to nurse or brother rather than to herself, who loves it better than any beside may love.

It is on the whole subject of these inner evidences of what we may term Broad-church Christianity, as opposed to strictly Unitarian Theism, that M. Pécaut writes; and with a depth of insight, a tenderness of feeling even towards the opinions from which he most widely differs, which make his book in itself a lesson of piety and charity. It would seem as if he had laboured to represent the interlocutor who takes the more orthodox side of the argument as the most

able and the most devout of the two. Certainly fairness towards an antagonist can no further go; and if the argument in favour of a real Christian consciousness as distinguished from a simple consciousness of God be found to fail, the conclusion can hardly be avoided, that no true handling of the subject would have resulted differently. It is obviously vain in the compass of a review to give any fair abstract of such a work, whose value lies in the cumulation of details of sentiment, all needing tender and reverent treatment. We shall, therefore, in the remaining pages of this article attempt to give an account of M. Pécaut's second and smaller, but by no means less interesting book, *L'Avenir du Théisme Chrétien*. The questions of which it treats are thus stated in the Preface:

"Will France dispense with a religion and a cultus? Will she be Catholic? Will she be Protestant? Will she cease to be Christian? Is a national religion henceforth incompatible with the free exercise of criticism and the principles of science? Can a people found public and private morals, support liberty, explore the highways of intellectual activity, and keep alive in its breast those noble ambitions whose aim is the True, the Good and the Beautiful—in a word, can it deserve to live, without the aid of a religion conformed to its degree of civilization?"

To those who are interested in these questions the author addresses himself. He begins by asserting that, for all so much is said of the universal decay and disruption of ancient creeds and ecclesiastical institutions,—

"— these creeds and institutions have never been appreciated with more impartiality and even sympathy than at present. Never have their doctrines, their martyrs, their merits of all kinds, obtained more complete justice. Never have they on their part displayed a zeal more pure and active, whether for the propagation of dogma or for the foundation of works of charity. Yet public feeling recedes from them. The religious reaction of the beginning of our century, which seemed calculated to stop for ever the philosophic undertaking of the age of Voltaire and Rousseau, was not long in changing to a serious movement in a different direction. We still continue to condemn the Encyclopædists for their lack of comprehension of antiquity, their profane levity in sacred studies, their want of moral depth; but, on the other hand, we have understood that their errors and excesses must not make us close our eyes to the justice of their

intellectual insurrection. . . . . Their criticism in its broad results is found as true in the 19th as in the 18th century."

M. Pécaut then sketches briefly, but with the hand of one intimately acquainted with the various phases of social life in France, the actual condition of religion in the country.

"The educated classes, when they do not follow the caprice of a fashion, generally belong only by name to the churches from which they have received baptism; and from the upper ranks incredulity has descended, passing through the artizans of the towns even to the agricultural labourers, especially in the Departments of the North. Young men who receive a liberal education detach themselves soon from the creed of their mothers, simply in consequence of the discord between such creeds and the whole method of their studies. A small number among them, willing at any price to satisfy the imperative need of a religion, return in later life to the same faith, while others as they advance in years find themselves from a thousand causes—the pressure of custom, the influence of women, the necessity of educating their children (for which they have no sufficient guidance or institutions in harmony with their secret principles)—above all, the lack of definite ideas and principles to resist the incessant ecclesiastical action armed at all points for good and evil—from all these causes together, we say, they find themselves all their lives long divided between an apparent adhesion to the Church and a concealed hostility thereto. Further, how many are there who in our time remain outside of all the sects because they can find no church ready to receive them, such as they really are, with their religious aspirations more or less ardent, but in any case sincere, and with their intellectual uncertainty regarding all doctrines! The greater number of these accustom themselves to live in a vague scepticism, or in a state of indifference regarding their highest interests, only falling into the forms of the dominant Church on occasions of family or state ceremonies. Others, again, and they are among the best, abstain on principle from participation in any religious association. They refuse to carry into it a conscience falsified or dwindled; but they would enter it to-morrow, if they might do so, with their heads raised and without denying their true position or subscribing to degrading conditions. . . . It is for these last that I write; I who in many ways belong to the same class. I confess I cannot resign myself without pain to the condition of religious isolation in which we find ourselves."

Our space will not permit us to follow M. Pécaut at length through the deeply philosophic discussion which follows re-

garding the prospects of obtaining what we may call a new term of religious life for such men as he has described. Perhaps the spirit of the constructive part of his book cannot be better illustrated than in the passage (p. 211) where, after tracing how the elder Deism and all merely moral systems fail to attract or to retain the souls of men, he shews what he trusts will be the faith of the future and whence it will be derived.

"This it is which has been wanting in the experiments of which we have spoken—the gift of prayer—the supremacy of the religious idea—a deeper alliance between human nature and the drama of the moral life. And this it is which we demand of Christian tradition, not as an artificial loan which we should rejoice not to owe to it, but as the most precious part of our patrimony which it transmits to us from God, having preserved it through the ages." "What (he elsewhere says*) is Christian Theism? Is it a system of philosophy or of theology? No. Is it one particular tradition among all those which have ploughed their furrow in the history of Christianity? No. Is it a confused eclecticism, an incoherent assemblage of divers traditions? No. Is it then perhaps a simple critical residuum, obtained by means of elimination? Not so. What is it then? It is the Christian spirit itself, the spirit of the Church, the spirit of Jesus, which by its own proper virtue and by the experience of ages has disengaged itself of the mythological elements, the errors and perishable forms which the disciples, and in some respects even the Master himself, had clothed it."

And this religion, this *Christian Theism*, he believes will eventually prevail.†

"Traditional Protestantism and Catholicism, the refuges of so many pious souls, the provisional shelter of so many uncertain ones, cannot satisfy us; for their dogmatic tradition and the principle of supernatural authority contradict alike the testimony of history and the religious needs of the human soul, once it has attained self-guidance. But I see no reason to doubt that man being essentially religious, a religious society is a natural fact, no less inevitable than civil society; and if this be so, it must be open to us to found it on the basis of ideas which our reason recognizes as true."

M. Pécaut's volume, of which we have now given so brief a sketch, has a peculiar interest, as affording to the English

* Chap. i. † Introduction, p. xii.

reader both a view of the actual state of religion in France and an insight into the aims of its most spiritual reformers. Much that he says, however, is quite equally apposite to the condition of things in our own country; and to us, no less than to him, the questions are paramount: As the old creeds are losing their hold, which are the creeds acquiring strength? Is it any one of the existing churches which bears in its bosom the precious seed hereafter to make the harvests of the world? Or is it the yet scarcely sown "Christian Theism" of such men as Félix Pécaut which is to give to us all the bread of life? Or, yet again, shall every form, alike of Christianity and of Theism, dwindle away and disappear, even as Comte foretells, and some vague "Religion of Humanity" like his, some yet more material belief in a *Fluid* or mere recognition of a Protean *Force*, henceforward fill up in human existence that stupendous vacuum to be left by the disappearance of God?

There is a profound remark of James Martineau's, in a recent article in the *National Review*, to the purport that each of our present churches seems to have its *raison d'être*, not in any claim to intrinsic and eternal truth or the possession of any complete and consistent scheme of theology, but in its extrinsic and temporary antagonism to some other church. Admitting this to be true, we are driven to conclude that few, if any, of these churches can be the germ and prototype of the Church of the Future. A sect which exists mainly as a protest against another sect can have no principle of self-existence to support it when the antagonism dies with its object. Protestant and Catholic, Churchman and Dissenter, High-churchman and Evangelical, Calvinist and Unitarian, can hardly live the one without the other, more than so many Hegelian contraries. At least, like the old orders of soldier-monks, when the Crusades are over, if they are not extinguished, like the Templars, they must change their character, like the Knights of St. John. A man beginning to study theology *ab initio*, without knowledge of any of the present churches which crowd the arena of Christendom, would hardly, we conceive, deduce from either the Bible or the Book of Nature the doctrines of any one of them. And, sooner or later, according to the immutable principles of things, as one after another of these little systems "have their day and cease to be," its auta-

gonist sect, or Protestantism must cease also, and only such creeds survive as are either, like the others, antagonisms to new errors, and therefore mortal as they, or else really such as a mind furnished with due data might arrive at in a world empty of sects. *This* only can be an immortal church, this only can be the type of religion which will perpetuate itself in perennial vigour. The rest are but a crop of annuals doomed ere long to die—nay, rather fungi growing each on its decaying stem and destined with it at last to perish.

But to enable ourselves to discover the creed which has its right of existence not in such mere antagonism to error, but in the possession of positive truth, it is needful that we ascend into a region of speculation very far above the debates of sects and jostlings of religious parties. We need to explore the secrets of human nature itself, and deduce from the ever-repeated characteristics of past generations the facts of our common wants and ineradicable propensities. We require to learn which are the things whose hold on our hearts no time can loosen while those hearts remain what they are, and which again are those whose tenure may be as transitory as the beliefs and dreams of infancy. Above all, we need to assure ourselves whether Religion be indeed an integral part of human nature, even as the love of kindred, of justice, of truth, of beauty, are parts thereof; or if it be, on the contrary, an accident of the world's youth—a mist of the morning, dissipating already in the glare of the noontide sun. The analogies of the past, the testimony of science respecting the existing religious sentiments of all the races of men upon earth, the deepest consciousness of our individual souls—what evidence do they bring to aid us to decide this question? Let us face the matter resolutely.

Will the time ever arrive when the historian will write words like these:

"In these remote ages, namely, from unrecorded antiquity till the third millennium after Christ, there existed among all nations of whom we possess any information an extraordinary affection or sentiment called RELIGION. They experienced this singular feeling very variously, and applied it sometimes to one supposed invisible Being, sometimes to many; but they all agreed in displaying a mixture of fear, reverence, allegiance and love to some unseen Master or Protector whom they held to be present at all times and cognizant of their invocations and thanksgivings,

and also to be the supreme Guardian of morality. This 'Religious Sentiment,' as they called it, caused them to establish the largest institutions or spiritual corporations, called priesthoods and churches, and to build the greatest edifices in a profusion which amazes the archæologist, who discovers their foundations, we had almost said, over every mile of the habitable globe,—edifices whose sole purpose was the imaginary service of an imaginary Being. More remarkable than all other facts, however, connected with this long-passed-away 'Religion,' is the unquestionable one that it raised those who experienced it strongly to heights of self-devotion, ascending even to positive, painful martyrdoms most difficult for us to picture under the present sounder views of social duty. And the books which have descended to us from those ages, filled as they are with fables, appear also to reveal an intensity of aspiration after goodness, and the traces of labours after inward holiness and perfection, which, while we can only ascribe them to this delusive idea of an invisible Spectator of the secrets of the heart, we are forced to regard with somewhat of admiration as well as astonishment."

It is certain that either the time will come when some such words as these will be used, or else that Religion can never die out of humanity. If German Materialists and French Positivists be right, then that time, however remote, is surely approaching. Let us not deceive ourselves. The substitutes which the best of them, such as Comte, offer us *as* Religion, is not what *we call* Religion at all, nor therefore by the laws of language properly to be called by the name. It is a mere verbal trick, a shuffle of words, to call it "Religion," to worship, *not* (as all the religions of the past have done) an Invisible Person, but instead thereof the Abstraction of our Race, or a Visible Woman conventionally elevated to the representation of such an Abstraction of Humanity. It is *another thing*, whether good or evil, right or wrong; and he who speaks of the religious sentiment being thus given the change by the intellect as to the object of its emotions, talks as idly as he who should say that filial, parental, conjugal and fraternal love could be counterchanged at option. When Comte talks of the world passing through the consecutive stages of Fetichism, Polytheism, Monotheism and Positivism, he deceives himself and us. Polytheism was a stage developed out of Fetichism, and Monotheism a stage out of Polytheism. But *Positivism* is no stage beyond Monotheism, for it is not on the same road at all. Instead

of a development, it is a solution of continuity; instead of a growth, it is the stroke of the axe at the very root of the tree. What can be more monstrous than to call it the development of belief in God, to arrive at belief in no God? If Comte were right, it would prove that among all the feelings and affections of our humanity, the religious sentiment alone, since the world began, has been false, diseased, distorted and misapplied. While every other feeling corresponded to some reality,—the parental, the filial, the conjugal, the patriotic, each to their true and proper objects,—this alone, the highest of all, has from first to last been thrown away on an imaginary entity—this alone, the source of purest truth and virtue, has been a delusion and a lie.

Perhaps it is true that which books like those of M. Pécaut bring before us. In the long pilgrimage of our race we have reached a point where the way to the Celestial City is no longer clear, and where no Angel or Interpreter stands by to direct us. To the right lies the old road which our fathers trod, and where we yet can recognize their venerable footsteps. But that path is a quicksand now, hardly able to bear the weight of a traveller who would plant his feet firmly as he goes. To the left there is another path, but it turns visibly before our eyes away from that City of God which has been hitherto our goal, and passes down fathomless abysses of lonely darkness where our hearts quail to follow. Straight before us lies a field hardly tracked as yet by the few pilgrim feet which have passed over it, a vast field full of flowers and open to the sun. May the "King of that Country" guide us, so that walking thereon we may find a new and straighter path to the Celestial City on high beyond the dark River; and to the "Beulah land" of peaceful faith here upon earth!

F. P. C.

IV.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON SOCIETY.

To men of almost all parties within and without the pale of the Established Church of England, it seems evident that a change is taking place in its spirit, which must lead sooner or later to a corresponding change in its organization and in its relations to the country and people at large. Under the storm and stress of the rising waves of new or long dormant opinions, the Church reels and shakes like some great vessel in a tempest. It may be that, riding into smooth water, it shall there acquire improvements and modifications which have been seen to be needful during the present crisis, or it may come asunder like St. Paul's vessel at Melita, and those now within it may have to find land as and how they can, "some on boards and some on broken pieces of the ship." And as, before some actual wreck, planks soon to be sundered are pressed together with mighty power, and parts naturally distant are forced into close companionship by the violent waves, so recent alliances are but signs, to those who will have it so, of a speedy end. But all who are very confident either of the ultimate safety or the ultimate destruction of the existing Establishment, must speak, as confident persons are wont, with imperfect knowledge of facts. Those who ignore the danger can be little aware of the religious life of England which as yet finds no welcome from Churchmen, no room in the formularies of the Church, —of the growing feeling that the spiritual body should be co-extensive with the political body of the nation; those who are certain of the speedy downfall of the existing order of things, assuredly have not allowed for the way in which the thoughts and feelings of Churchmen are interwoven with much which men of all classes and creeds among us hold sacred and dear. That we may aid, so far as we can, in the formation of a calm judgment on this matter, we desire to consider the relations of the Church of England to Society. It is only from an examination of things as they are, from a consideration of forces now at work, that a prophecy for the future can be hazarded with any probability that it may attain fulfilment. We have spoken in the last sentence of the "Church of England," though possibly to many readers

of this Review the term "Establishment" may be more familiar. The former phrase may seem to claim an exclusive grasp of truth, rather than, as they would grant, a mere political pre-eminence among "the Churches." Those, however, who may read this paper will soon understand that the writer uses the term to which he has been accustomed in no narrow sense, but with a yearning desire and a hope against hope that the Church of England may one day indeed be as wide as the Christianity of England.

How far it now really represents the religious life of the country, is a question which would receive many widely differing answers. A large number of people, mainly clergymen and ladies of the High-church school, shut their eyes to facts which lie before them, and affect to consider all beyond their pale as schismatical, almost anti-christian. They appear to regard the doctrines and principles of the Church of England as possessing an infallibility nowhere claimed by them, and to consider that intellectual doubt respecting them must imply moral perversity. They would alter nothing, concede nothing, are as conservative as Roman Catholics themselves, but in favour of dogmas far less venerable, far less carefully framed than those of Rome. A large party of Low-churchmen profess great toleration for those Protestant Dissenters who have, like themselves, adopted as shibboleths certain formulas of "the glorious Reformation,"—that is to say, certain notions about justification and the atonement, which for the most part took their present form long after that vague period called the Reformation, bring it down as low as we will. But these men, how friendly soever on platforms with their Dissenting neighbours, are in their own parishes the sternest denouncers of Dissent, at war with all who do not agree with them. With them, indeed, "new presbyter is but old priest writ large." They would narrow the formularies of the Church to shut out High-churchmen, and to talk of toleration for Rome is to them like the proposal to make a compact with the evil one. Both these bodies join in denouncing, and in holding as opposed to religion itself, that vast section of persons who, Christians, and venerating Christ more than aught in heaven and earth save the great Father of all, yet think of him, his person and his work, in terms unauthorized by the Creeds. Scarce less is their dislike to specula-

tions of thoughtful men, tending to shake popular opinion,—to anything which is new in theology or church organization. And the liberal party in the Church of England, the growth as it is of the last few years, to which men have come from both High and Low Church, which seems already likely to divide against itself,—this is at times forgetful that liberty does not mean the right of anathema, that there is an anti-dogmatic formalism. Its adherents would too often exclude by their scorn and want of love the members of the other parties. They hear such threats as Dr. Pusey's of withdrawal with satisfaction, rather than in sorrow and shame.

But if within the Church of England are so various opinions concerning those it holds and ought to hold, excludes and ought to exclude, its relation to the religious life of the country will be viewed in still more different ways by those who are outside. According to some, it is a bulwark of Protestantism; as others say, it is a half-way house to Rome. At one time we are told it is a mere creature of the State, a thing of yesterday, entitled to no more reverence than a Parliament which the Minister of the day can dissolve; it is asserted, on the other hand, that its spirit was unchanged at the Reformation, was the same in Laud as in Becket, is the same in our modern Bishops as in Laud. And our English blood has never wholly mixed; and according as different races have settled themselves in various counties, and have gained occupations and habits widely diverse, the Church varies in its aspect to the population. In the southern half of England, at least in the villages and smaller towns, the whole intellect, cultivation, good breeding of the people, is within the Church. The clergyman, and the squire who attends his church, are the only educated people in the country parishes, and the bettermost laymen in the towns, the doctors and solicitors of the squires and parsons, follow their lead. The late Lord Ducie alone of English southern landlords avowed himself a Dissenter, not being among those who adhered to the old Catholic faith. But in the north the case is widely altered. There has risen an aristocracy independent of the soil and of old tradition, an aristocracy primarily indeed of wealth, but afterwards in a measure of those advantages wealth brings in its train, — men cultivated above the average, with marked tastes for art and literature. And these, since they

see in so great degree the power of the new, are somewhat intolerant of the old. Hence whatever reaction may now again be setting in in favour of the Church, whatever vent may be found in its buildings and services for the poetry and sentiment by no means extinguished in trade, it may not be denied that the religious thought of the manufacturing classes has greatly shewn itself in other forms than those of the Church, and would have done so even had it been more alive. But the Church was not up to its work; much else was ready to take, and did take, its place in the hearts and lives of the northern poor. And this not, as in the south, where the blind are leaders of the blind, in dim village tabernacles, and where a more intellectual audience would disdain the ignorant preacher; but the minds and hearts alike of teacher and taught are keen and warm, and the roofs ring with no ignoble eloquence. It may be said, however, and with some truth, that the stirring northern life which has brought about such a state of things is not a natural English growth, but rather overlies the true condition of the country; that the territorial division, ecclesiastically into parishes, socially into large estates, is one which has always a tendency to re-assert itself; that however vast and wealthy and cultivated is the north, it is in the land at large we must look for the working of the Church; that the tone of the whole country will ultimately overbear that of a part, how influential soever.

Firstly, then, in our Universities, where north and south mix, where classes flow together in a certain wholesome fusion, we may look for that social influence of the Church which filters down and is diluted in our parishes and in our land. If in these, tied and bound as they are, or have been till very lately, to be exclusive handmaidens of the Church, there be found a weakening of the relation; if from time to time any one great section or party succeed in drawing to itself the leaders among the teachers or the pupils; if strifes grow fiercer, and wiser men stand aloof from all—if there be these or other phenomena, they will spread gradually away and down from the Universities, and storms which shake the homes of thought will rattle also the roofs over the heads of the unthinking. We speak of Oxford and Cambridge, not of course forgetting that there are other communities taking their places and their work

in the education of the country; but these, and these alone, have set as yet their mark upon the land.

With each University has been associated the rise and leadership among the clergy of one of those two parties into which till recently the Church of England was divided. In the days of our fathers, King's College at Cambridge and the Rev. Charles Simeon were the place and the name associated with the Evangelical movement, as Oriel and Mr. Newman, later Dr. Pusey, have been with the Tractarian movement in our own. It is true that the social influence of that earlier movement has been greatly inferior to the latter, partly from the immeasurable superiority in the leaders among the High-church party, but still more from the greater grandeur of the theology they represented; yet the Simeon movement was the religious stirring in the Church of England in its own day, and as such deserves a moment's notice at our hands. The impression it left on the Universities and on the Church was rather on men here and there than on society. It led rather to the deepening of personal religion in the hearts of those who went down from their colleges to country curacies and to spend and be spent in their Master's service; to the undervaluing of much which made life pleasant, in the thought of the stern realities of the spirit-world, than to any shaking the foundations of religion itself, to any new tone in society. It was regarded rather as the faint wash of the great wave of Methodism, than as any real stirring of the waters within the quiet havens of the Church. But Evangelicism was quickened into new life, became a sort of reality, under the pressure of the antagonistic movement which grew out of the needs of the time, out of the air as it were, drawing nourishment from much which seemed little suited to it, and finding a centre and a name in Oxford. There was a distinct and avowed desire in the leaders of that movement to return to thoughts and practices associated in the English mind with Rome; there was much in it real and earnest and religious, to be driven out only by a counter religion. And so there grew up that compact, complete religious organization which we name Low-church, by the side of the Tractarian school, anticipating it in time indeed, but becoming a party more by the need it felt of opposing this new peril, than by internal cohesion. Nor has it cohesion to this day. It has no theology, no

master spirits, no learned men; it has no leading representatives in either University; the combination-room of even Caius College at Cambridge, its very pulpit, has resounded to liberal opinions.

Dr. Newman has recently traced for us the early history of that party which he did so much to form. But it was when his presence was withdrawn, when the dull and numbing feeling that he was lost to Oxford and Anglicanism fell on his friends, when the absurdities which he had repressed began to shew themselves unchecked, that the social influence of the whole movement on Oxford and on the country could be better understood and examined. A strange feeling comes over the mind of those men who remember their early Oxford days, begun just after the great light had set at Littlemore, and they felt themselves launched into the sea of new religious romance before yet a new pilot was found to guide them. In the country parsonages and halls from which they went, attractive volumes with deep fascination for their mothers and sisters had not been without interest for themselves, and they caught with delight at the promise of a religion less distasteful to them than that associated with fluffy green baize and square pews, but which kept clear of Rome, for the thought of which they were not prepared. A typical book, which carried away not only enthusiastic women, but ardent boys ready to run their college course, was Hawkstone. If our readers have ever seen this nightmare of a book, they will scarce have forgotten it. It is a dream-like jumble of imbecile old women of Puritan but religious tendencies, with dark and designing Jesuits, quite unlike any Jesuits who ever lived, of burning houses, secret conspiracies, manufacturing riots, and bodies eaten by rats; while athwart all these comes one calm figure, who always has time to take off his hat when he names the Sacred Name, and to pray at the foot of a ladder before he rushes up the sides of the blazing piles. And as he is the calm man, so an ideal Oxford is the calm and holy place where the world's tumult is hushed, and Anglican priests fence round their young men alike from the dangers of vice and the seductions of Rome. But when these young men came to the place itself, it was very unlike the picture; they soon learned to laugh at the tutor who had written himself into

his silly book, and to see the weakness of the new Moses, who, as he had told them in a then famed sermon, took his censer and stood between the dead and the living, and the plague of Popery was stayed. Life at the University had as many attractions as ever, and these were not to be resisted by sentiment. Yet there were those who would not try what the plain conviction of duty might do.

The purifying influence of texts painted on scrolls, of patron saints in plaster, of architectural slang, was tried too often in vain by men who had after all an earnestness in them, a desire to do right, had there been but a guide. Most fantastic and grotesque were the tricks these young persons played. It was in Oriel, Dr. Newman's own College, that an undergraduate, apt to lie in bed while chapel bells rang on in vain, got himself painted a grand new text, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard;" but he fixed it up outside his chamber door, where it would not help him in the morning, and seemed to signify to his friends that the ant lived inside. It was in the same Oriel that had known the reality, that there grew up among some men a fierce intolerance of the sham in which both tutors and taught shared. Some of the latter despoiled a decorated room, and burned the ecclesiastical upholstery in the quadrangle. But all the redress the complainant got from the late A. H. Clough, then a tutor, was, "I am sorry, Mr. ——, that they should have broken your Teraphim." It was at another college in those same days that a luncheon party assembling found their host stripping his walls like a madman, and thrusting under the bed a large figure of the Virgin, painted and crowned. The poor boy had just heard that his severely Protestant father had arrived in Oxford, and was on his way to his son's rooms. To Cambridge spread, as was natural, this same caricature of the early movement. Mr. Pugin had published an elaborate volume of ecclesiastical drawings, containing, among others, the full vestments of the different orders in the Church. It was a pity they should remain in the lifeless page; there was then little hope of seeing them in church; so a band of undergraduates went to the expense of these costly garments to gladden the eyes of a select few with the sight of what would be, if yet the work of the Reformation could be undone. Only, too often, the men who so played at the externals of religion

were those whose inner lives would little bear inspection. Yet along with these foolings there was going on a deep and steady improvement in the tone of undergraduate life. There was a reality of which these things were the imitation. Why then, it may be asked, chronicle the bygone froth and folly of a time past? Simply because these follies had their influence, and have it yet, on the Church of England and on society. The earnest men who go from the University into clerical life are the minority; the motives which weigh with the many are greatly mixed. They endeavour to be in earnest because they take orders, rather than are called to orders by their earnestness. Hence it came to pass that many of those of whom we have spoken, carried with them their mere upholstery, their dilettanteism; they became in their parishes the types of Anglican clergy, without that profound theology which distinguished their predecessors, without the personal piety which marked their Low-church neighbours. And some, again, had seen the hollowness and unreality of which we have spoken, had grown to believe that all things were a sham—their own lives, their own calling. Yet they might live decorously and respectably, putting away the childish things, but not putting in their place any real endeavour after God's truth, when they discovered that in which they lived to be false. There were others who took with them into their country parishes the grand ideal which had dazzled for awhile the eyes and inflamed the hearts of the leaders. They too, one here and one there, found that the realization of their ideal was not in Anglicanism, but in Rome, and went to seek it there. Or else the vision passed away from them in the hard, sober drudgery of parish schools and work among the poor; the priest was soon invested with the semi-secular character which marks the English incumbent, and was content, if not satisfied, to give up his dreams. The laity had not liked the upholstery; they mistrusted ornate ritual: a decency of worship was introduced into our churches; organs supplanted the old choirs; but, as a rule, the ritual, the decoration, the doctrine, all fell short of what once had seemed about to be, and then soon fell into a groove in which laity and clergy were alike content they should run.

There was, as we have said, at this time in Oxford no one who took Mr. Newman's place as leader. Dr. Pusey

was kind to those who went to him and sought his personal guidance, and there were many who did so; but his influence was on individuals rather than on a party. As men sought for guidance, however, as tutors saw the need of leading their pupils, there grew up in the colleges a closer relation than before between some one of the authorities and the more eager and tractable of the students. The bond in earlier days between dons and undergraduates had been a very slight one, scarce felt beyond the walls of the lecture-room, scarce used but for the purpose of discipline. In all colleges there came a certain drawing together of the two elements, but more marked in some cases than in others. We remember four men in four colleges who took in those days a decided lead in breaking down the barrier which custom had erected between the young men and their teachers. Others did the same, but these were men of mark. They were Stanley of University, Congreve of Wadham, Jowett of Baliol, and Powles of Exeter. Each and all of them exercised a strong influence in their respective colleges, and to some extent beyond them. What lent a certain importance to the lines they took, without concert, but much in the same direction, was, that while they had never belonged to, or had freed themselves from, the High-church party, still less were Low-churchmen, they were beginning already to be known as members of a liberal school, were giving hints of what one day they would become. Rugby was sending up to Oxford men formed in Arnold's last days there, of keen intellect, of which it seemed they were over-proud, some inclined to run beyond their teacher in liberalism, some to venerate him and his every word with an absolute loyalty. Those who were ultra-liberal found aid in that, as in all ways, from Mr. Congreve. We believed, rightly or wrongly, that he had been too outspoken for even liberal Rugby, and hence had left his Mastership there; we knew he had small veneration for the English Church, whose orders shackled him. We knew that he regarded those who intended entering orders as objects of a somewhat scornful pity; it was with small surprise that in after years we heard he had slipped loose from orders and Christianity at once. Yet there are those content in the Church of England who remember with gratitude many a deep talk with that brilliant teacher, who

strove with his whole soul after Truth, and worked with his boys to find it! Round Mr. Stanley grouped themselves the more conservative Rugbeians, the more progressive sons of other schools, to be led gradually into deeper waters than those in which they had yet swam. England at large now knows the power and the character of the Dean of Westminster's eloquence, the marvellous way in which he can say without offence, often without suspicion, that for which other men are scouted as heretics. Great was the fascination for young men in the poetry and the seeming vagueness of Mr. Stanley's teaching. But it was vague only in seeming. Those who followed him found that, almost without knowing it, they became more and more liberal, yet did not abandon the truth which lay under the modes of thought of past ages. Mr. Jowett is still teaching. His influence has steadily strengthened, and has ever been thoroughly wholesome. But as it is a thing of the present, and not only of the past, it would ill become those to criticise it who knew only the Oxford of past days. Mr. Powles has gone to other fields of usefulness. His character was all along less stamped on those who came under him than the characters of those others we have ventured to name. But we remember him as a liberal yet cautious guide in the vexing whirlpools of thought, a kind and courteous friend to many who needed such an one.

From points and teachers such as these there grew the liberal Oxford party, mainly, so far as the young were concerned, out of those who had hung more or less on the skirts of the Tractarian movement. At Cambridge there had grown up simultaneously a like body of men, and both wanted some centre round which they might cohere. Such a centre many found, or thought they found, in Mr. Maurice. Ah! among the recollections of the past, few thoughts are sadder than those of the teachers we have left, who, older than we, may perhaps think our course has been downward, while we in our younger hope would fain believe it onward and upward. God and the end will shew. But those who at that time looked to Mr. Maurice have for the most part gone far enough from him. They were conscious even then of a want of definiteness in his teaching, of the utterances of a prophet needing to be interpreted. Mr. Kingsley, for many, seemed to put the Maurician system into very clear words.

He had, as it appeared, gone through, and come out on the other side of the Tractarian thought, had put it from him with even a strong effort, and there was left in its place an earnest, manful godliness which could not but be attractive. But as we looked and as we read, it seemed that there was in him no reverence for the grand old Catholic faith of the past, no understanding of that creed in which men for so many ages had lived and died, an absolute rejection of all that the Newman school had won back for us so hardly; and so while the character and the life of the Rector of Eversley could not but retain its hold on the affections, it ceased to bear sway to any large extent on the intellect.

It has now come to pass that the school of young University men trained by Stanley and Jowett and the expiring influences of the grand Tractarian leaders, have no leader of their own. Each man does and thinks as seems right in his own eyes. One, indeed, might lead them if he would step forward, the Rev. H. B. Wilson, whose Bampton Lectures were to such as I have described a new revelation, opening up whole worlds of fresh and pregnant thought. But he for the most part is silent, or speaks only in the pages of a Review where few know it is his voice which thrills them. It may be well it is so, for these are no days in which, "jurare in verba magistri," to take one's faith in trust from an individual, when we decline to pin it even on the venerable creeds of the Churches; but there is a loss, notwithstanding, when men of keen powers but little leisure are forced to put forward their own "crude imaginings," rather than take sometimes as a stand-point the settled convictions of one so learned and so calm.

Men of the High-church, moderate Anglican type, or of more or less liberal tendencies, have been the chief of those whom in the last fifteen years the Universities have sent into orders. Low-churchmen have been few. But the question has yet to be asked and answered, if, as of old, the really best men have given their lives and their services to the Church. And here we think the reply must be distinctly in the negative. We have just turned over the list of boys leaving in the few past years one of our great public schools to become scholars of an important College. A few years since, nearly all would have taken orders; now scarce any of the more distinguished look to the work of the ministry

as their end and aim in life. And this same experience is everywhere repeated. Opinion is too shifting, belief too unstable, to encourage our best men to enter on so uncertain a course. The supply alike of Anglicans of the old type and of liberals seems checked for a time. But, singularly enough, there has risen up of late a school of young men, represented mainly at Oxford, yet not without adherents at Cambridge, who, with a somewhat different end, have reproduced and exaggerated High-church practices of which we have already spoken. It would seem that along with the liberal movement, and in some degree as a second reaction against it, there have grown up religious guilds and brotherhoods, not without a good effect on life and morals, but binding their members fast in the bonds of unelastic dogma. They have taken a bold and distinctive line in ritual, have their private services and private chaplains, a rule and an organization among themselves. They are the germs of which the English monks of St. Benedict are the flower; they are not unrepresented in such churches as St. Alban's and St. Mary Magdalene in London; they have a distinct organ, "The Church Times," and leave Anglicanism far behind.

It is then, we think, plain that from our Universities as nurseries there have gone out into the land men of these schools to minister in our parishes: Low-churchmen, for the most part of more than middle life, recruited but in small degree from younger men; Anglicans of the old High-church school of the same age and somewhat younger; Anglicans of a younger school and less noble type, who in giving up absurdities have lost faith in themselves and their mission; educationalists, if we may coin the word, whose mission and whose work lies in their schools and parish clubs; liberal men of more or less advanced views, some with strong allowance for, some with strong bias against tradition, ritual and antiquity, few of them knowing quite where they are drifting or where likely to stop; and, lastly, a later development of Anglicans, who would prefer to call themselves Catholics, who may revolutionize the Church, who may by the pressure from without be driven, as some before them, into the open arms of Rome. With these men of all these parties a body of the laity, but only a part, have been educated. We must now inquire how and in what

degree these men leaven the society round them now, and what are the signs for the future.

The English church-going laity are conservative. They dread any change in services or doctrine. All that has been done by High-churchmen and by Liberals has been accepted by them unwillingly. Yet if this were now to be undone so far as service and ritual are in question, the proceeding would not please. In these, facts are accepted. But with regard to doctrine it is not so. If a congregation discover that their pastor's teaching is at all identical with that of men who have stirred thought, whether Tractarians or Liberals, they are at once alarmed. Those who would claim for themselves and use a perfect freedom of criticism on what they have been taught, cannot bear that their teachers should exercise the same freedom. It is not difficult to understand the grounds on which this feeling rests. The clergy are as a rule better educated than the average country squire, the typal layman of our congregations. It is never pleasant for those who have wealth and position, prowess in sport, and great social influence, to have to acknowledge perforce a mental superiority. And so they would have those who teach them bound by definite and narrow rules, by certain opinions, the popular interpretation of which they can understand, so that they cannot be led beyond their depth unawares. And this same feeling extends to the clever professional men in our towns. They, from want of leisure, are in the same position that others are from want of mind. To all, the Sunday is a day of rest, and they do not wish to be startled and made to think. A Bishop is nothing to them unless they choose to consider him so, and therefore they would willingly see his power over his clergy increased, if by so doing all innovations in doctrine might be repressed. This strong lay feeling has acted injuriously on the clergy. It has led to their endeavours at times to carry their ritual plans and preach their doctrines under the veil of reasons which are not those present to their own minds, and words which are ambiguous. The temptation is very great to get a church restored in a way which will be congenial to a man's own tastes, without giving his full opinion; to get a stained-glass window to moderate the light, when he really wants it for the sake of the subject; equally great to relieve his own mind in preaching by using phrases he understands

in one sense, but knows his congregation will take in another. But the mischief ends not here. A certain habit of imperfect honesty is formed, a tone of mind gained which popular talk has ascribed to Jesuits, but which is just as common in the priests of other systems.

And hence comes that greater sympathy one sometimes sees between a clergyman and the women of his flock rather than the men. A man sooner, as a rule, distinguishes the ring of the true coin of character in a man than one of the other sex. He sooner discovers, and is sterner to, little insincerities and evasions. He dislikes instinctively that manner and that tone which has been called priestcraft. "You will want some test by which to know if your ministry is succeeding," said, some years since, a clergyman of experience to one just entering on his work: "look round your congregation carefully at the end of six months, and see whether the increase is greater in proportion of men than of women. If the men come to hear you, you are doing your work; if the women, you are not." There is of course large deduction to be made from general statements such as these, but there is a truth in his words. One deduction is, of course, that a main part of the clerical office is to lead devotions, and that woman's mind is more devotional than man's. She may lack some elements of religion which pertain more especially to the man, and the moral weight in the two sexes may be pretty evenly balanced; but that woman is more inclined to prayer and the acts of religion cannot be doubted. From that part of his work which, as concerned with God, is the highest of all, a clergyman is in danger of losing his manliness; this works with the temptation not to be quite straightforward, and produces in some, what is now and then attributed to all, a certain emasculation of character, a want of independent thought and action. Such clergymen have for their Bishops something of the reverence which women may feel for them, an exaggerated self-abnegation which is at once touching and absurd. It chanced to us once to be walking with a Bishop in his garden, when a certain incumbent came to speak with his diocesan on some question of separating a district from his living. The Bishop proposed an arrangement to which the parishioners had raised an objection. "It can't matter to me, personally," said the Bishop, who was an old man,

"for I shall die long before you." "God forbid, my Lord!" was the answer, with a deprecating gesture to preclude all supposition that the speaker could acquiesce in any such expectation. This is of course an extreme instance, but it is one of a frame of mind only too common.

When, however, a clergyman resists the influences which unman him—and we speak of no imaginary danger—his influence is very great over all classes of his parishioners, be his opinions what they may. They may refuse to follow his teaching, but they will certainly be impressed by his life. In country districts, the kind of mark made on the laity by the clergy has materially changed of late years. The greater frequency of services, which has grown rather out of an increased sense of responsibility on the part of the clergy than any demand for them by the laity, the growing notion that a clergyman must be always about his Master's special business, or that, if not, he must not shew that he is not, has almost extinguished the old race of country parsons, who farmed with the farmers, shot with the squires, and hunted with both. The *mere* sporting parson was never a man to be admired, but the country-gentleman rector, who was also an active magistrate and man of business, was for the most part a good and useful man, exercising a great moral influence. Those who met him on the bench and in the field saw that he was not degraded by secular occupations and amusements; they saw there was no great gulf fixed between the things of the world and of God; his presence checked much which was unseemly; the fact that he was skilled in the tone of thought of his congregation made his words come with considerable force when he spoke of the duties of religion and godly life. His power was felt even by such characters as those who thought that the difference between himself and themselves might be summed up in the words,

"A reäds wonn sarmin a weeäk, an' I 'a stubb'd Thornaby waäste."

If the tone of society in the past generation was lower than it now is; if some clergy who were corrupt were worse than the average laity; still the fact remains, that the majority were respectable and respected, men who leavened the society in which they mixed. And it is unfortunate that while society has improved, while a clergyman's influence

has become more spiritual and not merely moral, so many have withdrawn themselves from secular occupations. We do not, indeed, desire that, against popular feeling or against their own convictions, they should appear in the hunting-field or among crack shots on moor and in wood; but there is a withdrawal from much which they will never understand unless they mix in it, from country life and interests, which tends to draw a marked line between themselves and the laity, and sometimes to make their influence less felt than that of the parson of our fathers' days.

We admit that the right mean is not easy to reach between the amusements and pursuits which are or are not expedient for a clergyman. We can only express our opinion that if, on the one hand, that fashion was wrong which sunk the clerical character during the week, to put it on only with the Sunday dress, so also is that which seems to cast a kind of moral surplice over the man at all times, and sink or raise him ever into the priest.

It is on this ground that we cannot feel complete sympathy with a complaint often made, that a clergyman's time in a large parish is so taken up with the secular machinery of it, savings' banks, clubs, meetings, as to curtail the hours he has to give to his distinct spiritual work. Granting fully the unknown, immeasurable power of services and prayer, the loss of the advantage of meetings for common work between the clergy and laity is so great, that even increased prayer and spiritual work would ill supply their place.

Putting out of sight, however, differences between the past and the present, looking to the actual life and work of a clergyman who does his duty, we will examine for awhile his relation to the society he finds around him. Like his Master, he has to preach the gospel to the poor, to bring the softening work of religion to bear on those who can be but little touched by other refining powers, whose every teaching in school or in church is directly or indirectly from him. The better-educated are taught equally or more through the ministry of books; to the poor of our country parishes the parson is their Pope, whose authority is tempered by the scanty Protestantism of Dissent. It is in reference to the poor that we regard with sorrow the fact, if it be a fact, that the clergy of the Church of England are

drawn from the gentry less than in former days. Men of high education and of gentle breeding can enter far more into the thoughts and needs of the poor than those removed from them by a narrower interval. With the poor is needed a great courtesy and a great sympathy; there should be no appearance of stooping from a height to them, no visiting their cottages as if one had a right to do so. And the man of gentle nurture will as a rule best visit the poor, because he most will place them on a level with himself. If he does so, he will find in the English poor a singular and trusting loyalty. By means of evening schools, church choirs, and such appliances, he will gather round him the young men of his parish, and will find occasions of raising their crude notions on some of the most fundamental yet least acknowledged points of morals. And when the clergyman has a hold on the young men, he has his grasp, as it were, on the whole people. Then, passing upwards in the social scale, if he know the labourers well, their needs and their deeds, he will find the farmers consult him about their labourers, and many opportunities arise in which he may do his part to lessen the sharp contrast between employers and employed which obtains unhappily in our days, of preparing the way for the time—still, alas! far distant—when these two classes will see that their true interests are the same. With the gentry he mixes as one of themselves, taking a lead as a man of cultivation, yet not as though some authority delegated in spiritual matters gave him the same also in worldly affairs. And this kindly intercourse during the week with all classes gives great weight to his Sunday work. In fact, if a man only have been careful not to give violent offence, he will find the tone of his teaching leavening in a year or two his congregation pretty distinctly; he will find that over thought and opinion he exercises a very real sway, even when, perhaps more when, there is in him no wish to enforce on his people his own dogmatic predilections.

Many things will modify this impress and influence of the clergy in a town. There will come in the variety of churches, the many influential sects of Dissent, the greater number of intellectual persons; but, if weakened, they are not destroyed; and, with some differences in each case, the slight sketch we have given above will be found in its main features correct.

It must be admitted that those who are called the superior clergy, bishops, deans, canons, do not make any great mark on society at large. There are of course exceptions; men great in scientific, historical and theological attainments are now and then made deans, more rarely bishops, and take as such even a higher position than they would, did they depend simply on their intellectual qualities. There are others, again, who shine in London society as among the most agreeable of dinner-table talkers. But the clique in the cloisters of Barchester and such cathedral cities, has its own excitements and quarrels, its own interests, its own modes of thought. It lies, as the nook in which it dwells, aside and out of the way, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot."

"But," some of our readers may say, "you started with the question of the relations of the Church of England to society, and you are confining yourself to those of the clergy." They may desire to remind us that the clergy are the minority of Church-people, with no exclusive grasp of truth, and, in these days of literature, with no monopoly of teaching. This is most true. Yet, since the clergy are the authorized exponents of the Church's doctrine, it was needful that first we should see how far they influenced the laity under their charge. And then comes in the second and far more momentous inquiry, "Is there reason to hope and expect that the Church of England will keep those now within its pale, will gather in those who now do not conform?" There is this in favour of an Establishment in the abstract, that it identifies the State with religion; that the State in recognizing a Church says virtually it is good to worship, and as a nation confess that the nation's life is from God. And it may be further said, that as it is difficult for a man to lead a religious life except he have some more or less definite creed, some rule of faith and worship, so is it difficult for the State to be religious except under some distinct form. But if he is the most liberal and kindly who, holding to his own forms, strives least to press intricate dogma on his neighbours, so also is that Church which, having for order's sake some definiteness, has the most yielding and elastic ritual and doctrine. We say boldly, that we honestly believe that no Christian teaching and no Christian ritual are out of the pale of the Church of England. In every parish we think that the ritual should

not be at the discretion of the clergyman alone, but that the laity also of the congregation should have a voice in the matter. There is a growing feeling for an ornate ritual, so only that it is not understood necessarily to imply certain doctrine. It certainly need not do so. Ritual is in itself no more than an expression of the fact that man should give his best to God. In doctrine the laity are more at the mercy of their pastor. But when we see what varied, what contradictory doctrines are held and preached in neighbouring pulpits, we cannot see why at least intermediate teaching may not safely find a home. Can there be discovered any essential difference between the teaching of the Norwich monks and that of Rome, save only on the question of the Pope's supremacy; or between that of the moderate Unitarians and that of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton? The differences in either case are microscopic; how wide is the interval between the two schools; yet round them both there is cast that light and elastic band of the Church of England prayers and ritual outline. Whatever points in that band are still unelastic, such as the Athanasian Creed and some of the Articles, would be easily removed if those outside the Church of England now would insist on their freedom of communion with her, and *then* agitate for full and entire liberty. Yet, we say it with sorrow, there is from within the Church of England little aid extended to those who wish to enter it. Its members are satisfied in their isolation. They regret scarce at all that liberal thought is tending away from them, that liberal men within it hold their position alone by the strong power of the law, and not by the goodwill of the majority. There are, it is true, many members of the Church of England who profess to regret the schismatic condition of religious life, and there has been established of late an association for the "Promotion of the Unity of Christendom;" but this, when sifted and examined, means the union of the Churches of England and Rome, with the Eastern Church secondarily in consideration—the union, in fact, of dogma against free thought. It aims at a further definition, rather than a greater relaxation, of tests of membership. Yet the liberal party have much to answer for in alienating from themselves, and in driving towards dogma, devotional and prayerful minds. There is so often a want of love and religious life in what they write

and say, that men begin to doubt whether free thought does not stifle and trample out those tender emotions, that secret communing of the heart with God, which has so large a place in dogmatic systems. If our words can reach any one of that party who desires that his Church should indeed receive all and reject none, we entreat him to weigh "the great danger we are in by our unhappy divisions," and to remember that we, the children of a later age and sharers of a fuller day, cannot afford to do without the truths learned in the mysterious hours of twilight and dawn, even if we see them in truer forms and shades of colour.

Neither can we afford to do without the sects which lie outside us. We are incomplete, the Church of England has no full right to the name, till it is at least large enough to include all truth held by any Christian body. For this we strive and wait. Till it come, but an unsatisfactory answer can be given to the question, "How far the Church of England influences society." We have attempted in the foregoing pages to examine the present position of the Church of England, and so to give each of our readers the power to answer the question for himself. For ourselves, we think that no religious body claiming to represent any part of the spiritual life of a great nation can do so without in large measure moulding that spiritual life. It has done so; we thank it, and are thankful to God to be members and teachers in it. It is at this hour on its trial. Two principles are striving for the mastery. Should it become more dogmatic and exclusive under the dominion of the one, should men have to leave it because while they remain Christian it will not hold their Christianity, then we its own children will be among the first to cry, "Down with it, down with it even to the ground!"—to seek some other communion more large-hearted and more free. But if, as we think, there is now none so free and large—if the principles of toleration gain ground more and more, then we can say, as now, to those outside—We claim you; you are ours; worship with us, communicate with us; teach in our congregations, if your own have accepted you as teachers; help us to be what we would be, the spiritualty of the English people. Help us to bring in the day when the question at the head of this paper cannot be asked any more, when the political and the religious life of England shall be co-exten-

sive, and religion only influence society as the spirit does the body, making *that* alive which would otherwise be dead, *that* grow upwards to God which without it would, like a stone or a log, lie prone in the mire of the world!

C. K. P.

V.—JACOB'S FLIGHT.

Jacob's Flight, or a Pilgrimage to Harran. By Mrs. Beke. London: Longmans. 1865.

No figure, Christ alone excepted, stands forward so prominently in the Bible as Abraham, "the friend of God." The mystic gloom of ages hangs round him, who is confessedly the father of all existing monotheism, whether of Christians, Jews or Mohammedans. To rest in Abraham's bosom was in the time of Christ synonymous with being in the presence of the living God; and to be reckoned among the children of Abraham, whether by direct descent, as among the Jews, or by spiritual ingrafting, as with the Gentiles, was almost equivalent to being children of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven.

In that mysterious passage in which Christ says, "Before Abraham was, I am," there is a deeper reference than to a mere chronological sequence. It is to Abraham as the spiritual prototype of Christ in the mind of the Creator, the friend of God, prefiguring the Son of God and preparing the way for his advent, that the passage more particularly refers. In this light the Bible-loving Christian looks back to Abraham as the great forerunner of that long line of patriarchs and prophets which culminated in the life of Christ, and whose influence, through them, is felt throughout the whole of the civilized world at the present day. To the historical student, Abraham holds a yet more important position; standing on the border-land between history and fable, coming from the mysterious East, exercising so wide and deep an influence—we seem to know so much about him, and yet really know so little—it is natural that he should be one of the most favoured subjects of historic speculation. Concerning him there exists the widest diver-

gence of opinion, from that of Dr. Stanley, on the one hand, who sees in him and his pilgrimage the predecessor of the Bedouin of the present day, to the German scholar's, on the other, who identifies him with Brahma, and traces his origin back to the mythic Indian God.

Concerning a personage who holds so lofty a place in religious history, no fact, however insignificant, can be uninteresting; and accordingly, a little village, a short distance from Damascus, of about a hundred and fifty houses, and possessing some small property in herds, and above all of two wells, about which more hereafter, occupies at the present moment quite an important place in the deliberations of the learned. This little village, whose inhabitants would be astounded could they only understand their dignified position, is that of Harran-el-Awamid, which by the kind offices of Dr. Beke is enabled to dispute with Haran of Mesopotamia the honour of being the resting-place of Abraham on his way from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan. The traditional history is all in favour of Haran, near Orfa or Edessa; there, from the earliest period, the Christian fathers have declared it to be, and reiterated the assertion so often and so undoubtingly, that to question it seemed like doubting one of the most solemn articles of faith. Nevertheless, there were great difficulties in the way, which could only be got rid of by a very free use of the imagination; as, for instance, Haran in Mesopotamia is at least 400 miles from Gilead, which distance was accomplished by Laban in his pursuit of Jacob in seven days, and by Jacob, who had three days the start of his father-in-law, in ten days, encumbered though he was by his herds and flocks and wives and children, and all the miscellaneous property of an emigrant moving everything that belonged to him. This is an average of forty miles a day, a distance which all travellers in the East are unanimous in considering impossible under the circumstances. As long ago as 1834, Dr. Beke, in his "Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primeval History," declared the traditional identification of Haran to be impossible mainly on account of the difficulty just mentioned, and affirmed that "the country watered by the Pharphar and Abana—the fertile district known in after time as the Ager Damascenus—was Padan Aram; the country into which, by the Divine direction, Terah and his family re-

moved, and in which was situated the city of Haran or Charran, whence Abraham was called, and which was afterwards the residence of Lot."

The opinions of, at that time, a comparatively unknown writer, who ventured to disturb so fixed an idea as the locality of Haran, met with little favour; they were noticed only to be discarded; and the author himself, though not giving them up, seems to have put them by, hopeless of making them acceptable with the amount of evidence then at his command.

"Thus," says Dr. Beke, "I was compelled to let the matter rest till the beginning of the year 1859, when, being resident in Mauritius, I accidentally saw a copy of the Rev. J. L. Porter's work, 'Five Years in Damascus,' which I opened with interest, in the hope of finding something bearing on a subject that had never been entirely absent from my thoughts. To my exceeding gratification, I found, in page 376 of the first volume of the work, an account of a visit made by the author and a party of friends, in November, 1852, to the large village of Harran—generally called *Harrân el Awamid*, or Harran of the Columns, from three noble Ionic columns standing in its centre—distant from Damascus about fourteen geographical miles towards the East, which place I at once saw was that which I had so long desired to discover; it being a spot in the immediate vicinity of Damascus, bearing to this day the identical name of the residence of Terah and his family, and answering to all the requirements of the Scripture history, even in the minutest particulars, as I have since ascertained from a personal inspection. Mr. Porter's discovery (the value of which was immensely enhanced by the fact that he was unconscious of its application) led me to resume the consideration of my labours of years gone by; and my renewed investigation of the subject made me resolve to visit Harran in person, and thence to trace the route of the patriarch Jacob on his return from Padan Aram into the promised land."

Surely the days of enthusiasm are not yet passed away, when an elderly gentleman, who has spent the larger portion of life in hard literary and missionary work, starts off with all the enthusiasm of youth to verify a speculative opinion on an obscure point, and has, too, a wife as enthusiastic as himself (the writer of the greater part of the work under notice), who shews that she fully understands her vocation, and, with double-barrel gun and revolver, is "the guide, protector, friend," as well as scribe of her husband.

May the time be long in coming when this adventurous spirit shall have died out from the nation, whether the knight-errant be bound to sunny lands of Prester John, or to the yet undiscovered hyperborean paradise! But we must first of all fairly state the arguments for and against the opinions of the adventurous Doctor, and then we will give a few extracts from the really amusing little volume by Mrs. Beke.

The great argument in favour of the old site of Harran is, that the biblical narrative places it near "the river," and that "the river" in the ancient writings is always supposed to refer to "the great river the Euphrates." This is very fairly met by Dr. Beke, who says that probably "the river" *par excellence* to every tribe was that with which they were best acquainted, as being nearest their own home. The Pharphar, though insignificant compared with the Euphrates, was no doubt *the* river to dwellers in the plains of Damascus; and any tradition recording the return of Jacob to his old home would very naturally speak of his crossing the river as the first step in the direction of Canaan. In later times, the translators of the Septuagint and the Jewish commentators may readily have understood that Aram-Naharaim and Mesopotamia were the same; and the lapse of near two thousand years is quite a sufficient time to allow of the transference of all traditions to the better-known locality. To compare great things with small, there is the pretty song of the "Lass of Richmond Hill," which most persons would unhesitatingly say is Richmond-on-the-Thames, near London. The Richmond referred to is, however, in Yorkshire. Thus is met the second or traditional argument, which indeed is hardly worth the amount of pains that has been spent upon it; for of the hundreds of holy or celebrated places in that wonderful region of the East, there are but few indeed in regard to which a scholar would affirm without much hesitation, that they had got the right man in the right place. There, as nearer home, the one great name was associated with everything wonderful or unusual; and as not a cathedral or castle in England was battered into ruin but by the cannon-balls of Oliver Cromwell, so is Syria dotted over with Ain Musas, Wady Musas and Gebel Musas, though Moses can hardly have had anything to do with most of them. In the same way, remarkable

works, as the castles of the Crusaders and the aqueducts of the Moslems, are freely attributed to Pharaoh, though well known to have been executed many a long century after the last of that great race had ceased from his strife and his glory.

As far as mere argument goes, Dr. Beke certainly seems to have the best of it, and without pretending to decide where two such learned Doctors as Stanley and Beke disagree, we cannot help sympathizing with the earnest desire of the latter to remove the difficulties which lie in the way of our acceptance of this portion of the older Scriptures as a genuine fragment of ancient history. The difficulties in the way of accepting the traditional account are certainly very great, and Dr. Stanley's method of getting over them—for that is really all that his suggestions amount to—is neither fair to the Scriptures themselves nor candid toward his opponents. He acknowledges* that "no doubt the natural construction of the passage in Genesis xxxi. 23, is that seven days was the time usually consumed in the journey. But .... the number may be a round number, the start of the journey may be from some intermediate spot, or the dromedaries of Laban may be supposed to have travelled with the speed of the regular Arab post, which consumes no more than eight days in crossing the desert from Damascus to Baghdad, a distance of 500 miles." All this may have been, though very improbable; but then how did Jacob, with all his impedimenta, manage to do it in only three days more? If Laban's journey is barely possible, surely Jacob's is entirely so, even according to Dr. Stanley's own views.

There is, however, another passage in Acts (vii. 2), which Dr. Beke does not appear to have noticed, strongly confirmative of his views. It is, "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, *before he dwelt in Charran*,"—clearly implying that in the view of the writer Charran was not in Mesopotamia. This passage, and the considerations above enumerated, seem to have induced Dr. Beard, in his Dictionary of the Bible (see Haran), to place the abode of Abraham nearly, if not quite, in the same spot as Dr. Beke has done.

"The true Haran," he writes, "is probably to be identified with

* Lectures on the Jewish Church, I. 481.

Carah, about 150 miles from Gilead, not far north of Damascus, which Thevenot describes as 'a good town having a rivulet running by it.' There are a great many ruins to be seen there. In thus placing Abraham near Damascus, we are supported by Nicholaus Damascenus, secretary of Herod the Great. Josephus declares that in his time the name of Abraham was honoured in the district of Damascus. Justin, too, makes Damascus the native place of the Hebrews. Near Damascus, if these remarks are correct, we may also place Padan Aram and Aram Naharaim, names which imply a district of similar character to that of Damascus, namely a high land with a plain watered by two rivers, the Abana and the Pharpar."

Taking all things into consideration, we are therefore inclined to think that Dr. Beke has made out a good case; and we are thankful to him for having done somewhat towards rescuing a very favourite character from the regions of myth and fable.

These, then, were the reasons which induced Dr. Beke and his wife to undertake their pious pilgrimage. We can well understand the joy with which, after their long and weary journey, they approached their destination; and if the language employed is sometimes a little enthusiastic, and if commonplace occurrences are a little exaggerated, the circumstances may sufficiently plead their pardon.

"We approached Harran almost from the south. From a considerable distance the three columns, which give to the place its distinguishing appellation of Harran-el-Awamid, or Harran of the Columns, were distinctly visible, appearing almost like the tall chimneys of a manufacturing village, the square tower of the Mosque serving to represent the parish steeple. We reached Harran just before sunset, 'at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water;' and as we came 'without the city,' we crossed a file of women and girls, with their pitchers on their heads and shoulders, going out towards the west to draw water. Had we approached the place direct from Damascus, we should have met 'these daughters of the men of the city,' just as Abraham's servant Eliezer is recorded to have done when he came 'without the city.' This was a most interesting sight to us, as it afforded to a certain extent a confirmation of my husband's views with respect to Eliezer's visit to Harran."

But, alas! the water was brought from a stream, and not from a well. All their bright hopes of finding Rebekah's well were for a moment dashed to the ground, and the

matter became more distressing when even the oldest inhabitants one and all declared that they knew nothing about any wells. But the adventurous Europeans were not to be thus foiled by the ignorant Syrians, who knew not the greatness of their own treasures. Amid very considerable difficulties they set out in the true antiquarian spirit, resolved to find the well, if there were any such thing in the neighbourhood.

"We were in the result well repaid for thus going poking about in the dirt; though so deep was the mud—at times over the ankles of our boots—and so greasy and sticky, that we could with difficulty move forward or keep on our legs, even with the support of a good stout stick, which we each of us carried in our hands."

"Our steps were first directed to the three Ionic columns, which stand nearly in the centre of the town, but rather towards its eastern side. . . . I went into the yards of the different houses, and looked into every hole and corner, in the hope of finding something deserving of notice. Every few paces some pieces of broken column or carved stone met the eye. In one yard near the columns we found a large mass of carved stone, apparently a portion of a cornice, which may have belonged to the temple or other building of which the columns formed a part. The roof of one of the mud houses commanded a good view of the town, which, as far as I could judge, consisted of about 150 or 200 houses, with a mosque standing at the western extremity of the place."

Thither then they bent their way, and, *Eureka!*—it burns, as the children say—they are almost finding that which they have come so far to seek! Only imagine the direful consequences, had they come away without poking into that particular yard!

"Within the court-yard of the mosque is a small square building, on entering which I discovered, to my great surprise and delight—a well—actually a draw-well—the very well we had so anxiously inquired after, and which we had been told did not exist. I called out to my husband, who was in the yard outside, and his joy was, if possible, even greater than mine, as he had so minutely and accurately laid down where the well *ought* to be."

"As the well which we thus discovered at Harran answers in every respect to the requirements of that at which the meeting between Eliezer and Rebekah took place, it is proper to describe it with some minuteness. The building already referred to as con-

taining it is constructed of stones, apparently obtained from more ancient edifices, covered with a cement of lime and mud. The well is built in the north-east corner, and its mouth, which is built of roughly hewn stones, is about two feet six inches in height and three feet in width, the orifice being circular and about one foot six inches in diameter. Above the well's mouth, and fastened to each side of it, is an iron bar bent double in the middle, from which by a pulley and an endless rope is suspended a leathern bucket, by means of which the women fill their pitchers. The water stands in the well about ten feet below its mouth. From the extremely smooth and polished surface of the stones inside the mouth, this well must have been in existence very long indeed, especially as of late years it has been comparatively little used. Near it, within the building, stand two stone troughs, about one foot nine inches in width, and respectively four feet and three feet in length, evidently of great antiquity, of which the use may (I think) have formerly been to water cattle. We could not learn that any history or tradition attached either to the well or the troughs, which may be taken as a fair negative argument in their favour."

The water of this wonderful well unfortunately proved unfit for drinking purposes, on which account the inhabitants had long ceased to use it. Still, it was the water of Rebekah's well, and the Queen must have some; it therefore was drawn, and, duly labelled and delivered into the consul's care, actually reached Windsor Castle in safety. But, alas for the vanity of all human intentions! her Majesty was destined never even to see, much less to taste it. The label denoting its contents was torn off. Some Court official, doubtless expecting something choice and rare—atar of roses at the least—coming all the way from Damascus, was disgusted at finding nothing but particularly bitter and muddy water, and poured it all away! Let us end by the description of the joyful drawing of the water at Harran, and even the most cynical will scarcely feel other than sorry that so poor an ending awaited so auspicious a beginning.

"When we got to the door of the mosque-yard, we found the man with his horse already there, and a couple of girls, one of them a very pretty one, about the age of sixteen, with pitchers full of water on their heads, ready for the man to load the horse. This, however, would not satisfy me, as I was ambitious to draw the water for my beloved Queen with my own hands. I therefore had the pitchers emptied, and went with the two girls to

the well, drew up the water and filled with it the pitchers. Before the two pitchers of water were placed on the horse's back, I did for my husband as Rebekah is reported to have done for Eliezer. According to the words of Scripture, Abraham's servant said, 'Let me, I pray thee, drink a little of thy pitcher. And she said, Drink, my lord; and she hasted and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.' Here, at the same spot, after the lapse of nearly four thousand years, a very similar scene was enacted; and it is most probable that the native earthen pitcher which I used on the occasion was of the very same kind as that used by Bethuel's daughter. It is with no little gratification that I am able to state that I brought my pitcher away with me, and that I have it safe at home."

After leaving Harran, the travellers followed the track of Jacob into Gilead, and thence by Jerusalem to England. The book is everywhere readable and amusing, and many of the descriptions of scenery excellent. Its chief fault is a little too much parade of the manliness of the lady authoress, who not only is perfectly *au fait* in the management of guns and pistols, but even rides races and contends with the Arabs in casting the javelin. Her manly behaviour, however, more than once stood both her and her husband in good stead, and the too frequent mention of it is but a slight blemish on a very interesting book.

Δ.

VI.—DALE ON THE HEBREWS.

The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church: a Series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By R. W. Dale, M.A. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1865.

THE importance of the book, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, lies in the fact that Mr. Dale possesses somewhat of a representative character. He is the successor of the late Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham, and by his cultivation and talent and popular influence worthily fills the place which he holds. As Mr. James might have been regarded as a favourable specimen of the generation of Independent ministers to which he belonged, so Mr. Dale may be regarded as an equally favourable speci-

men of the Independent ministers of his generation. There is no peculiarity attaching to either which separates them from their respective classes. Mr. James's generation is now swiftly passing away; Mr. Dale's has assumed the position by virtue of which it characterizes the Independency of our day. The theology of the former race we pretty well understand, and we naturally desire to gain a clear understanding of the theology of the present one. Mr. Dale's book enables us, in some measure, to look into this matter. It touches upon the two great questions which separate orthodoxy from heresy—the person of Christ and the nature of the Christian redemption; and it presents what it has to say on these points in the form of a scriptural exposition. We thus expect to gather what Mr. Dale's views of Christianity are, and what is his method of scriptural interpretation.

We shall concern ourselves entirely with some of the theological conclusions which are thus developed. Independently of those conclusions, however, the volume has one considerable merit. Its practical appeals are often striking and effective. If this practical element had entered more fully into its composition, it would have been a better work than it is. The critical part of it is weaker than the moral part, and has much restrained the putting forth of the true strength of its author. Its different discourses should have been more of the nature of sermons. Some of them are little better than notes for sermons, and the plan pursued results in a fragmentary form of treatment which takes away from the literary value of the book. If Mr. James had written a book of this kind, each discourse would have been complete for its pulpit purposes, and the whole would have had a roundness of finish wanting in the case before us. We mention this circumstance because it constitutes one of the distinctions between Independent ministers of Mr. James's and Mr. Dale's class. We are far from saying that the older men were, in the substantial worth of their productions, superior to the younger; but they had a more certain grasp of their matter, such as it was, and arranged it in a more artistic manner according to the uses it had to serve.

The work before us consists of "A Series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews," and we will first notice what

is advanced relative to the doctrines concerning Christ contained in the commencement of that Epistle.

The sum of the statements made in the first and second chapters of this portion of the New Testament seems to us as follows: that God has made known His character and will to mankind by His Son Jesus; that the Son was superior to all prophets and all angels; that this superiority attached to him as a man; and that it was in his humanity, as especially distinguished from the nature of beings of a higher rank than man, that his fitness for the divine work assigned to him consisted. The whole statement must be taken together, and followed from the beginning to the end, in order that its true meaning may be discovered; and as it opens with the declaration that "God, who in sundry parts and divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son;" so it proceeds to affirm, that the Son was "so much better than the angels as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they;" and winds up with the conclusion, "Wherefore it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."

Mr. Dale's method of exposition is very different from this. He assumes that there is a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, of whom the Son was one, in order to interpret certain expressions in the first chapter as relating to the deity of Christ; and when he comes to the unmistakeable and emphatic assertions of the humanity of the Son, with which the second chapter abounds, he treats them as representations of an incarnation by which God united Himself to man in the person of Christ. By so doing he not only, as we shall endeavour to shew, adopts various unwarrantable criticisms of the language with which he deals, but totally misses the scope of the argument that lies before him.

Let us examine some of his critical remarks.

"Human language is baffled in the attempt to express, human thought, in the attempt to conceive, the interior life and relations of the blessed Trinity. The metaphors employed in Holy Scripture can only be most inadequate representations of the actual truth. Their variety warns us that the mystery remains unre-

vealed. But, though various, they are harmonious and consistent, and one idea runs through them all—*God is made known to His creatures through the Son.* The secret thoughts and passions and purposes of our souls assume a definite form, and are revealed to our fellow-men in our words; and the Son is 'the Word' of God. A luminous body is perceived by the splendour which streams forth from it, and the Son is the ray or '*brightness of* the Father's *glory.*' But lest it should be supposed that the Son is a merely transitory effulgence of the divine glory, constantly originating and constantly perishing (although the form of the Greek word corresponding to 'brightness' in our version is itself a protection against that error), the writer goes on to say that he is the '*express image of* the Father's *person.*' The substantial being which the Father has, the Son has also; he is Light of Light, but also very God of very God; a divine person, not merely a divine power; possessing in himself the attributes of the Father, and not merely manifesting those attributes; by him God is known to us, and he is himself God over all, blessed for evermore."*

Now does "the express image of the Father's person," mean, "the substantial being which the Father has, the Son has also"? Certainly not. The word "image" *excludes* the substantial being of that which it expresses. An image of a thing is not the thing itself. It is, in its very idea, distinguished from that which it represents. The term is used to mark such a distinction. As "words" are distinguished from the speaker of them, as "brightness" is distinguished from the luminous body which emits it, so an "image" is not the same as the person it resembles. If the Son "is himself God over all, blessed for evermore," then he is not the "image" of God. Mr. Dale is quite justified in explaining any passages of Scripture in consistency with the doctrinal theory he adopts. But the explanations must be *rested on that ground.* He has no right to invent etymological meanings in their favour. "The form of the Greek word corresponding to brightness" no more favours the Godhead of Christ than the word "in our version" does; and the word translated "image" in that version, so far from indicating anything like identity of "substantial being," conveys no nearer similarity than that which an impression upon wax bears to a seal.

The passage just quoted is immediately followed up thus:

* P. 28.

"It is affirmed that *by him 'God made the worlds.'* This is not the only place in the New Testament in which creation is ascribed to Christ. . . . His history did not commence when he was born in Bethlehem. He made every shining planet and every burning sun—this world of ours and the world in which the angels dwell, with its stainless purity and unfading splendour. And but for him all things would sink back into chaos and night. The burden of the creation rests on him from age to age."*

We suppose Mr. Dale would resent, as an imputation upon his scholarship, any expression to the effect that he did not know that the word rendered "worlds" in the verse to which he refers does not relate to the material creation at all. We believe he did know, because every school-boy must know that the work means *ages*, and has nothing to do with the earth and the heavens as such. We have, however, too much respect for him to believe that he willingly imposed upon the ignorance of his hearers and readers by using language strong in proportion to the weakness of fact with which he dealt. But the contrast between the lofty assertions and the groundless occasion for them is very observable, and we must be allowed to mark the case as a significant instance of orthodox prejudice.

A similar attempt to enforce an orthodox interpretation, which the natural sense of the words does not justify, is made with regard to the phrase, "appointed heir of all things."

"He is *heir of all things;* every region of the universe is at his disposal; all material forces are at his command; the love and the homage of holy angels and of the innumerable multitude of the redeemed are his for ever; and it will be his lofty prerogative, his everlasting joy, to augment and to perpetuate the bliss of all who bow before his sceptre and obey his laws."†

This eloquence is thrown away upon every one who inquires what "things" they are of which the writer of the Epistle is discoursing. We find that the subject he professes to illustrate is, that God "hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son;" and we infer that the "things" of which Christ is appointed heir are the spiritual things which concern his divine mission. Regions of the universe and material forces, the homage of holy angels and the redeemed, have nothing to do with the case in hand.

* Pp. 29, 30. † P. 32.

In this first chapter of Hebrews there are various quotations from the Psalms, which orthodoxy is accustomed to make much of. Mr. Dale, after giving to each of these quotations the popular theological meaning, thus proceeds to speak of them as a whole:

"Concerning this series of quotations generally, I wish to say before passing on, that we shall misapprehend the spirit and structure of the whole passage if we suppose that these texts from the Old Testament were intended to form such a demonstration of the divinity of the Lord Jesus, as should convince those who theoretically denied the doctrine. The writer of this Epistle is not arguing with unbelievers, and therefore his argument is not shaped with any reference to their intellectual position. He is addressing those who acknowledged the Messiahship of Christ, who confessed that he was God manifest in the flesh, but in whom this faith was becoming practically ineffectual through the returning power of their old religious life."*

This is a remarkable utterance, as indicating the manner in which Mr. Dale thinks it proper to interpret Scripture. He assumes that certain beliefs—his own beliefs, in fact—were held by the primitive Christian church, and when the language of the New Testament can be harmonized with those beliefs he takes it as expressive of them. In this way all just criticism is superseded. We venture to say that there is no form of doctrine which may not be defended on this ground. It will support truth and error equally well. Let us look at the case before us. Here are certain passages from the Psalms, each of which has a meaning of its own, determined by its place in the psalm whence it is taken. It is first of all necessary that we should ascertain that meaning, and then it behoves us to adhere to it in estimating the use made of the quotations by the writer to the Hebrews. This is not Mr. Dale's course. He takes the quotations as they stand in the Epistle, and gives them that sense which his view of the doctrines intended to be taught by the writer requires. One of these quotations is thus given: "Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever. A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee

* P. 48.

with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." This passage is taken from the 45th psalm, and its meaning is there governed by the declaration with which the psalm opens: "My heart is inditing a good matter; I speak of the things which I have made *touching the king.*" This absolutely forbids the passage under notice from being used as an ascription of Deity to him to whom it is applied. If Deity cannot be attributed in the one case, Deity is not to be inferred in the other. Deity is excluded most manifestly in both cases. But Mr. Dale, believing that Christ is God, and assuming that the writer to the Hebrews shared his belief, considers the passage as expressive of the Deity of Christ. Thus the true sense of the words is put aside in deference to the needs of a system of theology, and a sense is adopted which could not by possibility have attached to these words in their original use. We say that if this principle of interpretation be admitted, there is no absurdity whatever that it may not be made to cover.

We have seen how Mr. Dale deals with scriptural statements which he applies to the Deity of Christ, and we may now turn to his dealing with statements relating to Christ's humanity. He tells us of the author of this Epistle to the Hebrews:

"In the first chapter he shews how much greater (Christ) is than the angels; in the second he protests against the supposition that the nature of man is so far inferior to the nature of angels, that the incarnation is to be thought of with revulsion of feeling."*

Now there is nothing at all said, in the second chapter, about "incarnation." It is manhood, not incarnation, that this chapter insists upon, and the idea of incarnation is simply forced into the case in obedience to the demands of an orthodox necessity. That necessity perverts the whole representation of humanity which it professes to explain. Mr. Dale's view of the humanity of Christ is, that it was an assumption of our nature under conditions which exalted all the facts of the case into manifestations of divine power. It was the development of an economy, not the establishment of a life. Thus he says:

"As Christ had voluntarily assumed the infirmities of human nature, had voluntarily endured human woe in its most grievous

* P. 90.

forms, had voluntarily submitted not only to become man, but to be oppressed with burdens and troubles which man, according to God's original idea of man's condition and rank, was never to know, it '*became*' God to *realize in Christ all the possibilities of power and joy which were implanted in man's nature.*"*

And again:

"It is as certain that the Lord Jesus 'humbled himself' to the limitations of our intellectual nature, as that he assumed an external form. 'He increased in wisdom.' He declared that his knowledge was limited. 'Of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven; *neither the Son*, but the Father.' If it be asked how it was possible for one, who being divine was omniscient, to lay aside his glory, and to stoop to the conditions of our own intellectual life, I cannot profess to be able to reply."†

We affirm that this state of being is not, in any proper sense of the term, human at all; and that if the argument of the second chapter of Hebrews, based upon Christ's humanity, contemplated such a state, it would have no force. We still further affirm that this representation is as untrue to the nature of Deity as it is to that of Humanity. In a note to the passage last quoted we have this amazing statement:

"It is well known that a man who has mastered a foreign language, and can speak and read it with perfect ease, may have all the treasures of his memory suddenly locked up, and completely closed against him, by an injury inflicted on the brain. The orations of Demosthenes, the plays of Terence, which he read a week ago without the slightest difficulty, are now as unmeaning to him as to a child who has yet to begin the Latin and Greek declensions. His memory may be unimpaired in every other direction, and yet his classics have clean gone. That the knowledge, though not present to consciousness, and, for the time, beyond the reach of recollection, is not lost, is clear from this, that in some cases of this kind a change has suddenly taken place in the condition of the brain, and the missing language has immediately come back. But for the time, he was learned and yet ignorant; he knew and yet he knew not. I am quite aware of the points in which this illustration fails to touch the mystery of the assumption by an omniscient person of the limitations of a human intellect, and yet it may not be without service to the faith of some. It shews the possibility of the removal beyond the limits of consciousness of knowledge which the mind still retains."‡

* P. 96. † P. 104. ‡ P. 104, note.

We should be ashamed to argue seriously against such an illustration as this. It is just a piece of nonsense in relation to the purpose for which it is adduced. But we do seriously ask, what can be the conceptions of Deity entertained by any one who makes use of this illustration? It is difficult to say whether logical thought or religious feeling is most shocked by an attempt to measure the possibilities of divine consciousness by the phenomena of human disease. We have long known that it is the tendency of the doctrine of the Trinity to lower the character as well as pervert the idea of God; but we were hardly prepared for such a glaring violation of all truth and right on the subject as is here forced upon us. Mr. Dale is, however, very bold in this direction. He can face an absurdity or contradiction with an admirable earnestness of look. There are few men who would place the Deity and Humanity attributed to Christ in such an incredible juxtaposition as the following sentences declare. If an unbeliever were to attempt to ridicule Christianity by an exaggerated picture of the confusion of an orthodox belief, he could not do so more effectually than is thus done for him.

"The voluntary sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ was a divine act. He assumed the nature of man, but even in his humiliation he was God still. When he laid aside his eternal glory, it was God who made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and assumed the likeness of men; and throughout the whole history of his sorrow and shame, although the majesty and splendour of his heavenly estate were obscured, it was still the everlasting Son of the Father—the Divine Word dwelling upon earth—that was the object of the malignity of Satan and the cruelty of man."*

The part of Mr. Dale's work which relates to the Christian redemption is, in some respects, superior to that relating to the person of Christ. It indicates a better acquaintance with opinions that differ from his own, and a wider view of the doctrines to which he adheres. We select for particular notice what he advances on the nature of Jewish sacrifices, and the relation sustained toward them by the sacrifice of Christ. In the discourse specially devoted to the subject of Jewish sacrifices, there is an enumeration of the various

* P. 306.

occasions on which sin-offerings and trespass-offerings were to be made by individuals according to the requirements of the law. This enumeration is brought to bear upon the following conclusion:

"Speaking generally, neither sin-offering nor trespass-offering could, when offered by an individual, assure forgiveness to the guilty for any sins committed either against God or man. They removed ceremonial defilement, which had been unavoidably, involuntarily or unconsciously incurred; but provided no atonement, secured no pardon for intentional violation of even ceremonial precepts. They gave rest to the conscience for unconscious trifling with holy things, or neglecting to aid in the administration of justice; but provided no atonement, secured no pardon for breaking solemn vows, or disregarding the sanctity of an oath. They gave assurance of God's forgiveness, when, through ignorance, God's claims on property had not been satisfied, and this only on condition that more was consecrated to Him on the discovery of the offence than the law originally required; but provided no atonement, secured no pardon for intentional sacrilege. In certain special cases of injustice they obtained God's mercy, when the wrong had been actually undone by voluntary restitution to the injured, and the shame of public confession had been voluntarily endured; but provided no atonement, secured no pardon for the innumerable sins against God, or against man, which cannot actually be undone by subsequent acts of reparation: the only moral offences which God forgave on the mere offering of a sacrifice, were offences freely acknowledged, offences not symbolically but actually atoned for, and cancelled by voluntary restitution. God only forgave when, by the voluntary act of the guilty, the victim of injustice no longer suffered from the crime."*

When we first read this plain and broad statement, we began to hope that its author was about to renounce the doctrine of the moral application of Jewish sacrifices altogether, and exhibit the sacrifice of Christ, as the Epistle to the Hebrews exhibits it, in moral contrast with the provisions of the former dispensation. But we have been disappointed. Mr. Dale goes on to ask the questions:

"What provision was there in the Levitical system for recognizing the idea of atonement in connection with the pardon of moral offences? Men sinned against the moral law in those days; how were they assured of the possibility of obtaining the divine forgiveness?"†

* P. 281. † P. 282.

The answer given to these questions is made to turn upon the significance of the rites observed on the great annual day of atonement. We are informed that what was not the case with regard to the offerings of individuals, was the case with the national offerings then presented. This of course is a question of fact which can be very easily decided. Thus says Mr. Dale:

"The sins confessed on that day by the high-priest were not mere ceremonial offences, nor offences against Jehovah considered as the political head of the Jewish people. When the high-priest was charged to confess with such solemnity the iniquities, transgressions and sins of the nation over the head of the goat, it is surely inconceivable that the confession referred to mere ceremonial lapses, for every one of which there was, I think, an adequate ceremonial atonement. Nor is there any hint that there was any intention to distinguish between sin as an internal act, a spiritual offence, a crime against God, the moral governor of mankind, and sin as a mere external and political offence against the laws of the nation of which God was the true King. The language of confession is as full, as comprehensive, as exhaustive, as language could possibly be; and not a single part of the ritual can be pointed to as suggesting an idea of the re-adjustment of the merely political relations between God and the Jewish people. The expiation, if expiation there was, had to do with sin, in the truest and deepest sense the word can bear."*

We submit that what Mr. Dale here alleges does not touch the matter in dispute. We have not to ask what is "inconceivable," but what is true in fact. Such expressions as "iniquities, transgressions and sins," will not meet the case, because they are common to both national and individual offerings. The language of confession being "as full, as comprehensive, as exhaustive, as language could possibly be," is not to the point, because we are seeking for the application of terms as distinguished from their character. The subject is removed out of the region of rational speculation by our having the purposes of this annual atonement clearly defined in the Jewish law. This is the summary of them as given in the book of Leviticus: "And (the priest) shall make an atonement for *the holy sanctuary*, and he shall make an atonement for *the tabernacle of the congregation*, and for *the altar;* and he shall make an atonement for

* P. 287.

the priests, and for all *the people of the congregation*. And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make an atonement for the children of Israel, for all their sins once a year."* If any one, on reading these words, can doubt that they refer to ritual and ceremonial offences, and to those only—they, and no others, being specified—he must be considered and treated as beyond the reach of conclusive evidence. What the law of the case thus plainly declares, the writer to the Hebrews reiterates with an equal plainness: "Into the second went the high priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people: the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing: which was a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; *which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances*, imposed on them until the time of reformation."†

The idea entertained by Mr. Dale, to the effect that the Jewish sacrifices symbolized the expiation of moral guilt in the national instance specially insisted upon, rules, of course, his interpretation of the sacrifice of Christ. He contends that the death of Christ was the real expiation for the sins of mankind.

"He is a High Priest whose intercession is mighty, not merely because of the purity of his robes, but because of the blood of his sacrifice. He is a Sacrifice; and although the ancient offerings had to be without blemish, or they could not be slain in God's tabernacle and presented on God's altar, it was not their symbolic perfection, but their blood which effected symbolic atonement for sin; and although Christ could not have made expiation for us without personal holiness, it was not his holiness, but his sufferings which made the expiation."‡

Thus it comes to pass that the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews on this subject is completely misrepresented.

Whereas the writer of that Epistle teaches us that "sacrifice and offering, (God) would not" have; that Christ "taketh away sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offering

* Leviticus xvi. 33, 34. † Hebrews ix. 7—10. ‡ P. 229.

for sin;" that "where remission is, there is no more offering for sin," and that "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins;" Mr. Dale teaches that sacrifice and offering as effected by Christ are established as the only foundation of the Christian salvation.

"Speculate on it how we may, the death of the Lord Jesus Christ is presented to us in the New Testament as the everlasting reason of every happy relation between sinful man and the moral government of God."*

Whereas the writer to the Hebrews contrasts the requirement of sacrifice with the declaration attributed to Christ, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God," and says of the difference between the two things, "He taketh away the first that he may establish the second;" adducing "the offering of the body of Jesus" as a proof of his doing God's will. Mr. Dale destroys the force and meaning of the contrast, by affirming that—

"*Not to the general obedience*, but to the 'offering' of himself as a sacrifice, does the writer ascribe that freedom of the soul to worship God which had been provided for symbolically by the rites of the ancient system."†

The purpose of the part of the Epistle to which we are now referring vanishes, and the moral power it is designed to illustrate is unappreciated, under the influence of treatment like this. The mind of our author is indeed so occupied with the mere economical value of such terms as death and suffering and offering and sacrifice, that he presumes to reject the mere moral validity of them with contempt.

"If it can be proved that the writer who used this language and these metaphors meant to say that God's approbation of Christ's moral perfection is the ground on which God pardons our sin, I decline to attach to his teaching the authority of inspiration, I decline to acknowledge in him any claim to respect; he is utterly destitute of the power to convey his own thoughts, and can have no right to govern mine."‡

We do not believe that "God's approbation of Christ's moral perfection is the ground on which God pardons our sin;" but we do believe that what Christ has done on our behalf is exclusively moral; and if such a belief entitles us to any

* P. 332. † P. 328. ‡ P. 330.

share of Mr. Dale's lofty intellectual reproof; we can bear it with more than equanimity. We remember that in ancient as well as in modern times there were those who desecrated their Christian faith by "glorying in the flesh;" and we strive to lift ourselves to *his* height of spiritual triumph who said in reference to them, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, *by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.*"

It is to us very strange that the advocates of orthodoxy should assert such a superiority of Christian belief as they do, when they are unable to produce any direct statements of the New Testament in favour of their doctrine on the subject. Mr. Dale in one place enumerates various scriptural phrases which he thinks express "the expiatory character of the death of Christ;"* but, interpret them as we may, not one of them directly asserts the position they are intended to support. The usual resort in this case is, as in the instance before us, to a confused representation of the nature of the Jewish sacrifices. But this will not supply the needed proof, nor would it be relied upon as it is if it rested on its own merits. It is not scripture, we are persuaded, but *philosophy*, on which this doctrine is really based. It involves a certain representation of the government of God to which men cling as the true philosophy of the case, and its scriptural claims will not be rightly disposed of till that philosophy has been discarded.

Mr. Dale's direct assertions of this philosophy in the book before us are not frequent. We are, however, told that "the mercy of God rested the moral constitution of the world on the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ;"† that "whenever God forgives, it is because man's relation to Himself is derived from the sufferings of another on man's behalf;"‡ and that "since it belonged to (God) to maintain the eternal distinction between right and wrong, and He had resolved not to maintain it in this case by inflicting just penalties on those who had sinned, He came into the world Himself, in the person of the Son, assuming our nature that He might become capable of suffering."§

Mr. Dale seems to think that he avoids some of the moral difficulties of this scheme by holding that it was *God Him-*

* P. 331. † P. 111. ‡ P. 228. § P. 308.

self who assumed our nature. He refuses to regard Christ's sufferings "as the sufferings of a third person intervening between God and man, to allay the wrath of the one and to secure the escape of the other,"* and denies that God "did command or permit an innocent man to sink under the awful burden of the iniquities of the race."† But this is playing fast and loose with the essential element of his doctrine. As long as what God did, He is said to have done "*in the person of His Son,*" the intervention of a third person is maintained. As long as God's forgiveness is said to be "*derived from the sufferings of another on man's behalf,*" the substitution of the innocent for the guilty is insisted on.

In a sermon, preached by Mr. Dale last year before the London Missionary Society, the philosophy we are endeavouring to draw forth is very boldly stated.

"The death of Christ, in its direct and primary intention, was not to awaken in the human heart penitence, trust in the divine goodness, a desire for holiness and a disposition to seek it; but to make atonement for the sins of the world and so to establish a new and unexampled form of divine administration. It was primarily an act of homage to law, not an appeal to the conscience and affections of man. Its first and direct purpose is accomplished, independently of its effect in the moral and spiritual transformation of a solitary soul."‡

We are anxious to say a concluding word or two in opposition to this philosophy as it relates to the character and the law of God.

It is in the government which God exercises over the world that His character is revealed. The law which preserves that character is published in the procession of events that happen under this government. In whatever manner the eternal distinction between right and wrong is displayed by the circumstances around us, in that manner we are warranted in connecting this distinction with the Divine Being; and we are forbidden to admit either objection or affirmation bearing upon the subject which does not harmonize with those exhibitions of it with which we are thus favoured.

Now what are the facts relating to the execution of God's

* P. 307. † P. 308.

‡ The Living God the Saviour of all Men, p. 22.

moral purposes in this world? What is the testimony as to the nature and application of His law which is conveyed to us, day by day, in the government under which we are placed? The answer is plain, exceedingly plain, self-evident and indisputable. It is a twofold answer in its bearing upon theological controversy.

In the first place, there is no escape from the justice which is revealed and enforced by nature; and there is especially nothing of the character of substitution admitted within the sphere of its operation. We sin, and we suffer the consequences of our sin; and those consequences are inevitable, according to the circumstances with which we have to do. It is folly to suppose the matter is or can be otherwise. We injure our health, we deteriorate our character, we incur loss, we plunge into misfortune, by the transgressions we commit. The disease, the disgrace, the loss, the failure, are ours, just as certainly and necessarily as the transgression is ours. Nature takes care that the punishment shall fall upon the criminal himself without mistake or doubt. The same punishment is not inflicted in all instances, but a punishment which differs just so far, and only so far, as the instances differ from each other. The dispositions, the situations, the endowments, the connections of men differ; the degree of their guilt differs, and so does the manner in which their conduct touches upon the events around them. All these differences are manifested in the actual result produced. But that result is as fixed as are the laws under which it occurs. It carries along with it, by virtue of indissoluble cause and consequence, its own retribution; and, taking its facts into the account, it could not be other than it is. The sinner cannot transfer his sin or its penalty to another, nor can another step into his place and release him from either. The law of nature will and must pursue its own victim, and cannot be turned aside so as to seize or accept any one else in his stead. Substitution, in any legitimate sense, there neither is nor can be throughout these natural operations. One man may relieve another in affliction; one man may assist another in success. The effects of our actions extend to others as well as to ourselves, both for evil and for good. But all this is and must be done on the same principles in consistency with which every man bears his own burden. The relief and assistance are afforded

in just as true a connection with personal responsibility as the distress and advantage happen. The visitation of evil or good proceeds from us to those with whom we are related, in the same adaptation to their peculiar position in life as it possesses to ours. Nature forbids that our dearest friends and most helpful associates should either sin or suffer in our room. They may sin and suffer with us and by us, and promote our blessing by their sacrifices on our behalf, but the burden they thus take upon themselves is their own, not ours; and all the modifications of which our burden is capable leave it, in strict conformity to every law of justice by which it is imposed, ours and not theirs.

In the second place, the justice of God as thus displayed, thus unalterably constituted and applied, does not prevent an alteration in the circumstances of mankind by means of an alteration in the moral conduct of men. It permits, it sanctions, it encourages, it enforces such an alteration. We sin and we suffer; but we can forsake the sin, and thus for the future avoid the suffering. We cannot change the past or release ourselves from a connection with it. But there is no law which forbids us from reforming our conduct and renovating our life and changing our destiny for the time to come. We are spared and blessed that we may do so. Justice calls upon us to do so. Justice will favour and help us in doing so. We depend upon justice for that favour and help, as we are obliged to yield to justice in the punishment we undergo. If we turn from our iniquity, if we do that which is lawful and right, we plant ourselves on the side of justice, and justice plants herself on our side. Under the just government of God, we reap the benefit of every pure thought and holy resolution and virtuous deed of which we are the subjects, exactly as we reaped the misery of our guilt and rebellion. We may rise from our fall and pursue the better way, and gain increasing stability and happiness as we proceed in the altered course. What happens to us in that course will be altered as the course itself is altered. The just law of retribution, which cannot be escaped, is capable of new conditions of application that relieve its pressure and vary its direction, so that on its own basis of justice it becomes the servant of every good which it had seemed to counteract and oppose. As there was nothing of the nature of substitution to be observed in the former case, so

there is nothing in the nature of satisfaction to be observed in this case. No equivalent nor compensation is required in order to the possession of the benefits received in connection with this moral change. The change itself is all that contributes to the reception of the proffered good. When that is by our own voluntary efforts effected, everything is done which justice does or can demand.

There is here no opposition between justice and love; but the two are made to harmonize in the very nature of things. The justice is so administered that it admits of the exercise of love in consistency with its own arrangements, and the love is so administered that it equally includes the preservation of justice. There is no violation of the moral character of the Divine government. There is no departure from the original law prescribed by that government, for the morality expressed in that law was so expressed from the first as to include the means of blessing to transgressors as well as the punishment of their transgressions. We are left either to deny a moral integrity to that dispensation of things under which we are naturally placed, or to concede that sin may be forsaken and all the benefits of righteousness secured to the sinner on the principles developed in that dispensation. There is no need of anything being applied to the law in order to soften its rigour or change its direction. Its native rigour and its primitive direction are kind as they are just, and both the kindness and the justice exhibit and enforce themselves in the form of established facts, which follow all the moral requirements of the case as certainly and necessarily as the stars of heaven fulfil their appointed courses.

Γ.

VII.—RELIGION IN DENMARK.

Kirchliche Zustände in den Skandinavishen Ländern Dänemark, Norwegen, Schweden. Mittheilungen aus der Gegenwart von Moritz Lüttke. Bevorwortet von Dr. Kraft, Professor in Bonn. Elberfeld: R. L. Friederichs. 1864.

[*The Ecclesiastical Condition of the Scandinavian Countries, Denmark, Sweden, Norway.* By Moritz Lüttke].

THE students of evangelical theology in Bonn have, since the year 1847, maintained a society, the avowed

object of which is by mutual aid to promote theological studies and increase the love of a scientific culture among its members. In connection with this society there is a foundation which bears the names of Dorner and of Bach, in honour of the eminent author of the "Christology" and of a German lawyer whose love of his native land, and especially of her universities, was not diminished by his long residence in London. The proceeds of this scholarship are granted to afford to promising theologians the means of increasing their knowledge by visiting foreign countries, where they can make personal inquiries into the religious condition of the people and the position of the clergy. Several valuable contributions have during the last eleven years been made to a knowledge of the condition of the French and Dutch Protestant churches by gentlemen who have held these travelling scholarships, and during the past year Mr. Lüttke, a candidate of theology, has conferred a valuable boon upon those interested in a knowledge of the present condition of the Christian church, by publishing the results of his journey through Denmark, Sweden and Norway in the work which we are about to notice in this article.

While Mr. Lüttke never conceals the orthodox point of view from which he investigated the present condition of Scandinavian theology, it is impossible to peruse his pages without feeling a sincere respect for the candour which enables him to judge fairly of those from whom he differs. He never imputes low motives to those from whom he dissents most widely, and, whenever possible, describes the sentiments of the men about whom he speaks in their own words. This is all the more creditable to him when we remember how strong is the enmity between Denmark and Germany, and how Danish theologians have of late years carried this bitter feeling even into their special professional duties. A perusal of Mr. Lüttke's work will also serve as a valuable corrective to the short sketch given of the Scandinavian churches in Dr. Döllinger's work on "The Church and the Churches," which, by a careful collection of all unfavourable notices, and as careful an ignoring of all redeeming features, attempts to shew that evil results inevitably arise from the Lutheran system.

In our present article we intend to sketch as briefly as possible the past history and present condition of the Da-

nish Church, relying for the latter portion of our picture entirely upon Mr. Lüttke's statements, and intending on a future occasion to avail ourselves of the valuable information he gives about Sweden and Norway for a description of the ecclesiastical condition of those kingdoms.

The close proximity of Denmark to Germany facilitated the early introduction of Protestant theology into the Danish Church, a process which was assisted by the fact that students of theology were frequently, if not generally, sent to complete their education at the chief universities of Germany, then, as now, the most important seats of learning on the continent of Europe. Many circumstances, however, combined to prepare the country for innovations in ecclesiastical matters, and especially to make the King himself ready for reform on other than theological grounds. Christian the Second, an ambitious and not unintelligent monarch, had, since his accession to the throne in 1513, been placed in a galling position of subordination to the ecclesiastical authorities. The Pope had spoken of the Peter's pence paid by Denmark for several centuries as an acknowledgment of the feudal supremacy of Rome; the Bishops pretended to occupy their sees by the same divine right as the King his throne; so much so, that a decree is extant beginning in these words, "*Christophorus, Dei gratiâ Daniæ Sueciæ Rex, etc., et Johannes Laxmand eâdem gratiâ Archiepiscopus Lundensis.*"* These ecclesiastical princes claimed and exercised judicial authority in their dioceses, and many of the nobles paid homage to them alone, and not to the King. It is not surprising, therefore, that when young men, returning from Germany with the new ideas which they had learned from the leaders of the Reformation, began to give expression to their views, they should meet with something more than toleration from the King. Amongst these innovators, Peder Lille, or as, in accordance with the Latinizing tendencies of the age, he called himself, Petrus Parvus, or Rosæ-fontanus (from his native place, Roskild), soon made himself prominent not only by his preaching, but also by his writings. Among his chief converts was Paulus Elias, the Prior of the Carmelites at Copenhagen, who had already been active in his condemnation of the abuses of the monks, and who was

* Schröckh, Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, II. 62.

encouraged by the activity of Peder Lille to advance further in his theological reforms. Christian, impressed by the advantages he saw might arise from the new doctrines, and hoping to be able to seize upon the possessions of the Church, requested Luther to send him a recognized teacher of the Reformed persuasion, and appointed Magister Martin, whom Luther sent, a preacher in one of the churches of Copenhagen. It does not appear, however, that this attempt was very successful, for Martin was soon obliged to return to Germany, having been unable to hold his ground against the controversial activity of the Catholic hierarchy. But other supporters of Lutheranism were not wanting. Especially did the new opinions find a strong defender in a professor of theology at Copenhagen, named Johannes Tausanus, who, having been sent to study theology at Cologne, was so disgusted with the scholastic method prevailing there, as, notwithstanding a promise not to visit Wittenberg which he had been obliged, before leaving Denmark, to give to his patron, the Prior of the Order of St. John in Zealand, to have become a pupil of Luther and to have adopted his doctrines. Without going over to the Reformed Church, the King so far favoured the antagonists of Romanism, that he ordered the theological faculty of Copenhagen in the year 1521 not to condemn Luther's writings, and by express legal enactment prohibited any bishop, priest or monk to purchase land, unless he obeyed the command of Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, and were married. He further commanded all ecclesiastical disputes, instead of being referred to Rome, to be brought before tribunals appointed by him in the country. His ambitious endeavours, however, being directed not only against the clergy, but against other classes also, raised so strong an opposition to his measures throughout the kingdom, that he was obliged in 1523 to abdicate and take refuge from his embittered subjects at the Court of his uncle the Elector of Saxony. The vacant throne was offered to and accepted by the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, who began to reign in the same year under the title of Frederick I. He was personally most strongly imbued with the Lutheran doctrines, but was unable at first to do much for their promulgation in consequence of the danger with which he was threatened by the bishops. Tausanus, however, relying upon the sympathy of the King, began again to preach the doc-

trine of justification by faith in Christ, and when he was imprisoned in consequence, still preached his doctrines to the crowds who assembled under the window of his cell. At last the King interfered; set the heroic preacher at liberty, made him his chaplain, and in 1529 appointed him preacher in one of the churches of the capital, after having publicly received the Lord's Supper according to the Protestant form. The movement in favour of the new doctrines had been greatly promoted by the translation into the vernacular of the New Testament, which had been published in the year 1524 at Leipzig under the patronage of the exiled Christian II. Equal privileges were now accorded to the Reformed and Catholic churches throughout the kingdom. In the year 1530, a discussion between the leading theologians of both churches was arranged, and ended with a triumph of the Reformers, as their antagonists not only declined to discuss in the Danish language—insisting upon the use of Latin—but demanded that the doctrines should be proved, not by reference to the Scriptures alone, but to the Scriptures as expounded by the councils and fathers, with a final appeal to the Pope. The King and the Council repeated their previous declaration, that until the assembling of an œcumenical council both forms of faith should enjoy equal rights, and furthermore announced that protection was given to the Reformers, not because their doctrines were in accordance with the teaching of Luther, but because they contained divine truth. On the death of Frederick I. in 1533, a very warm contest arose in the election of his successor. His eldest son, Christian, Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, was even more decided in his adherence to the Reformed Church than his father had been, on which account the bishops and clergy were determined to prevent the choice of the Diet falling upon him, and advocated the claims of his younger brother John, who was not yet of age, and whom they hoped to educate in accordance with their views. The choice was deferred for a year, and a fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the establishment of Christian on the throne and the decided defeat of the clerical party. The long-wished-for opportunity for freeing the Royal authority from the injurious influence of the episcopacy had now arrived; all the bishops were imprisoned by command of the King, their landed property was confiscated, and the nobility

was won over by a promise of security for all their privileges. At an assembly of the Diet at Copenhagen, the deposition of the whole episcopacy was decided upon. After the lapse of a short period, the prisoners were released on giving a promise not to obstruct the progress of Lutheranism, and their hereditary possessions (all being of noble birth) were restored to them. The Bishop of Roskild was the only one who refused the conditions, and consequently died in prison.

Luther's celebrated pupil, Bugenhagen, was now invited to Denmark, and resided there for several years to arrange a Church constitution suitable to the new circumstances. It was not till 1542 that he returned to Wittenberg, having introduced a form of government approved by Luther and Melancthon, and having refused the rich bishopric of Schleswig, that he might not be charged with having deposed the former bishops to place himself in their position. In place of the dethroned dignitaries, he consecrated evangelical superintendents, who took the episcopal title as soon as the previous holders were removed by death. The new constitution was approved in 1539 at the Diet of Odensee, and from this date the Danish Reformation may be regarded as complete.

The history of the change of the Danish Church from Catholicism to Protestantism shews that it was less a theological than a social movement, and we can easily understand that no great difficulty was found in maintaining under the new form of ecclesiastical organization a complete uniformity of Lutheran teaching. The records, therefore, of the three centuries which have since elapsed give the ecclesiastical historian no great amount of matter. Theological learning, as in most purely Lutheran countries, was not cultivated to any very great extent, and the little enthusiasm which ever arose was more excited by minute and almost scholastic disputes on the points so intensely interesting to Lutherans, and so very uninteresting to all other men, about consubstantiation and ubiquity, about forms and ceremonies, than by questions which touched the deep interests of the religious life and the active duties of individual Christians. There are but two exceptions to this almost unmoved calm of theological thought, neither of which had any reference to home affairs. One of the learned Polish

Brethren, Stanislaus Lubieniecius, banished from his native country, tried to find refuge for himself and for the exiled Polish Socinians in Denmark. His endeavours were unceasing, but, unfortunately for his cause, unavailing. Although he was successful in arousing the sympathy of the secular authorities and even of King Frederick III., he was unable to conciliate the intolerance of the Lutheran clergy. When, in an interview with the Danish bishop, John Schwaning, he pathetically concluded his appeal with the words, "If no spot is allowed for us to live in, we shall at least find one to die in," Schwaning unfeelingly retorted that instances had been known of persons rotting in the open air.* The other instance of activity on the part of the Danish clergy is more pleasing, as it entitles them to the honour of being the originators of foreign missions from the continent of Europe. From the year 1620, Denmark had possession of the town of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast. King Frederick IV. sent out two missionaries thither in 1706, and established a mission church in the colony. In 1711, a Tamul translation of the New Testament was completed, and a Tamul and Portuguese press established in the town of Tranquebar. The number of Christians, it is true, did not increase as rapidly as among the Jesuit missions, but a more thorough work was done. Lutheran enthusiasm, however, very nearly succeeded in transplanting to the shores of the East Indies the controversy between Wittenberg orthodoxy and Hallensian pietism, a result which was only avoided by the opportune death of one of the missionaries, who had been anxious to initiate the Bramins into the dialectic polemics of his native country. Assisted at a later period by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, native missionaries trained at Tranquebar preached the gospel through various parts of India under English rule, and are still actively employed in this benevolent work.†

In the beginning of the present century, the rationalism which held so wide a sway in German theology had made great inroads upon the clergy of Denmark, but the reaction against it which has there arisen has taken a very different

* Wallace's Antitrinitarian Biography, III. 297, et seq.

† F. C. Baur, Kirchengeschichte, IV. 657, 658.

direction. The unyielding form of the State Church has acted as a barrier against the freedom which has prevailed in Germany. Had the matter depended upon the efforts of the clergy alone, the rapid advances in theological science which we have witnessed in Germany would most likely not have taken place, as the laws of the Church are as severe as in Denmark; but in the universities perfect freedom of teaching exists; and thus the varied forms of theological opinion, from the extremest views of the Tübingen school to the deadest Lutheran orthodoxy, have had full scope for growth. In Denmark, where the university has not manifested the same intellectual activity, no such varied opinions have held sway. The rationalism which did take root in Denmark produced a superficial utilitarian Christianity; the mass of the people became utterly indifferent to all church matters; the clergy began to introduce modifications even in the liturgical forms which were binding upon them; and the prevalent theology was taught in the only university by Professor Clausen, who tried to place it upon a scientific basis. In a work which he published in 1825, he tried to shew that Protestantism differed from Catholicism, inasmuch as this latter had an historical basis, while the former was founded upon philosophical and rational principles alone. The departure from ecclesiastical rule in the liturgy, and this repudiation of an historical basis for the Church, called into prominent activity a man whose influence has been so great upon the Danish Church as to demand a more detailed notice. Grundtvig had till this time been working, by preaching and by literary productions, to counteract the deadness both of ecclesiastical and religious life. Of mature years, having been born in the year 1783, he had from his youth been impressed with religious feelings, as his parents had trained him in deeper principles than those usually acknowledged around them. At the university he had been animated by the national feeling, which, roused by the poet Oehlenschlaeger, had thrown new interest upon Scandinavian poetry and history. Being easily led to extreme views, he was by these studies inspired with the idea that the Danes were gifted above all nations, and were destined to take the lead of western civilization. He spoke of Denmark as the Palestine of Europe, and, regarding his nation as peculiarly adapted to realize

the idea of Christianity, looked forward to a time when the Danish Church should stand at the head of all Christendom. The condition of that Church, as he then saw it, could not give any hope of the immediate realization of this view, and as he ascribed its low state to the influence which Germany had exercised upon it, he was led to take up a strong anti-German position. This antagonism to everything German must be kept steadily in view while judging of his career. The strong expression he gave to his views gained him warm adherents, but also strong opponents. The latter employed all their influence to prevent his obtaining a place in any church; but Frederick VI., who honoured him on account of his learning and patriotism, appointed him, in 1822, to a vacancy at the Church of the Saviour in Copenhagen.

Placed in the very town which he had denounced as the spot whence unbelief had spread over the country, it may easily be conceived with what determination he set himself to oppose the influence of Clausen. A few weeks after the appearance of the latter's work, he published a book which marks the origin of what has since been entitled Grundtvigianism. Its title was, "The Reply of the Church." He professed not to write as a "critic," but as an "ecclesiastical opponent" of Professor Clausen, because "the latter had placed himself by his book at the head of all enemies of the Christian Church and despisers of God." He does not spare any bitterness in his book, as he believed that he was contending for the true faith, from which he could not bate a hair's breadth. The theory he maintained in this work and in articles published by himself and some of his adherents in the "Theological Monthly," may be summed up as ascribing the greatest importance to the Sacraments, especially to that of Baptism, and finding an exaggerated value in the Apostles' Creed, so that Sacrament and Creed are to be regarded not merely as needful for the constitution and preservation of the Church, but as the foundation of individual salvation, and the centre of all personal consciousness of it. To use his own words, "The Christian Church is a community of faith with a creed, which it presents to all persons desirous of becoming members; who are received as members by baptism and the communion of the Lord's Supper, if they renounce the devil, and confess

faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost, according to the Apostles' Creed." "The acceptance of the Apostles' Creed is the exclusive condition of admission to the community of the Church, and the means of grace, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, have an equivalent power to the creed, and therefore a saving one." In his teaching, the Apostles' Creed is the standard of doctrine and of faith, and he opposes to the rationalistic method of expounding Scripture, the assertion that the sole correct exposition is that which is in accordance with the Creed. He accuses the Reformers of having introduced an exegetical papacy by their constant appeal to the Bible, and calls upon all scholars to oppose themselves to this tyranny. He evidently places the Creed above the Bible. Asserting it to have been the rule of faith in the earliest days of the Church, handed down infallibly by an unbroken tradition, he claims for himself and his adherents the name of "*Church* theologians," in opposition to the Protestants, whom he terms "*Scriptural* theologians." In addition to these articles of faith must be mentioned his doctrine of the living word, which was, however, fully developed only at a later period. He asserts that "genuine Christianity is found in the Christian Church, and is expressed in its creed, which is the same as its faith, and is the implanted 'living word' with which Christ comes to us in baptism, and which he lays upon our lips." This work, "The Reply of the Church," created a great excitement, owing to its bold language; by the great mass of people it was condemned; and so strong were some of its expressions, that Clausen obtained damages against Grundtvig in an action which he brought against him for libel. Upon this Grundtvig, asserting that he had only done what his ordination vow obliged him to do, resigned his position in the State Church. With rare conscientiousness, he determined, as he was not permitted to express his opinions as a member of the Establishment, to find freedom outside, and to work for religious liberty, not for himself alone, but for every form of faith. Some of his friends, not thinking so extreme a step necessary, tried by agitation to compel the clergy to adhere strictly to the authorized liturgical forms, which, they maintained, involved Grundtvig's principles. The more extreme views, however, were so far successful, that in 1832 Grundtvig obtained permission from the Go-

vernment to preach, but was not suffered to administer the sacraments. His influence hitherto had certainly produced greater activity in the ecclesiastical life of the people, and he gradually saw, as he believed, a possibility of remodelling the Established Church, so as to give freedom to its clergy and people without the foundation of separatist communities. In 1834, therefore, he published a work advocating perfect liturgical and dogmatical freedom for the clergy, and the abolition of parochial limitations. By these means he and his friends thought they could obtain their aims. Every clergyman might preach and teach in accordance with his own conscience, but every layman had a corresponding liberty of choosing a clergyman who taught in agreement with his own belief. The importance of the latter position will become fully clear to the English reader only when he remembers, that in order to enter upon any career in Denmark it is necessary to have a certificate from the parish clergyman that you have been confirmed in the Established Church. All friends of ecclesiastical order were startled at Grundtvig's new propositions, and the more evangelical teachers, who had been roused to action by his teaching, as well as Clausen and the Rationalists, opposed his scheme as subversive of the State Church. For this objection, however, Grundtvig cared nothing, as his design was not to preserve a State Establishment, but to found a Church of the Nation. When these proposals were first brought before the Diet in 1835, they met with very little support; but in 1838, it was found that the energy of Grundtvig and his adherents had won a considerable number of supporters; and in 1840, the majority of the Diet obtained from the King permission for every one to choose by what clergyman he would be confirmed. Satisfied by the prospect thus opened of gaining all he desired, Grundtvig again entered the Established Church, and once more obtained the position of a clergyman in Copenhagen. This office he still holds. We have not time or space to enter upon the influence which the adherents of this new school exerted upon education, and the changes they advocated in the management of the schools; suffice to it say that here, as well as in the Church, they opposed with the utmost vigour everything that was German in origin or tendency; and that in political matters, especially in the rising ques-

tion of the Duchies, all their power was brought to bear in favour of the Danish supremacy in Schleswig. To such a length did this anti-Germanic tendency proceed, that, as modern theology has made its greatest advances in Germany, the rising party have advocated the discontinuance of any special theological training for the clergy. On this account, one of the charges against the Grundtvigians has been, that they are unscientific,—a charge which, in view of the stress they lay on the Apostles' Creed and traditional interpretation, cannot well be denied.

In the year 1848, that year of revolution and of change, the new movement made most rapid progress. The constitution of 1849 gave perfect religious freedom to all Denmark, permitted all citizens to unite in communities for the worship of God in whatever manner they pleased, and changed the "Lutheran State Church" into a "Danish National Church." In 1855, the parochial system was also abolished, so that a member of one parish is now at perfect liberty to arrange with the clergyman of any other that he will henceforth belong to his church. Again, since 1862, it has been further legalized, that a clergyman may, if asked by any parishioner, baptize, marry or celebrate the Lord's Supper in the church of another parish. This law was enacted by a large majority of the Rigsrad, although nearly every bishop, as might well be expected, opposed the proposition. That the action of the Danish Church is consistent in its liberalism may be seen from the fact, that in 1857 permission was given to abstain, whenever it was desired, from christening children, a rite up to that date obligatory on all.

Candidate Lüttke, from whose interesting work on the present condition of the Scandinavian churches this sketch of Grundtvig's theology is taken, laments the destructive tendencies of these measures, but owns that hitherto no evil effects have arisen from them. He cannot, however, look forward to the exercise of perfect freedom on the part of the clergy without expecting that a complete annihilation of all ecclesiastical order must ensue. As the general tenor of Lüttke's book shews his sympathy with the reactionary school of German theology, which sees no salvation for Christianity except in the strict maintenance of confessional uniformity, his fears may perhaps meet with little sympathy

among our readers, who will watch with living interest this novel experiment in ecclesiastical government. It cannot be denied that everywhere the clergy, who are limited in their inquiries by dogmatical fetters, have not given to theology the scientific aid which has been afforded by the free thought of students who have no doctrinal basis to uphold. But, on the other hand, the student in his closet loses sight only too frequently of some limitations which it would be well to bear in mind when investigating theological and philosophical subjects. A clergyman who is as free as the mere student would be brought by his professional duties into close connection with the wants and aspirations of living men and women exposed to the daily trials and temptations, the joys and sorrows of practical life, and will thus be exposed to the correctives of mere abstract thought which the scholar unconsciously escapes. A theology not less scientific but more practical, not less thorough but at the same time more fit to help humanity in its endeavours to realize in action the theories and aspirations of religion, may thus be constructed, and we may find the solution of many difficulties which now beset the path of theologians, as well as of men interested in the practical reform of church organization. The superficial tone which may hitherto have characterized the adherents of Grundtvig will, when brought into practical collision with the enlightened culture of more modern thought, have to be changed for a more thorough method, and we may perhaps receive from Denmark some valuable additions to the scientific study of theology. Should these hopes be realized, then perhaps to some extent Grundtvig's high aspiration may be realized also, and the Church of Denmark may take a leading place in the progress of the whole Christian Church towards truth and righteousness. The venerable founder of this movement still lives in a green old age at Copenhagen, and every sincere lover of a free gospel will join in thanking the earnest heart that has inspired so noble an attempt to found a free National Church, which, placing no fetter upon thought, secures for every member of the State the right of "worshiping the Father in spirit and in truth."

* * *

VIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

DEEP earnestness and spiritual fervour may be expected in everything that comes from Mr. Maurice's pen, and no one who looks in the Lectures on Luke* for these qualities need fear to be disappointed. Earnestness is the source of Mr. Maurice's power. His writings are without art, without elaboration, without rhetoric or adornment of any kind; but they are always earnest, and therefore always impressive, sometimes even eloquent. It is felt at once, as it ought to be felt, but is not, in the case of every preacher, that he is truly preaching a gospel which is not his, but of which he is the servant, and that he is preaching moreover to himself as much as to others. Of this the Preface to the present volume supplies a striking illustration. It has been suggested that those who reject the doctrine of everlasting punishment do so from personal motives. The allegation will generally be thought not simply uncharitable, but atrocious. It is not a little startling, therefore, to find Mr. Maurice pleading guilty to the charge.

"I *have* a strong personal motive for rejecting these popular notions; the motive may be exactly the one which the defender of them supposes. I *do* find that I am tempted to those evil states of mind which constitute, as the Bible teaches me, the curse and horror of hell, to which all its outward physical torments, be they what they may, are subordinate. I do *not* find that I have any power to raise myself out of these states of mind. I acknowledge the influence of an evil spirit who would draw me into them and fix me in them. My hope of deliverance from them arises wholly from the belief that it is the will of God manifested in Christ to raise my will, and the will of those who are tempted as I am tempted, out of this perdition. Can I have a stronger or more directly personal motive for rejecting the opinion which is proclaimed in so many pulpits, which it seems the object of recent declarations to endorse, that it is the purpose of God to keep men in a state of sin—a continually increasing and deepening state of sin—for ever and ever? That I hold to be the purpose of the devil, whose works Christ came to destroy."

These words, though occurring only in a note, indicate sufficiently well the spirit of the present volume. Its object is to exhibit Christ as the true King of men in conflict

* The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven: a Course of Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. D. Maurice. Macmillan and Co. 1864.

with man's great enemy the Devil, and triumphing over him; and this object is accomplished by following the narrative of Luke in a series of expository discourses. We need hardly say that no light is thrown upon the critical difficulties which beset the narrative. These disappear or become "trifles" in the glow of Mr. Maurice's faith; and whatever be our point of view, no doubt they are trifles compared with trust in a living God and prayer for a real deliverance. Yet these difficulties are now occupying a large share of men's thoughts and affecting their relation towards the Bible. Is it not the duty of a public teacher to grapple with them fairly? Mr. Maurice himself seems to confess it. He refers several times, as might be expected, to M. Renan, and there is hardly one of the difficulties suggested by the narrative of Luke of which the critical reader is not reminded. Yet there is hardly one of them which is really met, or even clearly stated. Thus to say that the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem must be true because it is recorded in simple language and without "starts of surprise," is no answer to the objection that the decree of Augustus Cæsar alleged as the cause of the journey was never issued; nor can the song of Mary be regarded as anything else than the composition of the evangelist because it expresses admirably what Mary ought to have felt. It is certainly quite competent for Mr. Maurice or any one to say, "It is a trifle whether the decree referred to by Luke was issued or not, and therefore I disregard it for the sake of the truth which accompanies it." But it is not competent for him to say (as he seems in effect to say), "This is a trifle, and *therefore* I accept it." Mr. Maurice has the deepest faith in a living Word of God. Ought not this faith to have rendered him willing freely to admit the errors and imperfections of the written record? He deplores men's bondage to the letter; and so far as this implies insensibility to the spirit, it is the last charge we should bring against him. But if it means blindness to the most certain and obvious results of biblical criticism, we are afraid he has proved himself very far from blameless.

Probably few men are better qualified to write the history of the Conversion of the Roman Empire* than Mr.

* The Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Boyle Lectures for the Year 1864. By Charles Merivale, B.D. London: Longmans. 1864.

Merivale, though it may be questioned whether the Boyle Lecturer fully equals the fame of the historian. Allowance being made, however, for the difficulty of the position, the sketch before us is admirable. It describes, with due appreciation of what was good in heathen thought, the world into which Christianity was born, and traces the affinities with the religion of the gospel, while pointing out the deficiencies, of Greek and Roman philosophy. Mr. Merivale, if anything, rather underrates the heathen belief in immortality, and in condemning the Stoic idea of an aristocracy of souls, surely forgets that Christianity, though making no distinction among souls *per se*, has in its popular forms at least held out no very splendid hopes to the mass of mankind. True it is, any one might believe and be saved; but did the Stoics deny that any one might become a wise man? It is but natural, we suppose, to an English Churchman to prefer the utilitarian argument derived from the apparently unjust distribution of happiness and misery in this world, to the lofty teachings of Plato and the Stoics; but it is surely a misapplication of St. Paul to quote in its favour his exclamation, "If the dead rise not, we are of all men the most miserable;" since the apostle evidently means we are miserable, not for doing right, but because we are exposed to continual risk; and if he adds, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," he indicates merely a possible, not for himself a necessary, consequence of there being no resurrection. The idea of a common humanity resulting from Alexander's conquests, and till that time quite unknown, is rightly indicated as a most important preparation for a religion which taught the equality of all men in the sight of God. Mr. Merivale devotes one of the most instructive of his Lectures to "the expansion of heathen belief by the ideas of Roman jurisprudence," and ably shews that not only the Jewish, but the Roman law also, was a pedagogue (or guide) to bring men to Christ. He traces the growth of Roman law from its original harshness to gentler and humaner principles, and its gradual diffusion over the empire and mixture with other codes, until the idea of a common and universal equity at last emerges. For the rest, neither the religion nor the philosophy of the heathen world was able to answer the cry of humanity for light and deliverance, and finally the example of the Christians exer-

cised a powerful influence in drawing men to the truth. Most readers will be struck by the absence of reference to what is called the external evidence for Christianity. The reason will be found in the Preface. Very little weight was, in Mr. Merivale's opinion, attached to the claim of miracles "as an argument of Divine power;" and, in short, the external evidence was less important as a means of conversion than has been generally supposed.

The new volumes of Dr. Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* have the faults and merits of their predecessors, with the disadvantage that they treat of a period of English Church history where the biographical method is especially inapplicable. We very much doubt, indeed, whether the lately introduced fashion of striking out a middle path between history and biography in such works as the present, and Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors and Chief Justices, does not directly lead to evading the sterner responsibilities of both. When biographical material is scant, how convenient is it to turn from the man to his times! When an historical problem offers unusual difficulties, how easy to take refuge in personal detail! Thus in the work before us we are unable to draw the line—and we suspect that Dr. Hook himself could not greatly help us—between what properly belongs to the lives of the Archbishops and to the history of the Church of England. So long as the Primates are representative men, the two things are pretty much the same. Such was the case, to a large extent, in the period treated of in Dr. Hook's two first volumes. Augustine, Dunstan, Stigand, Lanfranc, Anselm, Beckett, are figures round which the Church history of England naturally groups itself. But what are we to say of a list of Prelates in which Peckham, Winchelsey, Stratford, Bradwardine, Courtenay, Arundel, are the most distinguished names? The men are insignificant, and the history, not less interesting than in any former period, refuses to revolve round them as a centre. And a fresh source of difficulty arises from the fact that the Primacy is for the most part only the prize of the last and not always the most active years of a man's life; so that the same tale, with

* Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. By W. F. Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. Vols. III. and IV. Middle-age Period. London: Bentley. 1865.

trifling biographical variations, is perpetually being told over again, in connection with this Archbishop's old age, with the middle life of a second, and with the youth of a third. The story of Wiclif, for instance, is a thread that runs through a large part of Dr. Hook's fourth volume. But it is taken up, and dropped, and again taken up in the lives of successive Primates, in such a way as hopelessly to confuse every reader who is not accurately acquainted with it from some other source.

For the rest, Dr. Hook's work contains many elements of popularity. He has made himself master of his subject, so far as this was possible without original research, and communicates the result of his reading in a clear and lively style. He makes no pretences to the higher or more subtle graces of literary art; almost, indeed, conveys the impression that he despises them. His allusions to contemporary matters—serious blemishes as they are upon a grave historical work—are exceedingly amusing and characteristic; in the present volumes the spire of Chichester Cathedral, now rising from its ruins, is a landmark of which its Dean never loses sight for long together. But, with all shortcomings, the book is one of which no dignitary of the English Church need be ashamed; and, if falling far below the fulsome praises which some have heaped upon it, will worthily hand down to posterity the name of one who deserves to be remembered as a high-minded and industrious servant of his Church.

"Orthodoxy, Scripture and Reason," is the title of a noteworthy book, by Mr. Kirkus,* who is, if we mistake not, minister of an Independent church in the neighbourhood of London. Some time ago Mr. Kirkus published a volume of essays, of which one was on "Evangelicism." This essay, he says, "was chiefly destructive, and for that reason, as well as for many others, exceedingly unsatisfactory." In fact, it seems to have said strong things in strong language, and so to have greatly irritated those whose theological position it assailed. As that essay was the negative, so this volume is the positive side of Mr. Kirkus's confession. At the same time he retracts nothing. "I must candidly

* Orthodoxy, Scripture and Reason; an Examination of some of the principal Articles of the Creed of Christendom. By Rev. William Kirkus, LL.B. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

confess that what I hated when I wrote that essay, I hate much more intensely now, and hate it more intensely because I know much more about it. * * * I have learnt more, in the last two years, of practical 'Evangelicalism' than all the rest of my life had taught me, and I believe now, more firmly than I did two years ago, that it is utterly loathsome and capable of all baseness."*

The work thus introduced consists of nine chapters: on "Human Nature," "Original Sin," "The Person of Jesus Christ," "The Atonement," "Justification by Faith," "The Future State," "The Holy Catholic Church," "The Creeds and the Bible," and "Christian Morality." Looking at it as a theological treatise, it would not be difficult to find fault with it. It is throughout too diffuse. We cannot avoid the suspicion that many passages of it were first written for pulpit use. It is difficult to discern by what law of proportion Mr. Kirkus has moulded his matter, when the relation of the Bible to theology is despatched in twenty, and the whole of Christian morality takes no more than twelve, out of a total of four hundred pages. A still graver fault is, that what little is said upon the character and authority of the Bible, is to be found not at the beginning but at the end of the volume, and even then is so vague as to give the reader no distinct information as to the principle on which scriptural statements have been used throughout the book. But this is characteristic of the school to which Mr. Kirkus belongs. He professes himself, over and over again, a disciple of Mr. Maurice. And with his fellow-disciples he affects to consider the controversies as to the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures now rife, as of far less importance than the questions which concern the Incarnation, forgetting, surely, that the Scriptures are our only source of knowledge in regard to that doctrine, and that, how important soever, it can be rested on no other basis.

But, in truth, the doctrinal position which Mr. Kirkus takes up, and the arguments by which he defends it, are of far less importance than the spirit in which he writes. It has been a fact of evil omen, that in these last years the Independent and Baptist churches, which make a constant, if not always quite honest, boast of their freedom from articles, have been much more successful in repressing

* Pref. p. vii.

liberty of thought than the Church of England, which they so often taunt with degrading servitude to fixed formularies. To the works of Milman, Jowett, Colenso, Stanley, R. Williams, H. B. Wilson, and many more of less note, there has been absolutely nothing parallel among the orthodox Dissenters. Those among them who are reputed to be leaders of thought, have spoken, if at all, with hesitating phrase and bated breath; and a very harmless heterodoxy has not been suffered to see the light, unless enveloped in an ample cloak of ambiguous phrase. In private society it is possible to hear much of the "liberality" of this or that minister; complaints are made at the annual assemblies of the faithful that younger men do not preach the old, unadulterated gospel. But if a change is really going on, it is so gradual and silent as not yet to have challenged public attention by any audible tokens of its existence; and the only inference to be drawn from the present state of things is, that the tyranny of public opinion may be as much heavier than the tyranny of creeds and articles, as the finger of Rehoboam was thicker than the loins of Solomon. If for nothing else, Mr. Kirkus deserves the utmost possible credit for having thought and spoken like a free Christian man. He examines, in order to reject unconditionally, the doctrine of original sin. He says very little about the Trinity, much of the eternal Sonship of Christ. His theory of atonement is one which the Unitarian readers of this Review would unhesitatingly accept. He will hear of nothing legal or forensic in "justification." In the longest, and, as we think, the ablest chapter in his book, he dissects, and rejects with loathing, the hideous doctrine of eternal punishments. His theory of a true Christian church implies its liberation from all dogmatic fetters; except that, with Mr. Maurice, he attaches a strange moral value to the creeds, while looking upon doctrinal clauses in a trust-deed as an utter abomination. In his treatment of all these weighty matters, there is singularly little trace of doctrinal or ecclesiastical prepossession. His volume is far more scientific in its spirit than in its method. We wish Mr. Kirkus a happy issue out of all the afflictions which this honest book is sure to bring upon him. In whatever conclusions he may finally rest, may he have the satisfaction of feeling that in the strength of his allegiance to the truth of God, he has yielded nothing to the angry clamour of men!

The next work* on our list is one which we must dismiss with very few words. "The immortal Jacob ben Chajim, the saviour of the Massorah," was a well-known man in his day (the first quarter of the sixteenth century), and his life is not without interest. He is celebrated, in particular, as the editor of the great Rabbinic Bible of Bomberg, the printer of Venice; and it is his Introduction to this which has just been published, together with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Ginsburg. This Introduction treats especially of such points as the origin and value of the Keri and Kethib, the omission or insertion of vaus and jods and other forms of writing *plene* or *defective*, the arrangement of the Massorah, *magna* and *parva*. Of course the volume addresses itself only to such as take a special interest in such subjects. While we commend it, therefore, to them, it is but fair to add that they will find it rather dry reading—at least the English part of it, for we do not profess to have read the 14 pages of Jacob ben Chajim's Hebrew. Nor can we anticipate that anything new, of importance to the criticism of the Old Testament, can be now derived from these old Rabbinic or Massoretic sources. We hope, however, that this little work may be taken as a sure sign of revived interest in the old Hebrew literature, and the forerunner also of a more faithfully historical and theologically unprejudiced style of interpretation than has hitherto prevailed in this country.

Mr. Goodwyn Barmby has attempted in his "Aids to Devotion"† to supply a deficiency which still unfortunately exists in our churches. We cordially welcome every earnest endeavour to enrich the devotional literature of our denomination. It can hardly be denied that our devotional life requires fostering, and cannot safely be trusted entirely to its own spontaneous energy. Many persons feel to a great extent dependent on the influence of minds endowed with higher spiritual gifts than their own; and we doubt not that those who desire to dwell with religious thoughtfulness upon the great themes of the Christian life will derive

* Jacob ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible, Hebrew and English; with Explanatory Notes. By C. D. Ginsburg, LL.D. London: Longmans.

† Aids to Devotion; or, Religious Readings in the Order of the Natural and Christian Year. By Goodwyn Barmby. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

assistance from these "Aids." Were we disposed to be critical, we might indicate a few errors and blemishes; but we would merely suggest that the style is occasionally deprived of its due effect by a want of simplicity, and some of the "Readings" appear to be rather the studied reflections of the understanding than the irrepressible outpourings of the soul. Perhaps, however, many readers will be unconscious of these defects; and those who have the will may find much in these meditations to aid both their thought and worship, and to help them to realize the desire with which the volume concludes, that God may be exalted in their hearts and minds, and by them in the world around, until his empire shall become universal.

Mr. Whitfield's two Essays*—one on the Beautiful in Nature and Art, another on the Magnificence of the Universe—form an elegant little volume, in more senses than one. The subjects of which he treats invite rather to meditation than to novelty of thought, and the reader will not here look for fresh facts or new ideas. But he will find the musings of a naturally reverential and tender mind expressed in language always carefully chosen and often beautiful.

The third edition of Mr. Allsop's "Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge"† is chiefly noticeable for its Preface, in which the editor, now an old man, expresses for the first time his conviction that Coleridge had an esoteric as well as an exoteric wisdom, and that, if a Christian at all, he was one of the very loosest type. We do not know what may be Mr. Allsop's qualifications for detecting the hidden meaning of a philosopher who delighted in obscurity; but unless Coleridge is to be held guilty of a flagrant intellectual dishonesty, which seems to have been no part of his nature, we must believe that Mr. Allsop has confused the convictions of his age with the recollections of his youth. For the rest, the volume contains some witty and pregnant sayings, hidden in much diffusive talk both by teacher and disciple.

We have before us two tracts on the subject of Eternal

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* Two Essays, &c. By Edward Whitfield. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

† Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge; with a Preface by the Editor, Thomas Allsop. Third Edition. London: Farrah. 1864.

Punishment. Of the first, by Dr. G. Vance Smith,* we can say nothing in this place, as the greater part of it first saw the light in our own pages. The second, by an anonymous Bachelor of Divinity,† takes the form of a letter to the Archbishop of York, and, extending to nearly 150 pages, treats the subject from many diverse points of view. In the examination of the few passages of Scripture which are supposed to favour the doctrine of eternal punishment, it is perhaps less accurate and satisfactory than Dr. Smith's much shorter tract. But it brings into very strong relief the inconsistency of the doctrine with all Scripture teaching as to God's nature and ways, and would no doubt exercise a strong persuasive force upon the minds of those who, unlike the majority of our readers, are unable to feel that they have passed beyond the necessity of debate upon this topic.—Under the title of "Sunday Schools,"‡ the article which appeared upon that subject in our January number has been reprinted by a teacher, for general distribution.—"Modern Prophecies"§ is a singular pamphlet, whose anonymous author attempts to lay down criteria for determining the validity of the attempts which every day are made to forecast political and social issues. Both his general reasonings and the examples which he gives of the application of his method would lead us to the supposition that he was a man of shrewd mind and strong opinions, who had little difficulty in persuading himself that what he wished would eventually come to pass. But we have no doubt that a critic of mind as shrewd and opinions as strong could shew, in strict conformity with the method here laid down, just as good reasons for diametrically opposite anticipations.

Last upon our list come a number of sermons, of which we regret that we have not been able to give an earlier estimate. Mr. Martineau's fine sermon—"The God of the Living"‖—preached at the opening of the new chapel at

* Eternal Punishment: a Tract for the Times. By G. Vance Smith, B.A., Ph.D. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

† An Answer to the Archbishop of York on the Subject of Eternal Torments. By a B.D. Williams and Norgate, London. 1865.

‡ Sunday-Schools. Reprinted by permission from the Theological Review. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

§ Modern Prophecies; or, a Collection and Examination of some of the most important Predictions which are now current. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

‖ The God of the Living: a Sermon, &c. By James Martineau. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1864.

Clifton in November last, has all the characteristic qualities of its author, and needs no further commendation at our hands.—"God is One,"* is the title of an exceedingly earnest discourse upon the Unity of God, by the Rev. Edmund Kell. It is adorned by a well-executed lithograph of the birth-place of Dr. Priestley.—Under the title, "Christ the sole Master of Christians,"† Mr. Griffith publishes a sermon preached before the Western Unitarian Christian Union, at Colyton, shortly after the wretched display of intolerance by the clergyman of that place. As a rebuke of bigotry, the sermon leaves nothing to be desired.—In "The Church and the Drama,"‡ Mr. Freckelton attempts to allay apprehensions excited in the minds of Christian people by the erection of a new theatre at Bradford, and, vindicating public amusements in general, especially defends theatrical entertainments. The sermon is long and often eloquent; but, like most defenders of the drama, Mr. Freckelton's mind seems to dwell more upon the ideal than the actual stage. It is unfortunate that the period at which the long-cherished prejudices of religious men against the theatre are beginning to break up, should be one at which the art both of the dramatist and the actor is at its lowest ebb. The sermon has already reached a second edition: should it reach a third, Mr. Freckelton will doubtless correct a slip of the pen about Theocritus, on p. 8.—Mr. R. L. Carpenter's "Farewell Lecture to the Friends of Temperance"§ was delivered to a large audience upon occasion of his leaving Halifax, and is now published at their request. Mr. Carpenter's social philosophy widely differs, in regard to this matter, from our own; but it is impossible not to admire both the philanthropic earnestness of his lecture and the mingled honesty and self-restraint of his language. Not all Temperance lecturers are so temperate in speech.

E.

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* God is One: a Sermon, &c. By Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

† Christ the sole Master of Christians: a Sermon, &c. By Rev. David Griffith. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1864.

‡ The Church and the Drama: a Sermon, &c. By Rev. T. W. Freckelton. Second Edition. London: John Maxwell and Co. 1865.

§ A Farewell Lecture to the Friends of Temperance, &c. By Russell Lant Carpenter, B.A. Halifax. 1865.

IX.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

THE vexed question of Mr. Jowett's salary is at last settled. We mentioned some time ago that an attempt had been made to shew that Christchurch, according to the terms of its endowment by Henry VIII., was bound to augment, as it now pays, the stipend of the Regius Professor of Greek. Upon the discussion of this aspect of the question in the newspapers, the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch submitted a case to eminent counsel, and received the answer which no doubt they expected, that they were legally bound to the payment of no more than £40 a-year. Upon this, Dean Liddell wrote to the Vice-chancellor, enclosing counsel's opinion, and denying that he and his Chapter "recognized any moral obligation in the matter," yet, "on the ground of general expediency," offering to augment the income of the Professorship to £500 per annum. It is difficult to see what right a corporation has to dispose of corporate funds in a manner to which they are neither legally nor morally obliged; but we will not quarrel with the method of doing a wise and generous act. Still the interference of Christchurch in this matter cannot remove from the University the stigma of an intolerance which had a flavour of injustice and meanness all its own.

The Committee of Privy Council pronounced judgment in the case of the South African Bishops on Monday, the 21st of March. The first portion of the decision was to the effect that, after the establishment of colonial legislatures in Cape Town and Natal, the Crown had no power to create either a metropolitical province or a diocese. A colony having an independent legislature stands in the same relation to the Crown as the mother country; and in England the Queen cannot make a new diocese without an Act of Parliament. As Head of the Church, indeed, she may issue her mandate for the consecration of as many Bishops as she pleases; but until the intervention of the Imperial Parliament, or of a local legislature where such exists, they are Bishops of nothing and nowhere. In the same way the letters patent could not grant to the so-called metropolitan any coercive jurisdiction over his so-called suffragans. The theory of jurisdiction in virtue of a contract between the

parties, is declared to be as baseless as the theory of jurisdiction by coercion. The judgment briefly lays down—though on what grounds we are not informed—that "it was not legally competent to the Bishop of Natal to give, or to the Bishop of Cape Town to accept or exercise, any such jurisdiction." "There remains," their Lordships go on to say, "one point to be considered. It was contended before us that, if the Bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction, his judgment was a nullity, and that no appeal could lie from a nullity to Her Majesty in Council." But this is put aside on the ground that the Queen is Head of the Church, and, by statute, inheritrix of the appellate jurisdiction belonging before the Reformation to the Pope. Unless an appeal were allowed, in such cases as this, to the Crown, "it is plain that there would be a denial of justice, and no remedy for great public inconvenience and mischief." Their Lordships therefore report to Her Majesty their judgment that the proceedings and sentence of the Bishop of Cape Town against the Bishop of Natal "are null and void in law."

This bold judgment strikes at the root of those difficulties as to the position of the colonial churches to which we alluded on a former occasion; and by its decision that many at least of the Royal Patents which have been issued during the last twenty years are illegal, clears the ground for reconstruction and reorganization. At present its effects are hardly clearly understood. In answer to questions asked by Mr. Dunlop in the House of Commons, Mr. Cardwell has announced that the Queen will not at present issue any more such patents, and that the whole question is receiving the careful consideration of the Government. The judgment itself records that the Indian Bishoprics were established by Act of Parliament, and that the Bishopric of Jamaica was sanctioned by the local legislature; while the fact that the Canadian clergy elect their own Bishops, who derive their civil rights from the legislature of the colony, formed part of Mr. Cardwell's statement. But in many more cases the utmost uncertainty as to the status of Colonial Bishops will necessarily prevail. And it must honestly be confessed that the tenor of the judgment tends to inflict a hardship upon the Church of England as organized in our dependencies. By the decision in the case of Mr. Long, which is here expressly re-affirmed, it is deprived

of all the privileges of an Establishment. And yet it now appears as if it could not escape the control of the Crown, as indefeasible Head of the English Church. The Church at the Cape of Good Hope is, we are told, precisely in the condition of such a body as the Wesleyan Methodists—neither better nor worse; on a level, in the eye of the law, with other religious communities, and free to organize and govern itself in its own way. But no appeal would lie from a decision of the Cape Town Conference (if there be such a body) to the Queen in Council. It really appears as if the colonial churches were to enjoy neither the advantages of a connection with the State nor the full immunities of ecclesiastical independence.

What will be the effect of this decision upon the parties to the suit, remains to be seen. Dr. Pusey has indeed sung a song of triumph over the way in which the Lord's enemies have been made to do the Lord's work: "What seems to be defeat, in God's hands turns to victory: the Church of England is freed from all complicity with Dr. Colenso, over whom, neither directly nor indirectly, has it any jurisdiction, and the African Church is freed." But in other quarters there is a pause, as if of silent perplexity. Dr. Colenso, like Samson of old, in pulling down the roof upon the heads of his enemies, has brought it down also upon himself: if Dr. Gray is not the Metropolitan of South Africa, neither is he himself Bishop of Natal. If under these circumstances he should carry out his previously expressed intention of returning to his former diocese, it is difficult to see from what basis he will assert his Episcopal authority over a clergy who are notoriously unwilling to receive him, or what effectual opposition he could offer, should Dr. Gray carry out his threat of consecrating another Bishop in his stead. In the mean time there are rumours of another legal contest. The salaries of the Colonial Bishops are mostly provided from a fund for that purpose, vested in four trustees, Mr. Gladstone, Vice-chancellor Page Wood, Archdeacon Hale, and Mr. Hubbard, M.P. The salary of Bishop Colenso has not been paid pending the recent proceedings; and, now that judgment is pronounced, liquidation of the arrears is definitively refused. If Dr. Colenso vindicates his rights in a court of law, we may possibly gain a solution of some practical difficulties which the judgment leaves unresolved.

The Clerical Subscription Committee has presented its report. We may probably take it as a sign of the difference of opinion that prevailed among the members of the Commission, that the recommendations which they unanimously make are unaccompanied by any statement of reasons. Those recommendations go both to lessen the number of subscriptions required of a clergyman—heretofore no fewer (if we may trust the Christian Observer) than *thirteen* in number—and to simplify their terms. "The Commissioners recommend"—we quote from the Quarterly Review*—

"— that the subscriptions and declarations should be the same in England and in Ireland: that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as being out of keeping with a devotional office, should be taken before and not during the Ordination and Consecration services: that a declaration should be substituted for the oath against simony: that the oath of canonical obedience should be retained: that the provisions of the Acts of Uniformity which specially affect 'Lecturers' should be repealed, and that on every occasion on which a Subscription or Declaration shall be required to be made in England or Ireland, with reference to the Articles of Religion or the Book of Common Prayer, the following form be used:—I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons; I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God: and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form, in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority."

Well may a High-church authority exclaim, "If the Latitudinarians, who have been making such an outcry in the House of Commons and elsewhere for the last few years, are satisfied with these recommendations, we on our part have no objection to make"! It is impossible to see what can be the effect of such a relaxation of subscription as this, except to encourage men to play fast and loose with their own scruples and difficulties. It may, indeed, be questioned whether a loosely-applied test is not more dangerous to theological honesty than a stringent one; for men who would be at once repelled by the one, make an effort to submit themselves to the other, although the *animus imponentis* is in both cases precisely the same. In a remarkable paper read by the Dean of St. Paul's to the Com-

* April, 1865, p. 461.

mission, and since published in Fraser's Magazine,* the following resolution was defended and moved:

"Conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England being the best and the surest attainable security for 'the declared agreement of the clergy with the doctrines of the Church;' with many the daily, with all the weekly, public reading of the services of the Church of England (containing, as they do, the ancient creeds of the Church Catholic), and the constant use of the Sacramental offices and other formularies in the Book of Common Prayer, being a solemn and reiterated pledge of their belief in those doctrines, the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is unnecessary. Such subscription adds no further guarantee for the clergyman's faithfulness to the doctrines of the Church; while the peculiar form and controversial tone in which the Articles were compiled is the cause of much perplexity, embarrassment and difficulty, especially to the younger clergy and to those about to enter into holy orders."

This motion was not pressed by Dr. Milman, on the ground of doubts as to whether it came within the terms of the Commission. But it is impossible not to acknowledge that it penetrates to the kernel of the whole matter. A clergyman's freedom is practically determined by the character of the Liturgy which he is compelled by law to use. Subscription is a form which has to be gone through once or twice in a lifetime, and may be plausibly represented as a bargain between man and man; but the use of the Liturgy is a solemn affirmation of belief, repeated week by week, in the presence of God. And the strength of Anglican orthodoxy lies much more in the Prayer-book than in the Articles, inasmuch as the latter are mere creatures of the Parliamentary power which once imposed and can at any time abolish them; while the former is deeply rooted in the affections and associations of the people. The revision of the Liturgy in a liberal sense is an event from which we are yet indefinitely distant; while until it is accomplished there is a considerable class of thoughtful and devout theologians who will be self-excluded from the pulpits of the National Church.

Meanwhile the current of events continues to flow in the liberal direction. Mr. Göschen has introduced a Bill into the House of Commons similar to that which Mr. Dodson so nearly succeeded in carrying last session, for relieving any person taking the degree of M.A. at Oxford from the

* March, 1865.

necessity of making any religious subscription or declaration. On the 28th of March, Mr. Dillwyn moved a resolution, "That the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government." No practical result was attained; but the debate which followed was rendered remarkable by a speech in which Mr. Gladstone avowed his full concurrence with the first clause of Mr. Dillwyn's resolution, and only seemed to be deterred by the weight of administrative responsibility from the task of grappling with the difficulty. Saul among the prophets was a far less startling fact than Mr. Gladstone's not improbable appearance in the ranks of Irish Church reformers will be to some of his supporters. The meeting of the Canterbury Convocation, which took place as usual at the opening of the present session of Parliament, was noticeable for the presentation by the Dean of Westminster of a protest, in the form of a *gravamen*, against the recent synodical condemnation of "Essays and Reviews." This document, expressed in very temperate but very strong language, was signed by the Deans of Canterbury (Alford), St. Paul's (Milman), Westminster (Stanley), Christchurch (Liddell), and Bristol (Elliott), and fourteen other members of Convocation. It was referred, by a majority of 33 to 18, to the Committee of Gravamina, which is equivalent, in all likelihood, to laying it on the shelf. The fact, nevertheless, of a protest against the high-handed condemnation of "Essays and Reviews," strong both in its statement of reasons and in the weight of the signatures affixed to it, cannot be obscured or explained away. Nor are the same men slack to use press or pulpit when occasion serves. The Bishop of London's address to the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh; Dr. Stanley's article "On the Theology of the Nineteenth Century" in Fraser; Dr. Milman's paper on Clerical Subscription above referred to, and his Oxford sermon upon Hebrew Prophecy; Dr. Temple's sermons at St. Paul's and Whitehall;—all deserve more than the passing notice which is all that we can give them. Nothing can, in our view, be more admirable, or a better augury of final success, than the way in which these successive utterances are made. There is no heat or haste of controversy; every man speaks only when he has something to say, and, simply saying that which is in him, is content to let the

bitterness of opponents pass by unanswered. A great theological debate has rarely been conducted, on one side at least, with less admixture of personal anger and recrimination.

The news of the French Protestant churches, since last we wrote, may be summed up in very few words. The election to fill the vacant seat in the Presbyteral Council of Paris took place on Sunday, March 3rd, and the two following days. The candidates were MM. Guizot and Barbezat. At the election in January, M. Barbezat polled 1306, M. Guizot 1279 votes; both of them less than the absolute number of votes given. At the second election, however, their relative positions were reversed; 2599 persons voted, 1298 for M. Guizot, 1288 for M. Barbezat. Bearing in mind M. Guizot's celebrity as a statesman and man of letters, as well as the representative attitude in which he stands to the orthodox party, the liberal defeat shews very like a victory. The same protests as on the former occasion have again been made, and with the same result. The ecclesiastical authorities have confirmed the election, while the Government has not yet thought fit to interfere.

M. Chenevière, the well-known Professor of Theology at Geneva, has resigned the chair which he has occupied since 1817. His appointment as pastor in the National Church of Geneva was signed by Napoleon in 1807, and is dated from the Bivouac of the field of Eylau. The appointment of M. Chenevière's successor will be an indication of the prevailing theological tendencies of the Genevan Church.

The Unitarian National Convention, which met at New York on the 4th of April last, seems likely to make an epoch in the history of liberal Christianity in the United States. Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, presided over its deliberations. 190 churches were represented by their ministers and by 379 lay delegates, who with the delegates from various associations raised the total number of members to above 500. Up to the last moment we have hoped to receive, from an eye-witness, an account of the proceedings of this important meeting, with a statement of its constitution and objects. And, though for the moment disappointed, we think it better to wait for that communication than to compile from newspaper sources what must necessarily be an imperfect account of a series of events of great interest and importance. C.

THE

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I.—PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE: 1789—1864.

THE churches which began to rise from their ruins, and which visibly increased in number after the edict of toleration in 1787 and the Revolution in 1789, were again destroyed by the Reign of Terror in 1793, when the frivolous, licentious and sanguinary worship of the Goddess of Reason was paramount. To the saturnalia of Catholicism succeeded the avenging saturnalia of Philosophy; nothing remained but a sovereign disgust for religions which agreed only in shedding blood. The religious sentiment seemed to have disappeared for ever from human nature, and conscience was stifled by proscriptions and penalties. As early as 1790, when the priests and monks learned that the property of the clergy was about to be sold, blood flowed for four days at Nîmes: it was impossible to refrain from making Protestants atone for the spoliation of churches and convents. In 1793, the ministers were compelled to suspend all their functions on pain of death, while many perished on the scaffold. A great number of priests also suffered; others owed their safety to Protestants. But the horrible storm of popular vengeance only lasted for a moment, while the no less cruel despotism of priests and kings had continued for centuries.

On the 21st of February, 1795, a decree appeared which authorized the free exercise of worship, but left its maintenance to the charge of the faithful, forbidding at the same time the celebration of any ceremony on the public highways. Would that the matter had stopped here! The best article in regard to worship in any national constitu-

tion will always be a blank page: whatever form of religion deserves to live will live, whatever deserves to die will die. When the First Consul signed the concordat of the Catholic Church in 1801, he refused to recognize the Catholic Church as the religion of the State, or even as the dominant religion. The Protestant ministers, less privileged or more fortunate than the priests, had a narrow escape of not being salaried by the State; while the latter in return almost missed the opportunity of obtaining a share in their nomination, and of interfering with the internal affairs of Protestantism. But Napoleon, who looked upon religion only as a political instrument, refused to sign the decree which was presented to him, and which left Protestantism free from all State connection. He saw that he could not have the upper hand in a church whose ministers did not depend upon him for their salaries. In the mean time the supply of ministers became more and more insufficient, especially after the dispersion of the students of Lausanne.

By accepting the concordat contained in the law of the 18th Germinal, year X. (7th April, 1802), our Synodical Church decapitated itself and abdicated its autonomy. We cannot help asking ourselves whether the insufficient salary accorded to the pastors,* and the assistance given in the erection of a certain number of churches, was worth such a sacrifice? If we cast no stone at the National Synod of Montpellier, which in 1598 first accepted the royal subsidy, we are still less inclined to reproach the Church of 1802, which, dispersed and reduced almost to nothing, received the concordat as a benefit, without perceiving that it was also a chain. Articles 4, 5 and 6 of this law declare that "no doctrinal or dogmatic decision, no formulary under the title of a confession, or under any other title, shall be published or become the subject of instruction until the Government has authorized its publication and promulgation. No change in discipline shall take place without the same authorization. The Council of State shall be made acquainted with all the undertakings of ministers, and with

* Our Church ought to be ashamed of offering 1500 francs (£60 a-year) to the father of a family, whose preliminary studies have lasted nearly a dozen years and often consumed the whole of his pecuniary resources. If it is not desirable that the clergy should be rich, it is undesirable that they should live in indigence.

whatever dissensions may arise among them." The Minister of Public Worship nominates professors and confirms the appointment or deprivation of pastors, after having examined the consistorial deliberations and votes. The consistories are only a kind of financial oligarchy chosen from the largest contributors to the funds of the Church. The presidency of the consistories appertains to the oldest pastor, and not, as formerly, to each pastor in his turn. Here is a primacy, a beginning of the episcopacy which had been formally condemned by the discipline.* The local consistories have no longer any authority of their own; the consistorial church, which must number six thousand souls, is everything. In place of the provincial synods, whose limits were fixed by the National Synod, the law of Germinal (1802) instituted *arrondissement* synods formed of five consistorial churches. These synods cannot have more than ten members, nor sit for longer than six days. They can be held only in presence of a prefect or sub-prefect, and with a written permission from Government, which must be informed beforehand of the subject of deliberation. All their decisions must be submitted to the approval of the authorities. Such is our liberty! It is little better than a mockery. Though the applications for such permission have been numerous, they have always been refused: only one *arrondissement* synod has met since 1802, namely, that of La Drôme in 1850. In short, the mistrust and despotism of the law are completely revealed in the silence which it preserves respecting the National Synod,—"a silence which," as M. de Félice has well observed, "is equivalent to its entire suppression."†

Such, however, was the reduced state of the Reformed Church, that it applauded this concordat as an immense benefit. Seven-and-twenty presidents of consistories eagerly assembled at the coronation of Napoleon to express their gratitude. They obtained from him this eloquent answer, which, however, in no way lessened the bondage of the Church: "My intention and fixed will are to maintain liberty of worship. The empire of law ends where the

* At the Restoration, a Minister of Public Worship went so far as to say, "It is necessary that the Minister should be able to place at the head of a consistory whatever pastor he chooses."—E. de Pressensé's *L'église et la Revolution Française de* 1789 à 1802. Paris, 1864.

† *Hist. des Prot.*, 577.

undefined empire of conscience begins; neither law nor prince avail anything against that liberty,"—except, let us add, when they suppress the enjoyment of it. "The religions recognized by the law of the 18th Germinal," S. Vincent has observed, "cease to exist by themselves and for themselves. They are a part of the government; they are matter of administration. Their proceedings are regulated by the law; their discipline is sanctioned by it. A new element of unknown force enters into their external manifestation. In short, henceforth they can secure peace only by inaction and the absence of change..... Between the Reformed religion of to-day and that of the past there is all the difference which exists between a free and independent faith and one fixed and governed from without by purely administrative means, as a thing and not as a sentiment."* "All these measures," the same author remarks, "take it for granted that Protestantism is finished and fixed in its minutest details. But religion is a life; it is a movement, an activity of the soul."† It was not long before the concordat was seen to be a very serious matter. A decree of 1806 declares, "A discourse shall be preached by a minister of religion in all the churches and temples on *the glory of the French arms*, and upon the extent of the duty imposed upon every citizen to consecrate his life to his prince and country." We have in our possession a collection of these flat and empty harangues from the pen of a minister at Nantes, of whom Protestantism can certainly make no boast.

The Emperor, however, kept his word; during his reign (1804—1814) the Protestants were not molested. At the same time he allowed them neither the right of association, nor journals, nor controversies, nor proselytism. Every religious manifestation was strictly forbidden; there was security, but no liberty. The churches gathered strength but slowly. In 1807 there were only two hundred pastors, and the parishes of some stretched over whole departments.‡ The seminary at Lausanne was transferred to Geneva; but

* *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, I. 159. † *Ibid.*, I. 169.

‡ At the present time there are in France 567 Reformed ministers, with 82 assistant ministers; 261 Lutheran ministers, with 36 assistants; 94 Independent ministers; and in Algeria 15 ministers belonging to the various denominations; making a total of 1055.

one academy proving insufficient, the Emperor established a second at Montauban in 1808. But the churches were dead, and men's souls empty. "Preachers preached and the people listened; the consistories assembled and the forms of worship were observed; but beyond this, no one either occupied himself with or cared for such matters. With all, religion was an affair outside of life."* All things in history are bound together: the fanatical excesses of the 17th century produce the terrible irreligious reaction of the 18th: the bloody anarchy of 1793 leads up to the despotism of the sword and the grand military era of the 19th century. Here may be discerned the cause of the enfeebled moral and spiritual life of the first empire.

The return of the Bourbons to power (Louis the Eighteenth, 1814—1824, Charles the Tenth, 1824—1830) was signalized by the re-establishment of the State religion, which led as a necessary and easily foreseen consequence to troubles in the South. In spite of the article in the charter which declared that "all shall have an equal liberty in the profession of their religion, and shall receive the same protection for their worship," the clergy of the South, always faithful to the principle of persecution, or, which is the same thing, to the Catholic principle, got up addresses everywhere to the end that there should be only *one religion* in France. The Protestants were attacked from the pulpit with the utmost violence, until what is known as the *white terror* broke out (17th July, 1815). Pillage, incendiary fires and massacres occurred at Nîmes, at Uzès, at Montauban and in Alsace. In November 1815, the churches at Nîmes were closed. By an order of the Duc d'Angoulême, who had come for the purpose of restoring peace, one of them was re-opened, but it was besieged by a horde of assassins. General Lagarde, who with some of his officers determined to resist this attack, was shot through the heart. Such was the influence of the clergy, that the murderer escaped. It was not till after an interval of six months that worship could be re-established at Nîmes. A disposition was soon manifested again to force the Protestants to decorate their houses on the passing of processions, as if the days of Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth had

* S. Vincent, *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, I. 169.

suddenly returned.* An order was issued in 1818 by the sub-prefect of Barre for this purpose, but the consistory of the same place forbade the Protestants to submit to it. Paul Roman, of Lourmarin, having been condemned for refusing to obey the sub-prefect, obtained, on appeal, the reversal of his sentence by help of M. Odillon Barrot, an eloquent advocate, who has on all occasions shewed himself a liberal Catholic. The Government, defeated in the courts, was compelled to renounce its unconstitutional demands. It continued, however, to oppose insuperable obstacles in the way of Protestant proselytism, while it threw open the door to similar efforts on the part of the Catholics. The itinerant missions of the 17th century were revived, and three pastors received pensions as a reward of apostasy. Notwithstanding its hostility, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, the Restoration was nevertheless unable to crush the reviving life of the Reformed churches. New churches were built, fresh places created, and religious societies,—the Protestant Bible Society in 1818, the Religious Tract Society in 1821, the Missionary Society in 1822, and the Society for the Encouragement of Primary Instruction in 1829,—destined to renew the zeal of the churches and to extend their influence, were either tolerated or authorized. We must add, that the progressive increase of the churches was more rapid under Charles X. than under Louis XVIII. The Protestantism of this period has no literature of its own. English works were translated, and the works of Nardin, Saurin, A. Court, Mornay, Du Moulin, Claude and Drelincourt, were reprinted. It does, however, count some writers of merit, as Samuel Vincent, Fontanés, Charles Coquerel, Stapfer and Staël,† and such apostles as Neff in the Upper Alps, Oberlin in the Ban de la Roche, Née and Colani in the North of France. In 1829, it would have been necessary to double the number of pastors to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of the awakened churches. The

* Literary France in the 19th century is no longer an accomplice of intolerance, as was the case under Louis the Fourteenth. Whenever the clergy push their exclusive pretensions too far, they always find themselves confronted by their most eloquent and implacable enemy, Voltaire. It is calculated that from 1817 to 1824, 1,598,000 volumes of his works were sold, as well as 495,000 copies of Rousseau.—Arsène Houssaye, *Le roi Voltaire.*

† Baron de Staël was one of the devoted and most active friends in France of the abolition of the slave-trade.

Protestants, having to contend at the close of the reign of Charles the Tenth with multiplied annoyances and with exclusiveness of every kind, welcomed with joy the Revolution of 1830, which expelled the Bourbons and raised to the throne a prince of a more tolerant family.

The article respecting the State religion in the old charter was replaced in the new one by the following: "Catholicism is the religion of the majority of Frenchmen,"—a trifling declaration, in which we see the manifestation of what was left of the spirit of sacerdotalism, and which shews how hard it is for men to get out of the mire when they once get into it. The question which gave rise to the greatest amount of discussion under the new reign (1830—1848) was, whether a simple declaration was sufficient for the opening of a *new* place of worship, or whether it was necessary to obtain an authorization. From this it is obvious that, in spite of every hindrance, Protestantism was continuing its upward movement. It was unable, however, to obtain from the Government of Louis Philippe a larger interpretation of the organic articles. Trials in reference to religious matters increased, and the Chamber of Deputies gave a liberal support to the demands of the Reformed churches. But even then religious liberty was far from being practised in its full extent.

When the new monarchy, at whose helm stood a Protestant Prime Minister, foundered, and the Revolution of 1848 broke out, it was thought for a moment that the separation of Church and State, which had been demanded by Lamartine as well as by Lamennais, by Samuel Vincent as well as by Vinet, was about to be effected. But nothing of the kind happened. The Synod which met at Paris in 1848 confined itself to the preparation of a new project of organic law, and formally pronounced against separation.* It requested that the lay members of consistories should be appointed by universal suffrage, but committed the unpardonable mistake of requiring a doctrinal qualification for the suffrage, namely, "that the Bible should be recognized as the Word of God and the sole rule of faith." We have called this "an unpardonable mistake," and perhaps this is too little to say

* Only two of its members declared that they left the Reformed Church to found a free church.

of it; for from the year 1559 the Reformed Church of France has invariably been a *multitudinist* Church, of which a man becomes a member by birth, and not an *individualist* Church, which he joins by his own free choice. Under the influence of a jealous orthodoxy, the Synod then infringed upon one of the constituent principles of the Church—it sought to change its character. At the same time it demanded the re-establishment of the national and provincial synods. We shall see presently how far its requests were granted.

The decree of March 26, 1852, restored to the parishes all the importance of which they had been deprived by the law of Germinal. The presidency of the consistories again became elective, at intervals of three years. The presbyteral councils have the right of presenting to their consistory a list of three candidates for every office in the ministry that requires filling up. By virtue of the same decree, the presbyteral councillors are elected by universal suffrage. A person becomes an elector at the age of thirty, after a two years' residence in the parish, and upon making the declaration, which has no dogmatic meaning, "that he participates in the exercises and the responsibilities of worship." We find it impossible to understand why every citizen, who politically becomes an elector at twenty-one, should have to wait nine years longer before he can take part in ecclesiastical elections. In short, the decree confirms the law of Germinal in all points on which it does not contradict it. It preserves, moreover, an absolute silence respecting the National Synod, for which it may perhaps be said to attempt to substitute a new institution, namely, the *Central Council*, the functions of which are purely consultative, and which is the representative of Protestant interests with the Government. It is impossible not to be astonished that the churches should have accepted this institution, for which they never asked, and which seems destined to take the place of the synods, which they have so incessantly demanded. Besides, to make the matter worse, it is not the churches which nominate the Central Council. The decree declares that this body "is composed *for the first time* of Protestant notables, appointed by the Government, and of the two senior ministers of Paris." The words, *for the first time*, created the hope that afterwards elections might take place, and give to the Central Council an importance such as the churches

have not hitherto been able to ascribe to it. Time has shewn the delusiveness of this hope.

Our actual organization, then, is at once very simple and very incomplete. The members of the presbyteral council of each parish are elected by universal suffrage; each presbyteral council is represented in the consistory by a minister and two laymen; the consistory appoints pastors and determines internal questions of administration, subject to the approval of the Minister of Public Worship. This is the whole of our organization.* On occasion, every consistory has it in its power to become a little pope. The president, who is almost always re-elected, may assume episcopal airs, may neglect his duties, may even disregard the con-

* The French churches of the Confession of Augsburg comprehend Alsace, the county of Montbéliard, Franche-Comté and the German community of Paris. Montbéliard became part of France in 1792, Franche-Comté in 1674, and Alsace in 1648. These churches, much less persecuted than ours, have a history of their own; we can only speak here of their actual organization. The general arrangements of the Decree of 1852 apply alike to both communions. The presbyteral councils and the consistories of the two churches are constituted in the same way; but while in the Reformed Church the consistories have no superiors but the Central Council, which has practically no authority, the Lutheran Church has retained all its ancient organization, namely, inspectorships, an upper consistory and a directory, which constitute a complete system of episcopal government. Above the consistories are the inspectorships. A pastor and two laymen inspect all the churches in their jurisdiction. It is through the medium of the ecclesiastical inspector that the consistories address the upper consistory or the directory. "The upper consistory is composed —1st, of two lay deputies; 2nd, of all the ecclesiastical inspectors; 3rd, of a Professor of the seminary of Strasburg; 4th, of the President of the directory, who is by right President of the upper consistory, and of a lay member of the directory nominated by Government" (Decree of 1852). The upper consistory meets at least once a year. It exercises nearly all the functions of a national synod, and is the supreme authority. Lastly, there is the administrative power or directory, composed of a lay president and of an ecclesiastic inspector nominated by Government, as well as of two deputies named by the upper consistory. Subject to the sanction of Government, the directory appoints, recalls and deprives pastors, nominates assistant ministers, proposes almoners, arranges all changes of benefices, chooses the professors of the gymnasium of Strasburg, as well as those of the Protestant seminary. It is almost identical with the administrative system of Catholicism. The pastors and the congregations have no right to choose for themselves; the former have to accept such churches, the latter such ministers, as are assigned to them. Under such circumstances the independence of pastors is at its lowest ebb. What we shall have to say of present theological questions applies to the two churches. The new theology reckons adherents in both. Our orthodox are the equivalent of the old Lutherans, who see no safety except in the use of the old books, the old formularies, the old hymns, and many of whom set Luther above the Bible, Jesus Christ, and common sense.

sistorial decisions, may lead his colleagues a miserable life, and yet under the present system there is no remedy.

Apart from this intrusion of the State into the government of the Church, which has become purely and simply an administrative department, our national churches have no reason to complain of the Empire. Still, the influence of the ultramontane clergy, which increases every year, always results in annoyance wherever the prefects or sub-prefects are unable energetically to resist the encroachments of an intolerance which constitutes the very foundation of Catholicism. It is no unusual thing to see the very precise law which entrusts the police of the cemeteries to the mayors, violated by the interference of the priests, forbidding Protestants to enter the enclosure, or compelling them to bury in the corner set apart for suicides. The yoke of clericalism is still keenly felt on the Boards of Charity (Bureaux de Bienfaisance), in the Academic Councils, and even in the Ministry of Public Instruction. Few Protestants attend the courses of lectures at the superior normal school, because the chairs of philosophy—nay, even of history—are closed to them in the Lyceums, in the College of France and in the Sorbonne. In short, toleration is never found in Catholicism except when it is united with indifference, and then it is another than the good and true toleration which respects conscience out of regard to the truth and to the dignity of human nature.

With respect to the Independent churches, they had at the outset much to suffer in the interdiction of their religious assemblies (which, considered as political meetings, fell under Article 291 of the Penal Code), in the closing of their churches and schools, and in prosecutions which resulted in fine and imprisonment. But in these matters progress has been made during the last few years. And if the different sections of our Protestantism were willing to come to a mutual understanding, to live in peace and to unite all their forces against Catholicism, their common enemy and the enemy of modern society,—if they would only all pursue their true and noble object, the triumph of evangelical principles, of spiritual religion, of liberty, of brotherhood,—what might not be the success of the Reformation in France! But, instead of that, all shades of opinion repulse the ever-extended hand, the ever-open heart, of the Liberals. To them they prefer (and loudly proclaim their preference)

Catholicism, "whose only fault is to have added to Christianity."

Everywhere Protestantism continues to raise and to develop itself. It constructs churches and schools, founds charitable associations, societies for the diffusion of the gospel, for education, for mutual help, institutes libraries for the people;* and all this, although it is far from numbering as many adherents as it did at the Revocation; while it is well known how greatly the number of Protestants had diminished in 1685 from what it was in 1598, and again in 1598 from what it was at the commencement of the religious wars. At the present time, Protestantism only reckons about 1,500,000 followers; nevertheless, it performs a great work in France, and every year will perform it more completely. The movement of Christian ideas, in a circle which unfortunately is only too restricted, but which is daily enlarged, proceeds from and is under the direction of Protestantism. It is Protestantism which, in the midst of an indifferent and sceptical people, displays the firmest faith in principles and in morality; which affords to a nation that knows no medium between bigotry and materialism, an example of large and enlightened piety; which, uniting independence of thought with scrupulous obedience to religious convictions and duties, points out a work to the many timorous and dependent souls who are repelled by Catholicism and yet have not the courage to leave it. It is Protestantism, in fine, which, in regard to France, has always realized more or less completely the saying which Christ addressed to his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth; . . . ye are the light of the world."

We are struck with amazement when we contemplate the ruin in which the Reformed Church lay at the beginning of the 19th century. Everything appears to be destroyed, perhaps even more completely than on the morrow of the Revocation. The inner life is so feeble as to seem dried up in the hearts of both the people and the pastors. The Christianity of the 17th century, that rationalistic yet irrational

* Ed. Borel, in his work (Paris, 1864), *La Statistique des associations Protestantes religieuses et charitables de France*, enumerates 220 different objects for which French Protestantism contributes two millions (francs) a-year, which is one franc and thirty-three centimes for each of the 1,500,000 Protestants of France.

system of doctrine, has fallen under the lash of ridicule; it is no longer spoken of but as a superstition at best only fit for fanatics; and no one discriminates between the cause of orthodoxy and the cause of the gospel. The wreck of religion appears complete; nothing remains but the shell of empty forms and external ceremonies. The sacred fire has become extinct in men's souls. Religion seems to be for ever banished from the conscience; it is only a puerile pomp wherewith to surround the sterile victories of the great captain who leads France on to ruin. "Man was debased, and morality annihilated; .... the people themselves had become materialist."*

The disaster indeed was great, and yet only the errors of the past had been destroyed. The gospel was about to issue from the ruins as the sun re-appears after a stormy night which seemed as though it would never end. The extent of the evil has been stated by one of the men who most effectually contributed to its cure. Samuel Vincent, minister at Nîmes from 1810 to 1827, thus expresses himself in 1829: "The worst of all dangers is that sleep of death which has so long rested upon Protestants, that profound indifference to the religious life which their most devoted friends could not fail to observe among them for a period of nearly thirty years."† Christianity, he elsewhere remarks, stood in need of a revival amongst us; it was necessary to transform it into a principle of the heart.‡ Such a state of things could not last. "A profound indifference, an aversion, a contempt," continues Vincent, "have been followed by attention and interest; life has succeeded death."§ When man, troubled with the misfortunes and the innumerable griefs of the reign of terror and of the imperial wars, "was again brought face to face with his conscience, ... this anti-religious ardour which had taken possession of the latter half of the 18th century, and which had been converted by the Revolution into a veritable frenzy, was seen gradually to cool down. The word religion began to find an echo in many hearts."‖ "Some justly celebrated writings, among which the *Génie du Christianisme* deserves a high place,

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* S. Vincent's *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, II. 139. † *Ibid.*, I. 213.
‡ *Mélanges de religion*, VIII. 48.
§ *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, II. 133. ‖ *Ibid.*, II. 141.

gave the signal of this return." Gradually and in all parts, there was experienced the need of religion as well as a "disgust for the coldness and emptiness of the philosophy of the 18th century, and for the dogmatism of the ancient systems." What was wanted was a religion which should respect the rights of humanity, and favour their future progress; a religion compatible with liberty, with inquiry; not a religion of authority, but a spiritual religion; which, above all, should take hold of the whole man, and should appeal to the heart and the conscience no less than to the intellect and imagination. The conscience must be the base of the edifice, and a true and profound morality, of which toleration and charity are inseparable parts, its crowning point. Thus all aspirations tended towards Christ and the religion of the Gospels.* The pastor of Nîmes was the first to give a precise form to all these aspirations and cravings of the soul, which otherwise, as in the case of Chateaubriand, might have spent themselves in empty air.

As the Reformation of the 16th century had sprung up in France, so likewise the revival of piety and of religious life under the Restoration was a national movement and not a foreign importation. No doubt the numerous societies founded after 1818 are an imitation of those which flourished in England in the 18th century; but life, inasmuch as it wells up from the depths of the soul, cannot be imitated. No doubt, too, a foreign element soon appeared which gave activity and development to this new birth of Protestantism; but it was from the power of the gospel itself, acting upon the hearts of the French people, that the revival took its origin. The foreign element proceeded from a Moravian source, in which religious sentiments and impressions had retained more warmth than in any other sect. Unfortunately, this vivifying influence penetrated among us impregnated with an ignorant materialism which made conversion, so to speak, a mechanical operation of grace, put belief in the place of faith, and exclusiveness in the place of charity. A number of English missionaries, Haldane and others, spread themselves over France and Switzerland. Some declared themselves to be Arminians, others Calvinists; they were of all shades of opinion—Mora-

* *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, passim.

vians, Wesleyans, followers of Whitfield and of Malan. Naturally, the Calvinists who attempted to resuscitate an impossible doctrine were the most aggressive, and began the work of converting France by making an undignified personal war upon the pastors whom they wished to supplant.

Coming after sermons which were no better than cold dissertations on morals, the new preaching, full of fire and enthusiasm, dwelling exclusively on sin, redemption, damnation, upon all that is most tender and universal in Christianity, produced at first an immense effect, but one which could not last. The preachers were half-educated men who constantly repeated themselves. They lost not their narrowness but their enthusiasm, and contented themselves with stitching, without the least discrimination, passages of Scripture round the doctrine which they imposed upon the Bible. At first, however, they vigorously stirred up the churches where they preached. Of this Samuel Vincent himself, whom they did not spare, yet who nevertheless gave them their due, is witness. "When I compare," he says, "our present religious condition with what it was a dozen years ago, I cannot help believing that the appearance of Methodism has done us good." Nothing in his eyes, we know, was worse than indifference and its fatal inertness. Life had indeed returned, but in many respects it was altogether on the surface. This exalted piety, the product of the imagination terrified by pictures of hell, or of the nervous system shaken by fiery declamation, soon became formal. Adepts recognized one another by a peculiar style of language, the dialect of Canaan. The proud and intolerant narrowness of the sectarian conventicles at times allied itself with looseness of morals, and the *revival* was far from producing the results which were expected from it. Its most durable basis was the new, exclusive, ignorant and disputatious orthodoxy. At first, a stranger and an enemy to the Church which it anathematized, Methodism gradually made its way—thanks to the toleration which Samuel Vincent and Charles Coquerel so warmly recommended to the ministers!—and now lays claim to the Church as its own, exclaiming, like Tartuffe,

"La maison est à moi, c'est à vous d'en sortir."

Nevertheless, we ought to be grateful to it for the incom-

parable services which it has unintentionally rendered us. It so insisted upon the inspiration of Scripture, its theopneustic affirmations were so trenchant and misplaced, that the result was the accurate examination of the subject, and the establishment of the *Revue de Theologie* of Strasburg. It forgot, in its too scholastic theology, to leave room for the activity of the conscience. Conscience protested and reclaimed its rights, and the individualism of Vinet prepared the movement of to-day. But we will not anticipate. There were two parallel currents in the Protestantism of the Restoration—the English and sectarian current, and the French and liberal current. The latter, whose waters were more pure and less impetuous, has most enriched the soil. It is on this ground that it merits all the attention of the historian.

No one has more largely contributed, by his zeal, his living and enlightened religiousness, and his theological writings, to restore piety and to arrest the torrent of mysticism, than Samuel Vincent. What is the fundamental principle of Protestantism? was the first question to be considered. Vincent dug below the ruins and found the rock. He rested the new edifice upon the gospel and liberty. The theorist of Protestantism, he enunciated principles which our reformers and the popular conscience had only unconsciously obeyed. This is his definition of Protestantism:

"The substance of Protestantism is the gospel; its form is freedom of inquiry. Protestantism is the complement or even the foundation of that vast system of *individuality* which constitutes modern civilization, while Catholicism is the author of that system of unity in which the individual is lost in the whole by surrendering that which is most essential to its individuality, namely, its thought and its belief. Protestants are either a body of men who have rejected certain dogmas of the Roman Church in order to substitute their own, and who defend these with the same perseverance and almost always by the same means; or they are a union of all who desire liberty of conscience and investigation, and will endure neither the spiritual tyranny of Rome nor any other. The first are more than one-half Catholics, the others are the true Reformers, for their reformation is fundamental. It gives to the Bible all its rights, to man all his dignity. If Protestantism is to be placed in the first category, it is nothing. . . . But if its essence is made to consist in freedom of belief and inquiry under the guidance of the gospel—if the various shades

of opinion, more or less decided, which divide its members, be regarded as only the necessary consequence of the great principle on which it is founded, then it is everything, then it is the religion of modern times. If toleration is Protestantism reduced to its most distinctive principle, the Christian world is in our day Protestant, and individuals more Protestant even than states."*

After having sketched the true philosophy of the Protestant religion, the pastor of Nîmes indicates the conditions of its existence.

"The Protestant religion . . . must be above everything a *religion*, that is to say, it must possess the means of permanence, and the power of edifying men by the propagation of a beneficent and Christian doctrine. It must not be merely a negation, it must also have its real and positive side."

Now no society whatever can exist unless peace reigns in its midst.

"There are two ways of ensuring this religious peace. The one proceeds by the method of exclusion, the other by the method of adoption; the one by a method of subdivision, the other by a method of re-union; or, to express the whole matter once more in the most definite way, the one proceeds by a method of intolerance and rigour, the other by a method of toleration and support."

The former, which at first engenders fanaticism, but afterwards indifference and death, is the system followed by the Protestant orthodoxy of the 16th and 17th centuries. The second, on the contrary, is the parent of a true, profound, enlightened and active piety. The first system may be summed up in a single word—authority, or confession of faith. Vincent has treated this point with the profound tact of the philosophical observer:

"Confessions of faith may be necessary for the preservation of a particular belief, but they are utterly powerless for the preservation of the truth. Their influence upon truth is only negative; they not only do not advance it, but nearly always stand in the way of its introduction. If Protestants were to take it into their heads to be henceforth no more than the champions of the Confessions of Augsburg, of La Rochelle, and of so many others which they have made, the whole world would turn their backs upon them, and they would dwindle into an imperceptible body desti-

* *Vues sur le Protestantisme*, I., passim.

tute of warmth and life. . . . . Let us allow these dogmatic and ecclesiastical regulations to sleep on. We wish for religious liberty, and they were directed against it. . . . To talk of exhuming our ancient discipline is, I do not fear to assert, to speak of annihilating our religion."

The old system of authoritative Protestantism crumbled to pieces during the 18th century. Albert Stapfer attempted to restore it by vigorously contending, in the *Archives du Christianisme*, against the doctrines maintained by Vincent, Fontanès of Nîmes and Charles Coquerel, in the *Mélanges de religion* and in the *Revue Protestante*. Stapfer laid down that no religion is possible without a confession of faith which shall be precise on all points, or without a dogmatic agreement among its members,—a doctrine which drew from Vincent the saying, "That no sooner have three Protestants met, than one of them pulls a confession of faith out of his pocket with the intention of imposing it on the other two." Stapfer did not recoil even before the most false and impossible positions of his theory. "The law of the 18th Germinal," he says in 1824, "has in nothing derogated from Articles ix. of the 1st chapter and iii. of the 2nd chapter of the Discipline, which *makes it incumbent on all doctors and professors to sign the confession of faith* of the Reformed churches."*

"Does the confession of faith of the Reformed Church," he again said eight years afterwards, "still exist as a religious authority? I answer, Yes; it does still exist. Neither political power, nor the practice, nor the ideas, nor the manners of the age, nor the oblivion into which our Protestant academies have allowed it to drop, have the right to abolish the confession of faith. Dogma is neither a temporary nor a local affair. The confession of faith exists; it may be suppressed in its action, but it cannot be annihilated. It would require a general synod either to modify it or to replace it by another."†

There was some grandeur in Stapfer's taking his stand on the ground of the strictest right, but this senile heroism could accomplish nothing in the face of facts. Conscience alone is able to abrogate all the laws of the ecclesiastical world. The synod of 1848 understood this, and so neither

* *Archives du Christianisme*, 1824, p. 404.

† *Ibid.*, 1832, p. 350.

modified nor signed the confession of faith. Nay, it contradicted and opposed it in this declaration: "Without disowning the glorious past of our churches, or their pious martyrs, or the venerable monuments of their faith, *we have not desired to lessen the no less glorious liberty of the children of God re-conquered by our fathers*, or to proclaim any other *authority* than that of the eternal Lord."* More tolerant than Jurieu with respect to religion, Stapfer was quite as intolerant in ecclesiastical matters. His theory was the more vicious, inasmuch as it did not take into account the concordat and the official situation of French Protestantism. It is the theory of congregationalism (which is practicable only in a country of perfect liberty) applied to a multitudinist church, which cannot divide itself into sections without the previous authorization of the Government. Our exclusives always keep silent on this point, which is an embarrassment to them, and which ought to moderate their desire for exclusion. It was with a like want of success that at a later period the great preacher Adolphe Monod adopted the theory of Stapfer.

Theological questions were agitated at the same time and with the same eagerness as these ecclesiastical matters. Two professors of Montauban (Gasc, † 1815, and Nazon, who was still lecturing in 1829) were violently assailed, because in their doctrinal teaching they had dared to enfranchise themselves from many traditional errors. The *Archives*, which screamed with indignation against these two professors, constantly lauded the piety and orthodoxy of one of their colleagues, Encontre (1762—1818). We shall see whether the second half of this praise was merited. The son of one of the pastors of the desert, Daniel Encontre, a man of a commanding and truly encyclopædic mind, had, like Pascal, an almost intuitive knowledge of mathematics. He was Dean of the Faculty of Science at Montpellier when he was called by the churches to the Faculty of Theology at Montauban, of which in 1814 he was likewise nominated Dean. His comparatively early death prevented him from raising the studies of that faculty much above the low level at which they had long remained. Encontre energetically

* *Adresse de l'assemblée générale des députés des églises réformées de France, aux membres de ces églises*, 1848.

repelled the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin and the damnation resulting to all mankind, as a "thing against which both reason and conscience alike revolt, which is insulting to the justice and goodness of God, and which, far from humbling man, serves only to flatter his pride, inasmuch as an inward voice, stronger than all theological arguments, assures him that he cannot be guilty of a crime which he has neither committed nor desired to commit; and he therefore applauds himself that at least he is not to find in himself the cause of his condemnation. Or rather he does not believe that he is condemned; he escapes from the authority of religion, which appears to him no more than an absurd system, and falls of necessity into doubt and unbelief."* Such was the doctrine of the learned professor who has recently been cited as a model of orthodoxy.

But we must now hasten to occupy ourselves with a Christian thinker of another school, whose liberal and progressive conclusions differ little from those of Vincent; we refer to Vinet, whose influence was immense both in France and Switzerland.

"The entire method of Vinet is summarized in his views on authority in matters of faith. There is no foe he has combated with more zeal than this, because he instinctively recognized under this name the same irreligious conception which he had opposed in ecclesiastical questions. 'The heart, the heart!' he exclaims; 'the intuition, the inner consciousness of religious truth, immediately apprehended in the same way as are first principles! a bold and sublime thesis which a greater than Pascal had laid down in this memorable injunction, Believe my word, yet, if not, believe in the works which I do. Truth carries with it its own authentication; it is its own proof; it demonstrates by shewing itself, and the heart is the mirror of truth.' . . .

"Vinet is to be admired for his unity of thought. The man, the author, the theologian, the publicist, are all governed by the same principle, are all blended together in the same character, that of the reformer. Like every one who has deserved this title, Vinet was a reformer in that he has marked with his name a step in the development of spiritual truth, like Luther, like Pascal, like Schleiermacher. His work, like theirs, is full of elements of which he himself probably did not understand the whole significance.

* Extract from a course of theology by Encontre, published by Vincent in the *Mélanges*, V. 3—21.

"Vinet descended afresh into the human soul, into the mysterious depths from which man ceaselessly strives to escape, yet in which the lamp of truth burns. He addressed himself to the quest of certainty and of God, making consciousness his starting-point. He saw that if religion is made for us, we are likewise made for it; in other words, that the criterion of the divineness of a religion is in that harmony with conscience which at once confers upon the conscience the right of appreciating and the duty of submitting to it. 'The truth which is outside us must always be measured by and compared with the truth which is within us.' In thus proclaiming the supremacy of conscience, Vinet has at the same time reduced religion to its essence, that is to say, to communion with God. All purely speculative dogmas, as well as all purely legal observances, are overthrown by the same blow. Worship is brought back again to spirit and truth. Authority has ceased to weigh upon the soul. Reason, which is only an element of consciousness, has reclaimed its rights. But to place religion in conscience is to establish the individual and subjective nature of the religious consciousness, and consequently to recognize the relative character of all earthly truth, as well as the deficiency of Christian evidence, to proclaim liberty to all, to call for the free expression of opinion, to rest toleration on a new basis which is no longer indifferentism, any more than it is necessarily faith. We thus see what is the hidden link of the theses which have been defended by Vinet.

"Whether it be called individualism, subjectivism or simply spiritualism, the principle of Vinet is the principle of Protestantism, and his writings mark a development of the first importance in French Protestantism. If the Reformation consisted in stripping religion of everything in it that was not religious, it may be said that Vinet wrought a reformation in the Reformation by divesting the latter of numerous elements which it had preserved, but which it neither had assimilated nor was able to assimilate. He laboured, for his part, *pro virili parte*, at that work which one age bequeaths to another, and which will never be completed until conscience and the gospel shall be recognized as counterparts exactly fitted to each other.

"Vinet's aim was much more to build up than to pull down. We do not think that he foresaw the whole critical bearing of the principles of which he was the representative among us. Apologists who demonstrate the truth of the gospel by its harmony with the human soul hardly know what they do. They make the conscience the criterion and the measure of religious truth. But to assign this function to the conscience is to consent to regard as superfluous whatever in a religious system does

not stand in relation to it. No doubt Vinet did not formally draw all the inferences which flow from this theology. Many persons even flatter themselves that he would have disavowed these inferences had he lived long enough to see their birth. It may be so; but it is not the less true that in the work of demolition which has now been going on for some time, the labourers have only followed the lines marked out by the hand of Vinet."*

The man who was the first to set his hand to the work, and who has laboured the most vigorously, is no other than the author of the sketch of Vinet which we have just given, namely, M. Ed. Scherer. Like most of the young men who follow or direct the contemporary movement of opinion, M. Scherer has passed through Methodism, that is, through a period of mysticism and orthodoxy. The old liberalism was often accused of lacking a religious sense; no one has ventured to make the like allegation against the new, for it is in the name of religion and piety that it refuses to believe what is absurd and irreligious. The religious consciousness, avenged by Vinet of the oblivion in which it had been left by Methodism, had been enthroned side by side with orthodoxy; but two enemies cannot share one throne. It was reserved for M. Scherer to bring into view the incompatibility of orthodoxy and consciousness, to lead religion back to its eternal elements of truth and holiness by distinguishing the divine word from whatever human ignorance has added to the documents in which it is contained. The confusion into which both Samuel Vincent and Vinet had fallen was about to disappear; and the definition, that Protestantism is the gospel and liberty, or the gospel and consciousness, given by the former, to be rendered exact in every particular.

Never did clap of thunder rolling through a clear and cloudless sky produce more amazement, more mute terror, than the pamphlet† in which M. Scherer announced the resignation of his professorship in the Faculty of orthodox Theology at Geneva, on the ground that he had ceased to believe in the literal inspiration of the Scriptures. He had weighed this theory and found it wanting; he destroyed it by publishing in the *Revue de Théologie*, which was started

* *Revue de Théologie*, V. 71.

‡ *La Critique et la foi.* Paris, 1850.

by M. Colani expressly for that end, a long series of critical articles on the Gospels. The position from which M. Scherer sets out is this:—The Bible contains the word of God, but is *not* itself that word; that which contains is different from that which is contained. But what is to distinguish between what is divine, and what is not; between eternal truth and what is merely form, a transitory and variable belief, a prejudice of the times? Each man's own consciousness. Without fear of committing sacrilege, the doctrines of all the books of the Old and New Testament could be examined dispassionately and from the standpoint of historical criticism. Still further, it was adventured to compare the marvellous in the Scriptures of the Jews and the Christians with that in the Scriptures of the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Hindoos. A revolution more radical than any preceding revolution, more radical than the Reformation itself, was about to take place in men's souls. Theology, clearly distinguished from religion, was simplified at one stroke; mind and conscience were no longer under the necessity of torturing themselves in order to justify the dogma of the imputation of original sin. The narrative of the fall is either an ancient myth or a legend pure and simple, the effort of an artless generation to explain the inexplicable, namely, the entrance of evil into the world. The dogma of the atonement is only the gross expression, at once Jewish and pagan, of a true and deep sentiment (the consciousness of sin and the need of pardon), which has been expressed by Jesus Christ in a sublime and Christian manner in the parable of the Prodigal Son. The maledictions of the Psalmists, the ardent expressions of the Song of Solomon, the voluptuous and egotistic materialism of Ecclesiastes*—what do they all matter? The Old Testament is a collection of a people's whole literature; it comprises profane, historical, warlike and poetical productions, as well as others possessing a religious beauty which will never be surpassed: in so saying, all is said. Supernaturalism, which stands or falls with the theory of literal inspiration, was brought into question from the very first. When we admit that God did not inspire every page and every word of the Bible, we shall soon cease to wish to prop

* Schwalb, *Revue de Théologie*, Third Series, Vol. II. 153.

up the supernatural. The Gospels in their present shape, which differs, as we know, from their original form, are only the echoes of the legendary traditions of the epoch at which they were edited. Are they nothing but legend then? Test them for yourselves. Can the conscience answer, Legend, when it is said, "Bless them that curse you, . . . forgive . . . love your enemies," and so forth? Not one will be found who will refuse to bow in humility and faith; recognizing the divine image, which their own passions have hidden from view, all will cry, This is truth, this holiness! It will no doubt be said that religion and the supernatural fall together, as it was said that Jesus destroyed religion, and that the Reformation trampled it under foot. This is only a puerile fear; but were it well founded, humanity would need to be pitied, for the supernatural is for ever dethroned and dead (nor will the clamours of its friends call it back to life); while religion, disengaged from this scaffolding which hid it from our eyes, becomes all at once and on that account more beautiful, more true, more human and more divine. It is religion reduced to religion, it is religion in its reality, it is the gospel without admixture of superstition.

It is only natural that a revolution such as this, which is wrought in men's minds neither at once nor in the same degree, should produce a general feeling of uneasiness. Some believe all lost, others all gained, when the divine in Scripture and the divine in consciousness are left alone and face to face. Exclusiveness, which is always the weapon as well as the condemnation of those who look solely to the past, sets fire to the four corners of France. Let us expel, let us deprive, let us persecute, or the Church is ruined. The men of the *old régime*, as Samuel Vincent called them, are the same in all ages. "They have read our old theologians," he said, "but they are ignorant of the immense labours by which theology has been enriched since those times. Sacred criticism is in their eyes a suspected science. Everywhere they see abysses. If you speak to them of variations in the sacred text, they look at you with dread, and say to you, But what uncertainty you cast upon the Bible! They hate you as if you had yourself put them into the manuscripts." This description still applies exactly to the men of our old school, save that they are no better

read in the old theologians than they are in the new. It is a matter highly deserving of note that several of the friends or disciples of Samuel Vincent are energetically opposed to the development of contemporary reform. Incapable of rising above the old idea of revelation, they hurl their anathemas against those who do but advance on the path marked out by their fathers.* It must not be concealed that the liberalism of the beginning of the present century, like the orthodoxy of the same period, was both intellectual and supernatural. Starting-point and method being the same in the two systems, they must in the long run meet and coalesce. This is the reason why the old liberals who were so much vilified some thirty or forty years ago as unbelieving, indifferent and latitudinarian, are in our day looked upon by their former adversaries as the pillars and defenders of orthodoxy. And yet their preaching remains what it formerly was. What, then, is it that has changed? It is orthodoxy itself. At every fresh encampment it abandons some of its dogmas, stragglers from the ranks who will never more rejoin their regiments.

We have also to contend against the men who occupy the centre, and who by their position are compelled to attack with the utmost bitterness the men of the extreme left. More learned than the adherents of the old régime, the chiefs of the moderate party see the problems and the difficulties; they do not shut their eyes to evidence, but they elude the solutions of them; they are timid, afraid of scandal, and never take a step in advance without immediately afterwards taking one or two backwards. When the extreme right accuses them of destructiveness and lashes their numerous heresies, they return the blows upon us an hundred-fold, just as the Jansenists persecuted the Protestants in order to prove that they had nothing in common with them. The intermediate party is necessarily the most numerous, for it is that in which men are most at their ease. To belong to it is the most comfortable thing in the world; no one is obliged to pronounce definitively either for or against anything whatever; no one is compelled either to hold or to support an opinion. The publications

* See the remarkable pamphlet of M. A. Réville, *Notre Christianisme et notre bon droit.* Paris, 1864.

of this party are learned enough to please those who do not believe that theological ignorance is either wisdom or virtue, and sufficiently reserved and indefinite not to alarm those who are always afraid of going too far. This party, then, always was and always will be that of the majority. Nevertheless, it is only a party of fear and inconsistency. Between pure Calvinism and individualism no middle position is possible; between the Confession of Faith of La Rochelle and the *Revue de Théologie* there is no logical standing-room for a *Revue Chrétienne.*

The 19th century alone has been able to set free and to apply true Christian and Protestant principles; the Reformation has only now been completed. Its definitive expression is the autonomy of conscience nourished by the gospel. We have seen that it was this principle which in reality gave life to the Reformation until it was stifled under the despotism of formularies; that it was this principle which was obeyed by Coligny, Mornay, the school of Saumur. We are their sons, as they were the sons of the Reformers; we are their sons inasmuch as we continue their work in their spirit, although we have gone beyond their doctrines. Like ourselves, they were the objects of censure and intolerance; but they have triumphed, even as we shall triumph. What though the men of the old régime should oppose Samuel Vincent to the *Revue de Théologie* on the subject of revelation, our answer is ready: You have the intolerant and exclusive spirit of Du Moulin, of Jurieu and of Calvin, but do you profess their *doctrine?*

Founded in 1850, the *Revue de Théologie,* whose principal editors were MM. Scherer, Reuss, Colani, Réville, Goy, &c., may now be discontinued; it has done its work. In less than fifteen years, thanks above all to the noble History of the Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age,* by Reuss, of which no one has openly ventured to speak ill, every religious idea has been re-created, save among the men for whose benefit the project was undertaken. Is not the prodigious vitality of Protestantism once more demonstrated by the astonishing spectacle of a worship which was extinct in 1800, which was revived twenty years later, which shone by a thousand lights in 1860, which reanimates, enlightens, attracts, inspires and captivates the most

* *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au siécle Apostolique.* Paris, 1852.

distinguished minds? Such is the power of progressive doctrines; they make the moderate party, and even the old régime itself, move on, as the earth carries forward in its motion the pigmies who declare it to be immovable. Do Catholicism, "whose only fault is to have added to Christianity," and its sister, authoritative Protestantism, exercise an equal sway? Let us leave the first of these antiquated systems to sleep the sleep which scarcely differs from death; let us ask the other, which perpetually cries out to us, You have destroyed everything, your religion is only a nonentity, why it has taken the trouble to expel one of these preachers of nothing, and has closed the pulpit to others? Wherefore interdict these preachings, if piety and public good sense would pass upon them so prompt a judgment? Can it be by accident that liberal preaching should draw together a crowd eager for edification, while the intolerant dogmatism of the past can boast but a small number of followers, who aspire to rule over the church in order that they may lay it in the tomb? But no; French Protestantism will not die; for it knows that only in movement and progress is there life, and that all progress ends in God through Jesus Christ.

UN PASTEUR DE L'ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE PARIS.

II.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF PRIMARY BELIEFS.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Primary Beliefs. By Richard Lowndes. Williams and Norgate. 1865.

THERE is a sense in which it is undoubtedly true, that philosophy regarded as the highest generalization of scientific phenomena—and religion viewed as a deep trust in spiritual realities—belong to distinct spheres of mind which cannot be commingled without damage to both. If religion should interpose to arrest the prosecution of scientific inquiry to its logical results, through fear of collision with its own form of individual belief—or if philosophy should presume to insult and proscribe religious convictions which are the inward strength and solace of millions, because it finds them incapable of verification by its own scientific processes—every one would at once feel that here, on both sides, there

was the intrusion of a foreign power into a region not subject to its sway. Nevertheless, it is equally true, that through all periods of history, partly in consequence of the prevalent blindness to their proper limits, philosophy and religion have powerfully acted and re-acted on each other; and that, in particular, what has been called the first philosophy, the dim realm of metaphysics which forms the border-land between science and religion, has ever exercised a perceptible influence on the contemporaneous theology. Doubtless there will come a time, as science works its way down to the ultimate laws of the Kosmos, and the depths of human psychology are more comprehensively and freely explored, when the due relations to each other of the two great spheres of thought and consciousness will be more clearly discerned; and though they must ever remain distinct, as belonging to opposite sides of the mind—the fields of its outward and its inward perception—a certain agreement will be seen to subsist between them, as only different outlets to a fuller comprehension of this harmonious universe. Meanwhile it may not be uninstructive to observe, how philosophy and religion up to this time have modified each other's views.

It cannot, we think, be questioned that the strong impulse given to the inductive method of philosophizing by Bacon, had a decided effect on the theories of divines. The Aristotelian maxim, which lies at the basis of the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke, *nihil esse in intellectu, quod non prius in sensu*, was applied to Christianity. That peculiar branch of inquiry cultivated in the later theological schools under the title of the Evidences, clearly originated in the demand created by this new direction of thought. The inward witness of the Spirit to the truth of Scripture, so distinctly asserted in the oldest formularies of Protestantism, as the final, all-sufficient assurance of a divine origin and authority, no longer met the wants of a more intellectual age; and its place was attempted to be supplied by arguments *ab extra* which undertook to demonstrate by logical inference from historical facts the unanswerable truth of the religion. It was an effort to transfer the ultimate test from the spiritual to the scientific sense. This shifting of the bases of Christian belief, so far as we have observed, becomes prominent in our own history for the first time in Chillingworth. The necessities of his position naturally drove him

to it, attacked as he was by the sophistries of the Jesuits on one side and the pretensions of a fanatical Puritanism on the other. Divines of the learned and rational school followed in his steps; even Baxter, if we mistake not, in the closing years of his life; certainly Locke and Clarke, Lardner and Warburton, Hartley and Law and Priestley. The tendency culminated and exhausted itself in Paley. We do not believe that the Evidences of Christianity, as handled by him and his predecessors, will ever take again the same high place among the *disciplinæ* of a theological course. The peculiar cast of modern thought, at once more rigidly scientific and more deeply spiritual, forbids it. Just dislike of the intolerance and dogmatism of the more enthusiastic sects, who mistook their own wild feelings and gratuitous fancies for illapses of the Holy Spirit, naturally disposed thoughtful and sober men of the last and preceding century, in the absence of any thorough analysis of the laws of primary belief, to accept this outward and historical conception of Christianity, dry and meagre as they must often have felt it was, as the only alternative open to them. The old argument from the witness within, discredited alike by the folly of those who abused it and the philosophic pride of others who did not perceive its real significance, found its only refuge in the refined mysticism of Barclay and Penn, and a few of the more spiritual latitudinarians, Cudworth and Smith and More. Side by side with this rationalistic divinity, which took its stand on outward evidence and aimed at a scientific demonstration of spiritual truth, there ran a parallel line of philosophical development which originated in the anti-scholasticism of Bacon and Hobbes and Locke, and has worked out its extreme results consequentially in the writings of the two Mills. Throughout this retrospect of two hundred years, it is impossible to overlook a certain sympathy and interchange of thought between these two lines of theological and philosophical development, more strongly marked at some periods than at others, which had perhaps reached its height at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century.

If we turn to the Continent, we notice a similar agreement of speculative tendency between divines and philosophers, especially in the universities of Germany, but with no more favourable issue to religion. The course of thought,

however, was almost the reverse of that which has been followed in England. Philosophers of the English school, most of whom were at the same time theologians, regarded the human mind, with Locke, as at first a mere *tabula rasa*, on which all the materials of future thought were deposited by the impressions of sense; and in the consequential working out of their premisses they left themselves at last nothing but the simple law of association for an explanation of the diversified and complicated mass of mental phenomena. On this system, the final verification of every belief had to be sought in an appeal to some impression ultimately derivable from the outward sense. Here—through the outward sense—was the only world of reality accessible to man with his present faculties. For association, the sole inward law recognized by this school, was itself a product of the outward world not less than the materials which it combined and classified, owing its existence entirely to the frequency and the force of repeated impressions. It was an inevitable consequence of this view of the human mind, that those who still retained a belief in divine revelation, should insist on miracle addressing the outward sense as evidence of its reality. As English philosophy proceeded from *without*, and built up a world of mind so far only as materials were furnished by the world of sense; so the German schools took their point of departure from *within*—from the mind itself—and tried to discover in its fundamental laws the true theory of the external universe. But they too, like the divines and philosophers who followed in the train of Locke, desired to construct a religious philosophy on a scientific basis, and admitted nothing into their system which could not be scientifically proved. They aimed at scientific completeness and self-consistency, and could not therefore legitimately bring within their scope those dim apprehensions and partial intuitions of entities transcending the limits of clearly defined phenomena, which cannot be adequately embraced by the human intellect and are irreducible within the formularies of its logic. It is possible for science to group the phenomena and state the laws both of the mental and of the physical worlds with such fullness and precision, as to yield us, with the perfection of its own processes and the completion of its own results, an ever-deepening insight into the constitution of the actual Kosmos, and an ever-en-

larging power of predicting consequences from antecedents: —but beyond the reach of all science, coming to us at times irresistibly, we know not how or why, we have an apprehension of realities which we cannot comprehend—the sense of a truth which we feel distinctly in its relation to ourselves, though we are utterly incompetent to grasp and fathom it in the breadth and depth of its infinity. We do not say that this spiritual sense and apprehension should be excluded from the regards of philosophy taken in its widest acceptation. To determine its relation to the positive results of science seems to us the very highest of philosophical aims. But from the element of the infinite involved in it, it cannot be brought within the same categories of thought as phenomena which, being finite, are the proper objects of science. It must have a chapter to itself. Kant, who began the series of philosophical developments in Germany, could find no place in his analysis of pure reason for the great trusts of a living God and an individual immortality, and left them to rest on the importunate demands of the practical reason. Hegel, who worked out the last term of the series, translated the whole Kosmos inward and outward into a system of impersonal logic, developing itself through an inherent law from age to age, to the exclusion in any intelligible sense both of God and of immortality. In fact, both these philosophies—the English originating with Locke and the German commenced by Kant—strictly understood, agree in this, that they confine their respective systems to the *phenomenal* and what is logically inferrible from it, the former starting from the *sensuous*, the latter from the *intellectual*, limit.

This is an unsatisfactory state of things. No religious mind can acquiesce in the present relation of theology to science and philosophy. A growing conviction of the insufficiency of the philosophy of Locke, especially in its latest exposition by Hartley and Priestley, to solve some of the deepest problems of Christianity and the soul, has induced the present generation of thinkers in the Unitarian body, with few exceptions, to exchange it for the more spiritual psychology of Dr. Channing, as affording a superior vantage-ground for the encounter of the formidable critical questions which are looming on them through no distant future. The philosophy that was in high vogue among the Germans

scarcely more than a quarter of a century ago, has now, we believe, been all but universally abandoned by practical theologians. More than one German pastor has assured us that, although he was devoted to the Hegelian philosophy in his student years, he gave it up on his first contact with the realities of life, as wholly inadequate to the religious wants of the human soul. The proved defectiveness of the result excites inevitable suspicion of the premisses; and we are, therefore, driven to inquire whether there must not be something in our original constitution, transcending sense and anterior to logic, in which beliefs inseparable from the human soul, and indispensable to the working of human society, have a natural root and valid persistency. Is there no philosophy which accepts this fact, and bases theory on its assumption?

Without reverting to the speculations of antiquity, in which Hemsterhuis declared he had found all our modern systems anticipated,—it is sufficient for our present purpose to notice some writers of our own day, who recognize certain primary beliefs as lying at the root and supplying the vital laws of human thought. They belong chiefly to the Scottish and French schools—Reid, the Père Buffier, Jouffroy, Sir William Hamilton and Cousin. These distinguished men have directed attention to that side of our nature on which alone it is possible to look for the ultimate union of philosophy and religion. But they have rather opened than worked out this rich subject. Their views have been often charged with vagueness, as not clearly discriminating between the primary and the secondary, and accepting for simple states of mind what a deeper analysis would have shewn to be complex. Their writings abound in suggestive matter for future inquirers; but we are not aware that they have anywhere attempted to offer a systematic and exhaustive theory of primary beliefs. They have dug into a productive mine, and exhibited some of its contents, without venturing to describe and classify them, or distinguish them by a sure mark from other mental phenomena. We trust that this field of reflection and inquiry will not be abandoned by the philosophical schools which are yet to arise among us. We are drawn towards it, we confess, irresistibly, and quite as much by the demands of our religious nature as by any intellectual desire of philosophic

completeness. All the tendencies of modern speculation seem to be converging in this direction, and carrying men's minds towards the quarter where the problems most deeply interesting to humanity will have finally to be solved. The breaking down of the historical supports of theology under the attacks of an invincible criticism, compels a resort to some inward ground of faith and hope. What is the nature of those impalpable forces which are everywhere at work behind the objects that strike the sense, and which seem to have a mysterious correlation under all the forms of phenomenal existence, is a question which the physiologist finds daily obtruded on him, and which brings him close on the confines of religious philosophy. Even Mr. J. S. Mill, by far the profoundest and most consequential of all the philosophers of the school of Locke, in relegating certain questions to the sphere of the transcendental, does not so much, if we rightly understand him, deny that there may be such a sphere not wholly closed to the thought of man, as assert that, in his particular instance, it lies beyond the proper range of inquiry. In whatever direction our researches extend, we at length reach a point where the mind itself must be interrogated for a final answer. Philosophy, we believe, must come down once more from its lofty abstractions and dive into the depths of a living, concrete humanity, to recover those instinctive tendencies and elementary beliefs which underlie our whole mental and moral being, pulsating with an unmistakable evidence through all history and religion and literature, and which science has proudly ignored because it could not disentangle them from their popular adjuncts and cast them into its own formulas.

Let it be understood, this is not to revive the exploded doctrine of innate ideas. The κοιναὶ ἔννοαι assumed to be stamped at birth on every human mind, which Locke so unanswerably disproved, were either abstract propositions which it is impossible an infant should comprehend, or else beliefs the presence of which presupposes conditions of external or internal experience which could not arise in the earliest years of life, and might remain undeveloped for an indefinite period from the failure of the needful stimulus to their existence. But the admission of all this does not throw us on the casualties of a mere association of ideas for the origin of our deepest and strongest beliefs. The ques-

tion why they arise is clearly not answered by indicating the circumstances which immediately call them forth and determine the particular form they may assume. There is a permanent matter involved in the accidental form. There must be a predisposing tendency in the inward law of the mind—the German *Anlage* expresses what we mean—corresponding to the outward stimulus, or the belief would not result. Strangeness of form and irregularity of working, however explicable by external influence, do not disprove the interior principle on which it acts, or hinder us from discerning what would be its true manifestation. Why must we argue in this instance alone, that the exception vacates instead of confirming the rule? Without light and moisture and warmth, the tree would not grow: but these influences do not explain the secret power of life which it derives from the primal germ, or account for the law which determines its peculiar growth; any more than the blight which strikes it, from their continued absence, or the contorted growth of its branches owing to some accidental obstruction, shews that it has no inward vitality nor any normal form of development. Indeed, it is by the comparison of a great variety of growths, all differing in some degree from each other, that we gradually rise to the conception of an ideal tree—of what a tree of that species in height and form and colour, in the spreading of the branches and the disposition of the masses of foliage, *ought* to be. In like manner, the circumstances which first evoke certain beliefs and sentiments in the mind of man, which are the historical conditions of their existence, and imprint them with their peculiar type—the belief, for instance, in a First Cause and an overruling Power, the sense of moral responsibility and final retribution, the delight in fitness and symmetry, and that passion for ornament which is universal in the rudest tribes—do not prove that the religious, moral and æsthetic sentiments have no deeper and more enduring cause than those circumstances; any more than the wild, fantastic way in which they often express themselves, is an evidence that there is no valid distinction of right or wrong in their development. The multiplicity of the forms implies the universality of the principle, and suggests through comparison the ideal of its true manifestation. When we take a comprehensive survey of human nature in various social states and at dif-

ferent periods of history, we observe that, with the awakening of its internal consciousness, certain beliefs invariably arise and take possession of it, which are quite independent for the strength and durability of their influence, of any susceptibility of scientific proof, but seem rather to grow out of the necessary working of its inherent organism, as wanted to give completeness and harmony to the exercise of its faculties and affections. It is to such beliefs that we think the attention of religious philosophers should be earnestly directed.

Mr. Lowndes has contributed valuable aid towards a theory of primary beliefs in the modest and thoughtful volume which we have placed at the head of the present article. He was drawn to this work by attempting in the first instance to systematize for his own satisfaction the scattered notices of Sir W. Hamilton's views which occur in various parts of his writings. In the prosecution of this task he found himself more at variance with his author than he had expected, more especially in reference to his celebrated theory of the Unconditioned. He abandoned, therefore, his original purpose of simply arranging another man's ideas, and resolved to try whether he could not give order and consistency to his own. The result was the present work, which possesses the somewhat rare merit and interest, amidst our superabundant book-making, of being the spontaneous effort of an earnest and reflective mind to elaborate the truth for itself. It is, as its title implies, essentially an analysis of the human consciousness—an attempt to discover the organic laws inherent in its primary constitution, which, instead of being the mere product of associated sensations and ideas, possess a life of their own, co-existent with sensation—a life which acts on sensations and transforms them, and converts them into the substance of belief and the materials of knowledge. He encounters, therefore, *in limine* the assertion of the extreme sensationalists, Hume and James Mill, that nothing is certain but sensation, and, with diminished force, its reflection in the memory; that man's life is only a continuous thread of perceptions outward and inward; and that to have a sensation or an idea and to know or be conscious that we have it, are not two things but one and the same thing. This is virtually to deny the existence of individual personality—

of anything real beyond the impressions of sense and their copies; and to cut off at once the possibility of all belief not founded on those impressions and logically deducible from them. On this theory, the whole realm of the infinite and invisible is closed to us for ever. To escape this desolate conclusion, which follows inevitably from sensationalist premisses, Mr. Lowndes passes in review the several contents and processes of the human mind, according to a tolerably exhaustive enumeration, and shews, we think decisively, that these reveal to us beliefs, which are perfectly distinct from anything resolvable into outward impressions, and can only originate in the mind itself. The ultimate appeal must of course lie in this case to a man's own experience. If two men report differently respecting it, there is an end of argument, as no common ground is left between them; and nothing remains but for one to point out to the other the boundless scepticism, amounting to *nihilism*, which results from his position. Our author has acutely shewn that the sensationalists argue in a circle (p. 5).

"The followers of Locke—at least, the most eminent amongst them—ignoring for the most part his profound doctrine concerning what he calls 'reflection,' attempted a task which he would never have ventured on, namely, to deduce all knowledge from experience of the outer world through the senses. This task, for a series of years, and by one writer following another, was worked at until with amazing ingenuity there were produced, as results from outward experience, counterparts, more or less resembling the originals, of some of the most difficult primary beliefs. All this looked very triumphant for the Sensationalists until these facsimiles were attacked, in a sceptical spirit, by Hume, who demonstrated the worthlessness of some of the most important among them, without suspecting, apparently, that they were anything else but the original foundations of human knowledge. Hume appears to have been so rooted a believer in the Sensationalist school, which in his day had long been the predominant if not the only living school of philosophy, as to have honestly held—that, in so far as the general belief does not resemble that scientific counterpart of it which had been framed for him by his teachers, the general belief must be erroneous, since it transcends experience, which is the only source of knowledge."

This is equivalent to asserting, that beliefs which go beyond experience *must* be rejected, *because* they go beyond

it. That this is no misrepresentation of Hume, is quite evident from a passage which Mr. Lowndes has quoted from his Treatise on Human Nature,* in which it is argued, "that if we pretend to have any just idea of causal efficacy, we must produce some instance wherein its operations are obvious to the consciousness or sensation, failing which we must acknowledge that the idea itself is impossible, since the principle of innate ideas, which can alone save us from this dilemma, has been already refuted."†

At the very foundation of our mental being, we are met by a belief, which, if we accept it at all, must be inherent and *à priori*—a belief in the distinction of the *self* and the *not-self*, the inward and the outward world, the *subject* of perceptions, and the *object* from which they proceed. Hume and James Mill, who admit no reality but a train of connected impressions and ideas, deny the validity of any such distinction, and refuse to acknowledge any substance lying behind phenomena, either sensible or mental. "The mind is a kind of theatre," says Mr. Hume, "where several perceptions successively make their appearance, pass, re-pass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different; whatever natural propension we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where those scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed."‡ That Mr. J. Mill entertains essentially the same view, will hardly, we think, be disputed by any one who considers what he has written in his chapters on Memory, Identity and Reflection.§ These philosophers repudiate such a belief because it is not founded on experience. Yet the mass of men, unfettered by theory, instinctively believe in the unity of their personal consciousness, and in a world of real existences without them. Their whole course of action is grounded on the assumption. The philosophers themselves, when philosophy is out of the question, uniformly speak and act as if the distinction were real

* I. 277. † P. 6. ‡ Human Nature, quoted by Lowndes, p. 132.
§ Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, ch. x. xiv. xv.

and the belief were true. The belief, then, is a fact; and as by the showing of the philosophers it is not warranted by experience nor logically inferrible from it, it must be primary and innate. The ascription of it to association of ideas simply accounts for the belief, without conceding its validity, and so bases the conviction which underlies our whole life of thought and action, on an unreality. Having once ascertained, that in what may be called the fundamental consciousness of mind, a belief is involved which comes wholly from within and is perfectly distinct from external impression or any reflection of it, we have at least disposed of the argument by which Hume was accustomed to get rid summarily of all primary beliefs,—that they were impossible because at variance with our mental constitution; and we are at liberty to inquire, whether there may not be other beliefs which have their origin in the interior working of the mind, and which possess the highest certainty though they cannot be proved. In the language of Anselm,* *Sæpe aliquid esse certi sumus, et tamen hoc ratione probare nescimus.*

We shall not follow Mr. Lowndes through his careful analysis of the consciousness, first into the two great divisions of cognitions and non-cognitions, including in the latter volitions and feelings, and then his further subdivision of the former into *percepts* (impressions through the senses representative of outward objects), internal *presentations* (felt to be an immediate act or state of the *self*), and *intelligential* or unpicturable notions; nor through his ingenious and in the main successful attempt to shew, that in each of these divisions of consciousness, processes are involved which are purely mental, and perfectly distinct from the matter transmitted through the sense on which they act. It is the less necessary to do this, as in the admission of the fact already established, that with the train of impressions and ideas which form the immediate subject of our life-long consciousness, there is instinctively conjoined a belief, on one hand, in a *subjective* unity, the *self*, the *I*,—and, on the other, in an *objective* reality, the *not-self*, the outer world—the fundamental law of mind is recognized, out of which all those particular applications of necessity flow, in which our author argues, that the reference of several

* *Cur Deus Homo.* ii. 13.

distinct percepts to one object *without* us, and of several distinct presentations to one self *within*, implies a belief which is original to the mind, and cannot be resolved into anything simpler than itself.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting in this connection a passage which exhibits to great advantage Mr. Lowndes's power of stating and illustrating a very abstruse subject.

"We might say, that a man's consciousness should be compared to that surface of coloured light which is made by the sunbeams impinging on the earth. The beams, we may suppose, travel through the spaces of æther in darkness; the earth without the beams is dark also; yet there is this quality about these two dark substances, that at every point at which they come into contact with each other, light is evolved; and thus, of the points at which these beams are variously broken, is made up the painted surface of the earth and of the heavens, the sole objects of human vision. In a somewhat similar way—if for the moment we assume without proof the real objective existence of a self and an external universe or not-self—it appears that these two dark and latent substances of nature's, which in their essence are wholly unknown to us, do somehow impinge upon one another, and at every point of contact the intellectual light of consciousness is evolved; and, as we live on, these points multiply and spread, until at last there gathers about us a long, many-coloured, various, conscious experience, a wealth of internal life, which in its aggregate makes up the sum of all we know, and think, and mentally perceive, and feel, just as the coloured surface of the sunlight makes up the whole of what our eyes see in the daytime."*

We further agree with Mr. Lowndes, in opposition to Sir W. Hamilton, that we can know things, and feel certain of them, and reason about them as indisputable realities, though we can form no image of them in our minds; in other words, to use his own terminology, that we are capable of unpicturable cognitions. No man can form an image of space or time; yet they are so far from being unrealities, that we cannot think of existence apart from them. They are forms of thought inherent in the mind, involving a belief beyond themselves. We have also a belief in things which have an indisputable reality in relation to us, and in that relation may be closer to us than all other realities, though beyond

* P. 36.

it they cannot be grasped; and when we attempt to embrace them as perfect cognitions, we are speedily arrested by unfathomable mystery. The thread of our thought in certain directions runs out into the Infinite, where it soon loses itself in darkness. Nevertheless, we hold it firmly and discern it clearly at the point from which it sets out; and this is precisely what we might expect in a being capable of religion—capable of a belief which has its roots in the deepest intuitions of consciousness, and yet carries in it a dim though sure presentiment of possibilities which our present faculties cannot bring within the range of knowledge. We hasten to a consideration of the most important of primary beliefs—that of causation.

On this subject, two questions, a physical and a metaphysical one, have been strangely confounded, as if they were the same. All that the natural philosopher wishes to discover, is a law of invariable succession or co-existence, so that from antecedents he may predict consequents, and from the apparent infer the non-apparent. When two events take place in immediate sequence, he concludes, till corrected by experience, that on the appearance of the one, the other will certainly ensue. He finds, in point of fact, that throughout nature the same circumstances are always followed by the same effects; so that should any change become perceptible in the latter, he is at once convinced that there must be some corresponding change, though not yet discerned, in the former. This furnishes his idea of causation. It meets his intellectual demand. He has no occasion to go beyond it. But this idea, it is obvious, does not transcend the limits of phenomena, and is confined to their relations among themselves. Reasoning from his own premisses, Mr. J. S. Mill appears to us consistent with himself, and Mr. Lowndes, we think, has hardly done him justice.* In reply to Dr. Reid's objection, that the invariable sequence of day and night does not prove one to be the cause of the other, Mr. Mill argues that by sequence in this sense he means something more than simple juxtaposition, and has in view the reduction of a number of connected effects to some ultimate fact which uniformly precedes them all. Day and night, for instance, are not related to each other as cause and effect, but are perceived to be joint effects

* P. 208, et seq.

of a common cause—the revolution of the earth on its axis in its annual circuit round the sun; and this is a general fact lying at the foundation of the present constitution of things, beyond which with our actual knowledge we cannot go without transcending the limits of the phenomenal. Constant antecedents are regarded as causes till they are resolved by minuter investigation into something simpler and broader, which embraces themselves and their own consequents in a system of connected effects. This tendency in the human mind to look for invariable antecedence—in other words, this belief in the uniformity of causation—Mr. Mill ascribes to the repeated action of the association of ideas. He is quite justified, therefore, by his own theory in contending, that the grounds of our reliance on the perpetuity of the existing order of the universe, must be limited by the range of our actual experience; that, if the present Kosmos were destroyed, there is no reason in the nature of things why we should expect the same order in a new universe to be restored; any more than we can shew cause why, in realms of space beyond the reach of our observation, events may not have an entirely different sequence from that with which we are familiar here. Our belief is wholly empirical. It excludes moral considerations altogether. The natural philosopher, as such, has only these premisses to reason from, and cannot logically arrive at any other conclusion.

This is the physical view of causation. But does this view satisfy the mind? Does it exhaust the idea which we associate with the word *cause?* Let us suppose, that we had penetrated to the ultimate facts which limit the actual Kosmos, and could deduce from them in orderly succession the whole series of effects of which they are the uniform antecedents,—so that the entire phenomenal system was revealed in perfect distinctness to the scientific eye. Could our inquiry stop here? Should we not be compelled by a mental necessity to ask, *how* and *why* the system originated; *how* and *why* the phenomena embraced in it succeeded one another, and were arranged in their actual order and no other? This would lead us to the supposition of originating and underlying force as the true *cause* of what exists. Of such a force we have no experience but what is furnished by our own mind in the exercise of thought and volition; and we agree, therefore, with Mr. Lowndes and the great philosophers whom he follows, Dr. Reid and Sir W. Hamilton, that the true idea

of causation is *mental*, and that the physical conception of it as mere antecedence, without the addition of this mental element, is wholly inadequate. This brings us back again to the region of metaphysics, and revives the question whether our belief in an ultimate mental cause may not be in the number of those primary beliefs which have been repudiated only because they could not be physically proved.

Now let us revert for a moment to what we have already shewn to be the fundamental conviction of the human mind —belief in a conscious self on one hand, and in a world external to it on the other. From this primary conviction another, not less inherent in us, immediately results. There is nothing of which we are more certain than our own consciousness, thought and volition. It is the nearest of all realities. We can conceive an end, and can originate a series of acts in reference to it, which produce a perceptible change in the relations of things without us. We can act by our wills on the external world. This is a living force of which we have experience. It is a fact which we know. But in that outer world, our cognition of which depends on a primary belief, we find that this living force which we exert through our wills, is opposed by another force which confines it within certain limits, and not only through the counter-agency of beings like ourselves, but with a resistless ascendancy everywhere to which we and they are equally subjected; and this all-pervading force, we observe, does not act blindly and at random, but works according to a plan, the several parts of which correspond to each other, and combine in a general result of order and symmetry akin to that which we are constantly attempting to realize within our own limited range of influence on external things. In the natural man, who is not withheld from obeying his mental instincts by laws of thought artificially imposed, the belief is spontaneous and immediate, that the source of the mysterious power which controls his own efforts on all sides must be Mind. He interprets it from his own consciousness. Will, and the force which issues from it to originate change, he knows by experience; and these he transfers at once by an irresistible conviction to that which he does not know, but is nevertheless obliged to believe.

The history of religion confirms this view of the origin

of religious belief. Rude nations have ever made the gods in their own image. This is the reason of the anthropomorphism which so deeply tinges the early faiths of the world, including that of the Hebrews; and which, offensive as it may often be to our refined spiritualism, rests at bottom on a great truth, the essential affinity of the human and the divine. Mankind have attributed to their deities the qualities held most in honour among themselves, and marking their stage in the scale of social advancement—strength, valour, attachment to their own people and hatred of their enemies, a rude justice, and a retribution which never lets the guilty escape; and these conceptions of God, arrested at a certain point by the teaching and institutions of some powerful mind, have often mischievously transmitted themselves in the popular usage and phraseology to periods in which the general culture and intelligence were capable of higher views. Moral qualities are the last which blend themselves with religious belief as the distinguishing characteristic of the Divine Being; and this is quite in accordance with the gradual development of human nature. As the religious idea expands and grows, all the workings of the mind find expression in it, the evil as well as the good. In some religions, as in that of Zoroaster, the sharp antagonism of good and evil has given rise to the belief in two co-equal powers dividing the universe between them. But even in polytheism, not less than in this more refined dualism, there is ever latent a feeling of sovereign unity, which acquires strength with the strengthening of moral perception in man, and results in the final conviction that there can be but one supremacy in the entire system of things, and that evil in some way or other must be subserving the purposes of omnipotent goodness.

There is one primary belief to which Mr. Lowndes, though he has noticed it towards the end of his work, has not, we think, devoted all the attention that it deserves; though it is needed to bring out the full force of the religious argument founded on our instinctive belief in living will as the real causative force; and that is our sense of moral obligation, the obscure but all-powerful feeling expressed by the word *ought*. We do not mean to assert, that man is born with a sense of moral distinctions, but only that as soon as he begins, with the awakening of his faculties, to discern

them, they are at once associated with a peculiar *feeling* which results from the original constitution of the mind. The moral sense seems to us a modification of a more general one, conditioned by the element of will. With every perception of fitness, propriety, completeness, in and for itself, quite independent of any association with personal benefit to the percipient, a pleasurable feeling is naturally conjoined. When any object fully accomplishes the purpose for which it is seen to exist, whether it be a tree, a flowering shrub or an animal—when we observe in it that full development of parts and exertion of powers, the colour, the shape, the action, which enter into our conception of the perfection of its class—the mind experiences a *disinterested* satisfaction and delight in contemplating it; and, on the other hand, a proportionate dissatisfaction and disgust when, through blighted growth or imperfect development, it fails to realize our idea of what it ought to be. A similar pleasure is produced by the examination of any work of art—a machine, for instance—when on learning the end for which it was constructed, we perceive that it fully accomplishes that end by the simplest and directest means; that there is nothing cumbrous or circuitous in its contrivance; that all its parts are directly related to the end, and tend to bring about a perfect result. The sense of completeness is in itself a source of the most pleasurable feeling. We must be careful to distinguish here the mental process by which we discover and appreciate appropriateness to an end, from the feeling of satisfaction which accompanies the perception itself. The former is complex, involving the exercise of various faculties; the latter seems to us simple and innate, manifesting itself through an inward law of the mind, as soon as the occasions for exciting it arise. The demonstration of a theorem in Euclid is a purely intellectual act; but the feeling of refined delight which thrills through the mind on reviewing the precision and completeness of the process, is something quite distinct, which, as it cannot be resolved into association of ideas, we are justified in considering as native to the mind, as a *primary* feeling. We have sometimes thought there were incipient traces of this primary feeling in the rude symmetry of the lines, often elaborately expressed, with which savage tribes love to decorate their weapons, their habitations and their persons.

In one direction this feeling spreads through the realm of art, giving rise to successive developments of the *beautiful;* in the other, into the higher region of the *moral,* conditioned, as we have said, by the introduction of a new element—the will. Art terminates in itself. It merely represents the fitting and appropriate. Its object is accomplished when it has produced the effect of admiration and delight in the beholder. But it is otherwise with moral acts. As man's social relations multiply, and as he gradually acquires through them a perception of the end for which he exists, he discerns that certain actions and certain states of mind have a fitness and appropriateness to certain circumstances—that they correspond to those circumstances, and are necessary to bring out of them some result which is thus announced to the mind as right. But the mind does not rest here, as in art, with the simple contemplation of the mutual fitness and correspondency of different objects which it brings into one view, but feels, through the consciousness of voluntary power, that it must itself contribute to produce the correspondency and complete the relation; that the element necessary to make the situation what it should be must be furnished by itself. From this feeling, attaching at once by the constitution of the mind to the perceived proprieties of the case, there results that sense of *voluntary obligation* (if such an ὀξύμωρον may be pardoned) which the mind recognizes as something anterior to its own action—a sense of authority above itself—that categorical imperative on which Kant has so emphatically insisted. The relations by which the earliest feeling of moral obligation is suggested, are of the simplest kind—the claim of wife and child for protection and support, the fulfilment of a promise or the restoration of a pledge to a neighbour, the exertion of courage and the practice of self-denial in the attainment of these and other ends. Within these rudimental relations but a slight exercise of the reasoning faculty is required to discern what is suitable to them. Primitive morality is confined within the narrow limits of the family and the tribe, and does not recognize, because it does not feel, any obligation beyond them. With the extension of intercourse and the acquisition of wider views, men embrace a larger range of proprieties, and lower obligations are superseded or qualified by higher ones; and, in this view, mora-

lity, as dependent on the use of reason and the results of experience, is not only a progressive idea, but often takes a peculiar form from the accidents of history, the necessities of a social position, or the overpowering influence of some great formative mind, like a Buddha or a Confucius. On the whole, however, with the normal development of humanity in those nations which have taken the lead in civilization, certain grand and permanent relations of man to himself and his fellow-beings, arising inevitably under all conceivable conditions of human existence, have given rise to a corresponding classification of moral obligations by which the moral nomenclature of society has been regulated. There is not a civilized people on earth which does not understand what is meant by justice, veracity, honour, faith, purity, gratitude, &c., and which does not admit, that when the circumstances creating the relation are complete, the obligation to act in accordance with it is complete also. It may sometimes be a question, whether a particular act comes within the requirements of honour, veracity and good faith; but that honour, veracity and good faith are in themselves obligatory, no one doubts. It is not our present business to go into the general theory of morals; we only wish to remark, in connection with the subject immediately before us, that while the relations to which the mind discerns the appropriateness of voluntary acts, are discussed by reason and subject to endless increase and variation, and are still undergoing a progressive development, the *feeling* which associates the idea of *right*, of *obligation*, with those acts, because they are believed to be appropriate to the relations under which they are performed,—is ever the same, original and innate in the human mind, the eternal and immutable sanction of morality, the voice of God within the soul.

If, then, starting from the fundamental primary belief in a distinction between the self or individual I and the not-self, we further find that two other primary beliefs are associated with this distinction,—on the one hand, that of living will, as the causal force of the phenomena revealed to us by the not-self,—and, on the other, the sense of moral obligation imposed on the self by an authority emanating from the Power which has made the self what it is,—we have discovered a solid basis for the trusts and consolations of religion in the nature of man, which renders their final

authority independent of the uncertainties of historical criticism, and yet admits of their progressive development under the action of great religious minds, whose traditional influence constitutes historical revelation. The growth of the moral sense in men—every step in advance towards a higher standard of purity, justice, disinterestedness and expansive benevolence—involves a corresponding growth of insight into the nature of God. The nearer we approach in our personal efforts and aspirations to the Divine, the better we understand it, and the deeper is our ground of religious trust. If man, by an instinctive transference of ideas, interprets the orderly working and harmonious arrangements of the external world from the only analogy within his experience—that of his own voluntary action (and such a transference, unless we open the door to a boundless scepticism, we have already shewn to be a valid ground of belief)—he attributes by that same act of transference, to the mysterious mental energy which embraces and controls his own, the highest qualities which he is himself conscious of possessing, not only wisdom and creative power, but justice and truth and love. These moral qualities, as his inner nature expands, reveal themselves to him as the highest of all, for they guide and direct the rest. They are what he most reveres in himself, as they are the only ground of his trust in others. Without their supreme authority, he observes that the largest faculty and the mightiest intellect continually go wrong,—like wild, disturbing forces which scatter ruin along their erratic course. What is best in his own nature, he cannot suppose absent from the Higher Nature in which his own has its source and being. On reflection he perceives that a moral law is an essential condition of spiritual action, an inward necessity resulting from its very freedom and spontaneity, apart from which it must be self-destructive. When intelligent beings have been called into existence by the Sovereign Mind, and the laws of their nature impel them to a certain course of action, faith must be observed towards them by their Creator and Governor, or universal disorder would ensue. In other words, a moral nature in man implies a moral nature in God. A creation which did not keep its word, raising expectations which it did not on the whole fulfil, and exciting strong impulses without the provision

of any punitive coercion to restrain their exorbitancy—a creation which, in its influence on the minds embraced within it, was unveracious, unjust and unholy—must issue, not in a kosmos, but a chaos. What we anticipate *à priori* from the nature of mind, is confirmed to a large extent by actual experience. The general aim of creation is clearly benevolent. With all its disappointments and sorrows, "it is," to use the language of Paley, "a happy world after all." The uniformity of causation is so unbroken, that prudent and thoughtful men have always reliable data for calculating the results of the future; the course of events is so ordered, that moral qualities in the long run maintain their value in the world; and simplicity of purpose and uprightness of aim, when sustained by persevering endeavour, always command respect and confidence, and effect at last the kind and degree of good which it was their function to introduce into the world. The reality, indeed, falls sufficiently short of the ideal, to call for faith, but not to justify despair.

When we approach God, we approach that which in its entirety is incomprehensible and unsearchable. But it does not, therefore, become an unreality to us—not even, to use a phrase of Sir W. Hamilton's coinage, absolutely unthinkable. We apprehend distinctly the relation of such a nature to our own, though we cannot take in more than that relation. We are unable, indeed, to conceive how we could ourselves exist without a Divine Power above us. We grasp the relation under which we realize it, through convictions which lie closer to us than all others—our belief in causal force and our sense of moral obligation. Owing to the element of infinity which enters into all our conceptions of God, we cannot pursue very far the spiritual relation which unites us with Him. Nevertheless, we feel that our sense of that relation has a living root in the depths of our consciousness; and when we go up from that root into the vaster conception of the Divine infinity, the direction impressed upon our thought by the primal conviction from which we set out, takes us into a region where God becomes incomprehensible, not from changing his relation to us and passing into an unmoral and impersonal force, but from the qualities which we cannot disjoin from any belief in his existence—his wisdom, his justice, his holiness, his love, transcending in their illimitable exercise the capacity of our

finite minds to embrace them. We grow into the knowledge of God with the growth of our own moral nature; but that growth springs out of a belief among the rudiments of our being, which, so far as we can trace it, seems given, not acquired, and which we therefore regard as God's earliest revelation of Himself. In the language of Paul, "He has never left himself without witness." This mode of access to the knowledge of God affords the surest ground for faith. So long as our inference respecting his character and ways is altogether *à posteriori*, we must be limited in our conclusions by the facts which outward experience and observation furnish as our only data. When we profess to derive all our knowledge of God from external phenomena, it is a *petitio principii* to attempt to supply what is lacking in their evidence towards a satisfactory theory of the universe, by a reference to his unknown wisdom and goodness. By the supposition, we can know nothing of God and his purposes but what is suggested to us by the order of nature and the course of events; and if these are defective in their testimony, we have no choice but to acquiesce in a defective conclusion. But when from a law of our mental constitution, resting at bottom on a primary belief, we are impelled to regard God as a moral Being; when we find in our own moral sense, as it becomes clearer and more authoritative, a medium of increasing insight into the mysteries of the Divine working; when, finally, we have arrived at the persuasion that we are unable to comprehend God, not because he is estranged from what is best and noblest in ourselves, but because he possesses it in a perfection which we cannot appreciate, and exercises it with a wisdom which we cannot trace:—then we may justly have a faith, deep and immutable, where we can no longer understand or see; then we may reasonably conclude, that what most confounds and perplexes us, is an inevitable result of the infinity of the system in which it is embraced, and must have its all-sufficient reason in the Infinite Wisdom and Love; then is there no presumption in the belief, that the craving for more light and fuller satisfaction and closer communion with God, which the best minds most strongly experience, are the significant forecastings of our future destiny—mystic announcements of the yet unknown, which will become more distinct with our spiritual capacity to decipher them. Such views put our inward and spiritual before our outward

and sensuous nature, and make the true life of man a life with God. We interpret his nature, and the world which He has made, through the moral light which He has infused into us. The more truly we live to Him, the clearer our spiritual vision becomes. We have now a *moral* ground for trust in the perpetuity of the order and harmony of the universe, and in the universality of an all-pervading law of truth and love, which save us from the desolate empiricism of Mr. J. S. Mill. The *moral* aim, so far at least as man is concerned, appears to us now the highest aim in creation. With reference to that aim, the present life has all the look of a state of preparation:—and as, on the one hand, we cannot reconcile it with our ideas of the highest justice and wisdom, that the spiritual fruits of a character trained for virtue through long years of varied trial and discipline should finally perish—that there should be no result from such a process; so, on the other, when we consider the evanescent difference between the best and the worst of men in view of an endless progress, and reflect that time and space impose no limiting conditions on the Divine agency, we may find reason to hope, that even for those who have wandered farthest from the apparent end of their being, this life may be only the first stage in a course of rudimental training which will issue in their final conversion to God.

The witness of great prophetic minds affords large confirmation to these elevating and consolatory views. On what does the authority of that witness rest? The primary beliefs in which religion has its source, have been wrought into the original texture of our minds, as we have endeavoured to shew, by the hand of the Creator; and the Spirit which at first infused, can nourish and strengthen those faiths, and cause them to shine out with new force and clearness. The religious philosophy on which the whole of the foregoing reasoning is based, assumes the fact of intercourse and sympathy between the Divine and human mind. If God be a living Spirit, a living influence must go forth from Him to sustain the convictions by which men realize his presence, and which form the secret bond between his nature and their own. When He is earnestly sought in prayer, the testimony of the devoutest souls assures us, that He responds in a felt access of moral strength and inward

peace. Men draw closer to Him and acquire an experimental knowledge of his spiritual dealings with them, when they subjugate their self-love to his will, and strive to express the moral ideal with which He inspires them. Spiritual insight comes to them with the growth of spiritual experience. What a devout and holy man says on a spiritual subject, carries a weight with it, which cannot be countervailed by the smartest objections of an intellect that has drawn all its materials from another experience; for "he speaks what he knows, and testifies what he has seen." There is a hidden life in his words, which penetrates into minds imbued with kindred sympathies, and awakens into more vivid consciousness the beliefs that were slumbering there. Nothing is more wonderful than the quickening power of spiritual sympathy. Men believe with new fervour under its influence, because it stirs up what is deepest in themselves; and though they never felt or saw the truth so clearly before, yet they are sure it *is* truth, because it carries its inward witness along with it, and points in the direction where they are conscious that all which is best and noblest in them lies.

God raises up from time to time great religious souls, in which his Spirit more abundantly dwells, and a profounder sense of his moral relation to mankind exists, than in other minds. Such souls, by their teaching and acting, impart a new life to the world, which spreads by sympathy, and is tested as divine by the secret witness of the conscience within. Men now behold what would else have been hidden from them, but, once revealed, can never be eclipsed again; because their mind is henceforth put in the true attitude towards God, and they have access through a rightly directed faith, and by the aid of fervent prayer, to some portion of that Spirit, the fullness of which pouring out through a prophetic soul on the world, introduced the religious order of things which makes them in spiritual privilege and capacity what they are. In this light we must look on Jesus of Nazareth, the greatest of all prophets, the inaugurator of the present religious life of the world. By deepening and invigorating the primitive trusts through which we realize our relation to a living God, his work was begun and is still carried on; and it is by an appeal to them in the last resort, that we test

the truth of every doctrine associated with his name, and satisfy ourselves that his mission was divine. In one so loving and holy, whose whole life was an habitual communion with God, we feel that every word which he uttered on the character and purpose of the Heavenly Father and on the future destiny of man, though it takes us further into the unseen world than we could have gone by ourselves, possesses, nevertheless, from his own position towards God, and the prompt response to it in us, the most decisive character of spiritual truth. Whatever historical character may be alleged for miracles, they could only have served to draw attention, or at most to set an outward seal on that which, to be admitted as truth, must be finally confirmed by the witness within. Christ's lasting impression on the world is proof conclusive of the high function which Providence had summoned him to perform in the spiritual development of humanity. Through the long centuries which have elapsed since his transient appearance on earth, men have believed in him, because they found his doctrine met the deepest wants of their souls; because his spirit came to them in their prayers; and his message of mercy and forgiveness consoled the sorrowing and assured the contrite. Had there not been a latent Christianity in all men's hearts, he would have preached and suffered in vain. There is an inward revelation of God in the primitive beliefs of the human mind; and there is a revelation historically transmitted to us from without, in the brighter and deeper intuitions of gifted spirits: but were not these two revelations essentially one, differing only in their degrees of clearness and distinctness, and were not both ultimately reducible to the same unerring test of their truth and divine authority—the one would not strengthen but obliterate the other, and we should have no sure witness that God had ever spoken to mankind.

Mr. Lowndes has made some very thoughtful and impressive applications of his theory of primary beliefs to the religious needs of our nature, in the concluding chapters of his book. He has hardly, in our opinion, done full justice to his own principles. Great modesty, a sensitive scrupulousness about pressing inferences too far, and perhaps a constitutional deference to established authority, have prevented him, we think, from drawing out in all their strength

and fullness the conclusions involved in his premisses. There are spiritual riches in his theory which he has left almost untouched—*magnas inter opes inops.* Seeing God, as we conceive we do, through the light of our moral consciousness, and only through its increasing clearness obtaining deeper insight into his nature, we are unable to discern any reason for Mr. Lowndes's assertion,* that "the relation between man and his Maker is not only wholly unlike, but in some important respects diametrically opposite to, every relation of which we have experience in transactions between man and man:"—a statement which seems to imply, that a different moral standard is applicable to divine and human things. Such an admission would, in our judgment, strike at the root of that sympathy between God and man on which all religion and all worship ultimately rest. The inevitable consequence is recourse to a supposed transaction—which is beyond the reach of inward verification, and can only be brought home to us as a fact by an accumulation of historical probabilities,—"the exhibition, namely, of that mysterious act of divine love by which the Son of God, in some transcendent sense one with the Creator, became man, lived among us, and died to redeem us."† For ourselves, we do not feel the necessity or perceive the spiritual benefit of so stupendous an interposition. Once convinced that God is the Father of our spirits, possessed in perfection of all moral excellence, and that Christ in the loving purity of his own life reveals Him with the utmost clearness to our spiritual sense, we accept without distrust the declaration, that there is a remission of sin to the sincerely penitent, and free access to communion with the Father for every humble, earnest and contrite heart. Christ's words and the spirit which breathes in them, are to us the words of the Father, and carry conviction at once to the soul. It is the inward realization which gives them their power. Without this they are worth nothing to us. The outward fact of the Incarnation, were it ever so demonstrably true, could produce no spiritual effect, excepting so far as it satisfied our moral sense of the essentially just and true; it must still seek its final verification within. It leaves the external consequences of sinful acts as they were before; it cannot turn aside, in this world at least, "the unbroken stream of moral retribu-

* P. 260. † P. 265.

tion." The witness of our reconciliation with God is the inward peace which follows the fervent prayer of heartfelt penitence, and the inward spring of higher motive which accompanies an earnest self-consecration to God and a resolute effort to do his will: and these come from our profound sense, founded on our human experience and drawn from human analogies, of what must be our condition under the government of a just and merciful Father, and not from reference to any outward event, our belief in which must depend on testimony, and may be undermined by criticism. To give its due weight to any outward ground of assurance towards God, not verifiable by the spiritual witness within, we require an authority at once above history and the voice of the individual conscience, such as the Roman Catholic Church stamps on its system of dogmas. Logically, there seems to us no middle course between John Henry Newman's consequential recurrence to an absolute external authority in the Church, leaving to the individual believer no power of deciding on the naturally credible and incredible —and a final appeal to the voice of God, speaking more or less audibly in all men's souls, and confirmed by the clearer utterances of the great prophets of our race.

Before we conclude, we regret to be obliged to remark, that Mr. Lowndes has so far yielded to the fashionable *syncretism* of the day, as to employ some special pleading, not indeed in direct defence of the Athanasian Creed, for he regrets its continuance in our public formularies, but in the attempt to shew that a meaning, not wholly inconsistent with philosophy and religion, may be extracted out of it. Of course, ingenious men, familiar with the terminology of different schools, can extract any meaning they like out of any document whatever. But the question is, not what meaning they can get out of it, but what its author originally intended to put into it. We must earnestly protest against this theological juggling with words. It is a most unhealthy sign of the times. It tends to render the language reserved for the highest themes utterly meaningless, and to foster the too prevalent notion, that theology is a vain talk about nothing. It causes us real sorrow, that Mr. Lowndes should have closed with so weak and illogical a chapter his very able, well-written and most suggestive volume.

J. J. T.

III.—THE HOMES OF THE AGRICULTURAL POOR.

Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers. By Dr. H. J. Hunter. (Appendix, No. 6, in the 7th Report of Dr. Simon, Medical Officer of the Privy Council.) London. 1865.

Norfolk News, 1864 and 1865.

MEN "in the populous city pent" wander into the country, and return with pleasant remembrances of picturesque cottages, happy peasants and rosy-looking milkmaids. It seems to them as if it really were true, as Cowper says, that "God made the country, man the town;" and with sad regret that difficulties intervene, they wish they could end their days in the last romantic hamlet they visited, beneath some humble thatched roof, gazing through old-fashioned diamond panes at the setting sun, and inhaling the scent of honeysuckles twined round their porch. Did not George Herbert make quaint little Bemerton sacred ground while nature daily gave him fresh inspiration? Did not Burns,

"In glory and in joy,
Follow his plough upon the mountain-side,"

and there turn up that

"Wee, modest, crimson-tippéd flower"

of which he so sweetly sings? Did not Thomson love the country, and did it not nurse the genius of the Ettrick Shepherd, and of Bloomfield, the Farmer's Boy? Philosophers think that there is the appropriate soil to feed contemplation, and poets find there high and holy imaginings. It gives beauty to Tennyson's finished lines, and purity and sublimity to Wordsworth's poetic transcendentalism. Poetry and art together have thrown a witching glamour over a country life. It seems to be in communion with nature and unspoiled by sin. Peers and merchant princes may have their metropolitan palaces, but what are they to Mrs. Hemans' "Cottage Homes of England," which, she says,

"By thousands on our plains
Are smiling o'er the silvery brooks,
And round the hamlet fanes.

Through glowing orchards forth they peep,
Each from its nook of leaves,
And fearless there the lowly sleep,
As the bird beneath their eaves"?

In his turn, the artist transfers these "cottage homes" to canvas, with healthy though ragged children playing in front, the ducks leading their ducklings to the pond, and the hens clucking warning to chickens to keep away. The pictures are pretty and romantic; they are admired in town galleries; and lookers-on feel a sentimental satisfaction in thinking that poor people live in such picturesque abodes, with nature standing by in her holiday dress. Few imagine that the cottages so beautiful to look at must be wretched to live in, that the dirty pool must breed disease, the worn thatch let in the rain, and that those troops of children when they go to roost at night must be packed with father and mother into one little room, lying close as game in the home-wending sportsman's bag. An Irish mud hovel backed by the grand scenery of Connemara, a Highland shanty peeping out from the defile of Glencoe, are wonderful objects in a landscape, and an artist's breast may thrill with joy when he comes across them, but for all that they are not the best places for men and women to live and die, to marry and have children in.

The public mind is now familiarizing itself with the unpleasant fact, that picturesque-looking cottages are not always decent homes, and that the inhabitants of charmingly situated villages may be doomed to be the victims of filth and sin. Floods of light have recently been thrown on subjects concerning which formerly a happy ignorance prevailed, and society flattered itself that all was right because fancy was free to play as it pleased. However, this can be done no longer. The eyes of England are now opened to the truth, and nought remains but to make it a thing of the past, outgrown like the abuses of factory labour before the Ten-Hours' Bill. It appears that scattered over the country are hundreds of villages and thousands of cottages so small, so badly built and so over-crowded, that decency itself, as well as delicacy and refinement, are sheer impossibilities. Goldsmith's

"Sweet Auburn! loveliest village of the plain!"

is largely the child of the poet's imagination. We experience a certain romantic pleasure in reading of it, because its real wretchedness is half concealed by the thick growth of the flowers of fancy. Besides, it is a "deserted village." But it has many only too close resemblances in the England of to-day, with the additional evil that they are not "deserted," but densely populated, and English selfishness has thrown Irish neglect into the shade. Newspapers, the Social Science Associations, and Government Reports themselves, now tell us that

"A bold peasantry, their country's pride,"

are often, in merry England, worse housed than their masters' dogs and hunters. The old-fashioned phrase of "a happy fireside" has become comparatively obsolete, and an Englishman's house, if he be an agricultural labourer, is not his castle, but an abomination for which as yet the language has no name. The pretty "cottage homes" of Mrs. Hemans are there, such as they are. The so-called "close village" exhibits them, but the antipodes may be witnessed a couple of miles off. The show-place of a model village, like the Duke of Devonshire's Edensor close to Chatsworth, exhibits them too, but not far away are the dwellings of men which would furnish an indictment for cruelty to animals if used as stables and kennels. These are strong words, but they are too easily proved true. And at whose door are we to lay the blame? Surely at that of the territorial aristocracy, the people's self-constituted guardians. For within a stone's throw of many baronial halls are the crumbling habitations of those whose hard work makes the landlords' wealth. The wind plays riot through the shattered doors and window frames, the rain beats through the roof and stands in puddles on the floor, shared in common by pigs, poultry and children; and Nature, in the nests and lairs she provides, rebukes the broad-acred squires and lords who first grasp the land and then refuse a shelter to its cultivators.

The public attention has just been drawn to this subject by the publication of the Seventh Report of Dr. Simon, the Medical Officer of the Privy Council. The sixth document in the Appendix is a long "Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers," by Dr. Hunter. It is the most startling Government paper issued for many a year,

humbling to us as a nation, and loudly demanding active measures on the part of Parliament. It is the text-book of the present article, and every assertion, except two from the *Norfolk News*, is made on its authority.*

The national sanitary arrangements were so loose until a recent period, that little attention of any kind was bestowed on the houses of the people generally. Most living men remember the time when many necessary comforts of to-day were treated as superfluous refinements. Public opinion, however, has slowly won repeated victories, and we are not likely in our social life to go back to the old state of things. Erasmus, writing to his friend Dr. Francis, says Englishmen would greatly improve their homes if windows were always made to open, if refuse and offal were not cast into the highways, and if the rushes strewing the clay floors were not allowed to lie there as long as twenty years, and conceal fish-bones, cabbage-leaves, and other aliments of fever. If this criticism applied to the aristocracy, it is easy to guess what condition the populace would be in. Specimens, however, of very ancient cottages are scarce, and indeed of the homes of the poor in Roman, Saxon and Norman times, we know nothing, except that imagination cannot go too far in picturing their humbleness and wretched accommodation. The Fishouse at Meare, near Glastonbury, is supposed to be the only cottage in England which has a history of five centuries. Few go back even to the Tudor age. Famous cots, like Bunyan's at Elstow and Ann Hathaway's at Shottery, centuries old as they are, still run back but a short period in history. And if we once sink the religious and literary interest attaching to them, they are simply striking proofs of the miserable way in which even decent and pious but poor people were housed in the days of Elizabeth and Charles. It seems that the condition of the agricultural labourer grew worse for some time after the Reformation, and no doubt so did his home. Before the Wars of the Roses, the country was dotted over everywhere with small farms, and cottages without land are mainly innovations of the 16th century. A statute of Elizabeth complains of their increase, and orders that four acres of land shall be attached

* The debates on the Union Chargeability Bill and the special-pleading of Mr. Henley confirm rather than shake its authority. We rejoice that the Bill has now passed both Houses of Parliament.

to each cottage. Another prohibits the further destruction of twenty-acre farms. A penalty was also laid on any "owner or occupier" who permitted more than one family to occupy a cottage. Elizabeth sometimes bullied her Parliament, and loved to rule with a high hand, but laws like these contribute to prove her title to the name of "Good Queen Bess." In the 18th century, little was done in the way of building rural cottages or preserving those already in existence, and Crabbe's startling descriptions are stern condemnations. The "Village" and the "Parish Register" may be turned to for what here we have no space to delineate.

In manufacturing towns the increase of houses keeps pace with that of population, and rows of commodious cottages, tenanted by workers at the neighbouring factories, yield good interest to capitalists and mill-owners for their investments. But in agricultural districts the case is different, and strange to say, while the population in these districts has increased between 1851 and 1861, the number of houses has materially decreased. The statistics furnished by Dr. Hunter, and the graphic accounts of villages visited by him in every English county, are worthy the attention of every philanthropist and patriot. They would stamp the nation with shame had it not been ignorant of their existence, and were it not now, when they are revealed to it, applying the necessary remedies. In 821 parishes and townships, scattered through 40 counties, there were in 1851 as many as 69,225 houses inhabited by 305,567 persons, while in the same 821 parishes and townships in 1861 these houses had decreased to 66,109, while the inhabitants had increased to 322,064. Thus 16,497 more persons were driven to herd in 3118 less houses. These facts tell their own tale. In France, where the rural population has fallen off 1·18 per cent. during the last twenty-three years, the decrease of houses may be understood; but in England, where it has increased, the smaller number of houses is inexcusable. And the counties and neighbourhoods where this disproportion between houses and inhabitants is the most striking, are the more purely agricultural. There is certainly overcrowding in manufacturing towns, and still worse in the newly-built towns of the mining and iron districts; but, as a rule, overcrowding and agriculture go together. The South is worse

than the North, Buckinghamshire and Somersetshire worse than Lancashire and Yorkshire, the North-Riding worse than the West-Riding, and the agricultural districts of the West-Riding worse than the manufacturing districts. Nor yet can it be insinuated that the inquiry is an insufficient basis for such assertions. For besides the information given by relieving-officers, registrars, clergymen and others, Dr. Hunter personally examined 5375 houses and 8808 bedrooms. Here he beheld scenes of squalor and degradation hardly credible, eight, nine or ten people sleeping in a room, a brutal mingling of the sexes, an absence of ventilation and cleanliness, and generally what would be condemned as extravagant if found in a sensation novel. Nevertheless, all these things were in the year of grace 1864, not in Tipperary, but in England,—not in poor districts, but on the estates of squires, baronets, earls and dukes.

Villages are divided into close and open. The "close village" is nicely built; each cottage has a little garden with flowers and gooseberry bushes; the inhabitants are decent and comfortable; among them are a blacksmith, two or three gardeners, and the squire's out-door servants, together with a few other people, permanent hangers-on of the great house or connected with the land. In this village no new cottages are built, and no new settlers are permitted. Even a young man belonging to the old families, if he get married without leave, is at once ignominiously driven forth by the stern Malthusian proprietor. This is the sort of village which pedestrian tourists delight to discover, and which they compare with the smoky towns left behind; but in their simplicity they never imagine that the beauty is forced and artificial, and preserved only by the ruthless expulsion of the superfluous population. It is as if a mother should keep healthy children about her by turning out of doors or by killing off all the sickly ones. The close village has not even people enough to cultivate the land belonging to it; its labourers walk to their work many miles and from another parish. What is the secret of this? The law of settlement, and the fact that each parish is bound to support only its own poor. The agricultural labourer is proverbially badly off, and his employment is uncertain. So the landlords and farmers conspire to have as few as possible, and to take care that these are such as are not likely to become chargeable. As for the rest, they must find shelter where

they can, and they seek it in the "open village." The open village is a place where anybody lives who likes. Here the cottages are built in little rows, and they are mean and small. There are no gardens, and frightfully inadequate domestic conveniences. No member of the middle class lives near, and the vicar is often a poor man, the living having been early deprived of its tithes. It is the moral cesspool of the neighbourhood, and so bad in other respects, that the favoured few, such as the woodman, the shepherd or the carter, for whom accommodation is provided elsewhere, consider it a severe punishment to be sent back to live among their relations in the "open village." Lodgers are numerous, though registered lodging-houses are scarce. And the navvy, the brickmaker, and similar workmen who earn large wages, command the best accommodation, and thrust the poor hind into still straiter limits. At Lubenham, in Leicestershire, there is such crowding in private houses as would be prohibited by the police in common lodging-houses. The populousness of the open village is largely owing to its origin as the settlement of encroaching squatters on the waste. Long before the Enclosure Act, labourers enclosed a few yards from the road-side, the tent became a hut, and finally a house. The peasantry believed that any one who could build one of these "mushroom halls," as they are called, in a night, could claim it as his own. The mushroom hall is necessarily small, because, even when helped by his neighbours, the man could not do much, and it has only one story. When finished, it is left to its fate, and no further improvement is dreamt of. Whole rows of similar huts were long ago erected by parishes, and the poor allowed to live in them rent free. Through some shameful neglect, the parishes have now suffered many of these to slip out of their hands, and they are either claimed by the occupants or have been grasped and re-let by the unscrupulous. But, however it may be, they are among the worst specimens of cots, and yet it is estimated that half of the rural labourers live in them. When small freeholders build, their erections are of the same meagre sort, not because they want money, but because they cannot get land. If it be asked, Why does the labourer live in such dens? the answer is ready enough. No more mushroom halls can be built, the landlord will admit no new men into the "close" parishes of the estate, and no farmer of a neighbouring parish is likely to

tempt a man with children to disturb his parish settlement, for fear of throwing him on the common charges. "The man himself, although he knows he might find work thirty miles off on a railway or great public work at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, has no capital to start with, and has a vague fear of losing his settlement and being thrown among strangers in his old age."* Consequently the "open villages" remain, and the law of ratings and settlement tends to perpetuate them. A poor hind of Drayton Parslow, in Buckinghamshire, well understood its working. He went daily nearly four miles to his work at Water Eaton, where the owners have, in the teeth of an advancing population, succeeded in destroying about 20 per cent. of the houses. When asked if he could not find a cot near to his work, he said, "No; they know better than to take in a man with my large family." The authorities of Water Eaton have evidently taken seriously to heart a passage in Burns' Justice, 1754, where the destruction of cottages is humorously described as one of the duties of an overseer. That the census should report a decrease of population in some villages is perfectly natural, and it could not in fact be otherwise. But these are "close villages," where the population is forcibly kept down, or where the overseers hold the theory just mentioned. But Dr. Hunter, on whose authority unquestionable reliance may be placed, says, "In nine cases out of ten where the census reports a decrease of population, and adds a note that it is due to *emigration*, that word may be safely expunged, and *eviction* substituted, as being the first cause of the decrease."† Theodore Parker said, "Some theologians conceive God as rolling sin like a sweet morsel under his tongue," and particular cases follow which seem to shew that some people do the same with "open villages," overcrowding, filth and degradation.

"The Common Lodging-Houses' Act demands an area of 240 cubical feet for each sleeper; the army authorities say 500; model lodging-house builders, 550; while boards of health and prison inspectors want as much as 800, and hospitals are now often built with more than double this last high amount. Fully to appreciate these figures we may compare them with a very common (perhaps the commonest household establishment in England), a man and his wife,

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 126. † Ibid. p. 207.

with three children, sleeping in a room 10 feet by 12, and 6 feet 6 high. They have 780 feet among them, or 156 apiece." So speaks Dr. Hunter.* See a selection from his host of facts. One house in Beenham, Berkshire, "measures 14 feet 6 by 7 feet, the kitchen being 6 feet high. The bed-room had no window, no fire-place, no door nor hole, except that in the floor by which it was entered. The walls lean together, meeting a flat ceiling 5 feet 9 in. width, and 5 feet 7 high above the floor. There is no garden. A man lately lived here with two grown-up daughters and a growing son; father and boy slept on the bedstead, the girls on the floor. Each girl had a child while the family lived here."† In a row of parish houses at Steventon, five adults and a child slept in a bed-room measuring 13 feet by 6 feet 9, with a slanting roof. In each of three others slept four adults with three children. In ten bed-rooms were thirty-three adults and twenty-two children. At Tinker's End, Buckinghamshire, is a bed-room measuring 11 feet by 9, by 6 feet 5 inches at the highest point, in which slept four adults with five children, the whole having less than the allowance to a single convict. In one very little hut at Hinxton, though the bed-room was divided, there was but one window, and here slept nine people; in another, with an undivided bed-room, there slept eight, of whom two slept in the kitchen; in another, a woman slept with her father, her husband and her child, and her husband's brother. At Anthony, in Cornwall, are a row of 8 two-roomed wooden huts built for navvies. Their inhabitants were—

1. Eight	adults	with	1	child.	5. Eight	adults	with	2	children.
2. Six	„	„	4	children.	6. Five	„	„	6	„
3. Seven	„	„	6	„	7. Seven	„	„	0	„
4. Six	„	„	2	„	8. Nine	„	„	3	„

One woman lived in each house, all the lodgers were men, and all grown girls were transported. At Yetminster, Dorsetshire, in a one-bed-roomed house was a family of seven persons; and in another, a married pair, two adult daughters and six children. In Hartford, Huntingdonshire, lived a married pair, three adult sons, one adult girl and four children. In Salubrious Square (!), Tunbridge, Kent, is a block of eight wooden houses, the whole measuring 31 feet 3 by

* Report, p. 143. † Ibid. p. 154.

31 feet 3. In one of these lived a pair with two adult sons, two daughters and three young children, in addition to whom an occasional lodger was received; and the character of the population harmonized with that of the accommodation. "A young woman of nineteen (having fever) lay in a room occupied at night by her father and mother, her bastard child, two young men (her brothers), and her two sisters, each with a bastard child." At Lubenham, Leicestershire, in one bed-room slept a married pair, two boys of twenty and eighteen, a girl of seventeen, and a grandchild. In others, a married pair with five children; six adults and two children, where, however, there was a lean-to outbuilding in which a part slept; four adults with two children; a widower, his two sons, his two daughters, and their two illegitimate children; and so on with the miserable catalogue. And yet here, it was alleged, no owner liked to sell a bit of land for building. Instances like these quoted might be multiplied by hundreds, but Lubenham may close the sorrowful story. These cases are not peculiar to one county; they are more or less characteristic of all. We compile a general statement of the number of parishes in different counties in which, notwithstanding these awful facts, the houses have decreased in face of an increasing population.

Bedfordshire	4	Middlesex	
Berkshire	10	Monmouthshire	10
Buckinghamshire	10	Norfolk	17
Cambridgeshire		Northamptonshire	9
Cheshire	32	Northumberland and Durham	
Cornwall	9	Oxfordshire	14
Cumberland	17	Nottinghamshire	19
Derbyshire	10	Rutlandshire	
Devonshire	24	Shropshire	26
Dorsetshire	19	Somersetshire	55
Essex	22	Staffordshire	9
Gloucestershire	21	Suffolk	25
Hampshire	12	Surrey	10
Herefordshire	34	Sussex	13
Hertfordshire	8	Warwickshire	16
Huntingdonshire		Westmoreland	10
Kent	10	Worcester	19
Lancashire	20	Yorkshire	130
Leicestershire	25		
Lincolnshire	44		

The remainder of the 821 belong to counties left blank in the above list, for there is not one innocent county in the nation. Yorkshire proprietors have carried on the process of eviction on the largest scale; but overcrowding prevails most in the smaller counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Warwick, Oxford, Worcester and Northampton.

The long journeys to work have been mentioned already. These break up the domestic feelings, and the man is only at home to sleep. He has literally no time for anything else. In the Henley Union, Oxfordshire, there was little overcrowding; but many cots had been destroyed, and the labourers forced to find refuge in Reading, another parish four miles off, and walk to and fro morning and night. In Lincolnshire, it is common for the men to walk several miles to work. The people in Kirton are crowded together, for it is an "open village;" but Cleatham manages matters so well as to have only three men belonging to the whole township. However, Cleatham requires labourers, and gets them from Kirton, between two and three miles distant. At Langtoft, in the same county, lived a man with his wife, her mother and his five children. "The house consisted of front kitchen, a scullery, and bed-room over the front kitchen, the scullery being but one story high, and having a lean-to roof. The front kitchen and bed-room measured 12 feet 2 inches by 9 feet 5 inches, the whole ground-plan measured 21 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 5 inches. The bed-room was a garret, the walls leaning to form a ridge at the top, and a dormer-window being opened in front. Why did he live there? The garden? No; it is very small. The rent? Fifteen-pence a week. Near his work?' No; men have to travel a long way to work. "The man was working in a part of Braceboro', six miles from home, and came back to his family every night. He lived here because he could get a tenantable cot, and was glad of it, at any price, anywhere and in any condition."* Well might an old man at Brixworth, Northamptonshire, say that "a two-mile walk do much hurt him." He spake the feelings of many ancient fellows like himself, to whom years ago far longer walks, when they were to see his sweetheart, were only play, but to whom now they are only death. These long walks are

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 223.

most lamentable when imposed on mothers of families. Dr. Hunter gives an instance out of many.

"Although in the rich vale of Evesham, Cow Honeybourne flows with no milk or honey for the great majority of its inhabitants; there are several owners, and in consequence it has become a city of refuge or open village. A little gloving is done, but most of the women are employed in field work. As if it were not enough for their share in Eve's curse to have to work all day out of doors for 8*d.*, women have to walk away from Cow Honeybourne to Church Honeybourne and elsewhere, often two miles off, to snatch that opportunity of a hard-earned living. In other words, the owners of Church Honeybourne, or wherever the field of work may lie, pack her off to another parish as soon as she has served their turn, and refuse to burden their land with dwellings for the working man and his family. One of these women was the mother of a young family of four. What a load of anxiety must have lain upon her all day as she worked so far from home! How comparatively easy she would have been had the nest of children been within reach, even if out of sight! The advantage to herself and them derived from getting home to dinner would appear to be worth the whole 8*d.* Her absence presents to one what poverty is in strong relief. The idea of the presence of cruelty is not to be suppressed in one's mind by assurances that the mother is hard, and does not care; we know that God did not make her hard, and that she ought to care very much."*

When as many as eighty labourers from towns are regularly engaged on one Lincolnshire farm, it is hard to believe that machinery has stopped the demand for men, as we are sometimes told when asking why cottages are so few. The men live in towns because they are banished thither, and not because their labour is not wanted on the land. Mr. Disraeli says that 1000 acres of land usually require about 30 cottages for the use of persons employed on the land only. If these thirty were always there, or if any fair attempt were made to locate labourers near the scene of their labour, there would be more hope. But it is no uncommon thing to see a farm of 100 acres without a labourer living on it, and the Carltons, in Lincolnshire, have only 61 houses altogether, of every kind, on 3700 acres; but then eighty migratory Irishmen who come from neighbouring open villages work there, and the rates of the parish are

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 198.

kept down. Talking with a gentleman who had just taken a farm of 270 acres, he informed us that there was not a single cot on it, as all had been pulled down, and the labourers forced to live elsewhere. He was intending, however, to build some at once. "It is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one's country," said Lord Leicester, when complimented on the completion of Holkham; "I look around, and not a house is to be seen but mine. I am the Giant of Giant Castle, and have eat up all my neighbours." In these cases, however, the neighbours are not eaten up, but only removed to a distance, and come and go night and morning. They spend their sweat on the land, they house the cattle for the night, they enrich the large farmer and feed the wealth of the peer, and then trudge miles for sleep, to be back by five o'clock for work again. It will be a happy day when great proprietors begin to feel, like Lord Leicester, that "it is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one's country," and so give the labourers homes in their fields of labour, as well as gardens and allotments to occupy their spare time, and save them from starvation and the parish. At present an open village is bad enough in summer, and it is quite as unpleasing in winter to any one who loves England.

"Twenty or thirty men are loitering about the street for want of work. The farmers are not always sufficiently tilling the corn and root lands. The landlord has found it convenient to throw all his farms together into two or three. It simplifies the affairs, fewer questions are raised, rents are more easily collected, and in his instinctive fondness for land the farmer will pay more increase of rent than he can hope to get from his increase of land. The farm capital of the parish is reduced, less food is raised, and employment gets scarce. The fields are full of thistles, there were more daisies than wheat, the barleys were scarlet in June and purple in August, and yet the people are idle in the streets. Soured by the sight of waste while they want, surrounded by crops of weed which their labour might have turned to food; while on the one side of the wall the field is crying out for labour, on the other the baulked labourers lean, looking longingly on the land. Fevered in summer and half pined in winter, no wonder if (to use their own archaism) 'the parson and gentlefolks seem frit to death at them.'"*

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 239.

The general badness of English cottages is relieved by special badness in those of the colliery districts of Durham and Northumberland. This is owing to the short tenure of the land. It is let on leases of twenty-one years, and after this term relapses into the hands of the lord, so that it is not held worth while for the temporary owner to spend much money on what so soon passes away from him. The cots are mostly built near the pits, and generally by the master of the colliery. He runs them up in whole rows, and they cost him at the rate of about £25 apiece. So it is easy to guess what they must be. But then he knows his lease is only for twenty-one years, and that a strike may at any moment leave them tenantless. "Everything tempts the lessee to act as if the whole colony were encamped, not resident." Besides, the workmen are strangely indisposed to welcome improvement. It seems to mean settlement in one place, and many pitmen are characterized by an ungovernable love of free migration. As for the risks of fevers and miasmata, from crowding and filth, they are despised. He who faces firedamp in the pit, thinks he may easily put up with a little stench at home. The home life of these miners is almost incredible. Generally there is but one large room, and in the midst of their families and lodgers the men strip themselves naked before the fire. The stripping before a fire is necessary from the peculiar work; the one-roomed houses make the comparatively public stripping necessary. Both practices lead to a gross neglect of decency, and "in this amiable and respectable population entirely dissociate that quality from morality." Water is always a great difficulty. There is little of it, and that little is wretched stuff. Here is a picture of a frequent, though not a constant, condition of things in Northumberland and Durham:

"At Low Prudhoe, a coal-owner had more than one hundred cots, all to be served with water by one small dribbling stream, little thicker than a pencil when I saw it. Twenty-one buckets were then formed *en queue* waiting for water, and a mob of women and children wrangling and lamenting over it. Some of the women professed to be terrified at the thought of the men coming home from the pit and being unable to wash or to have tea. They related that at Mickley colliery, the inhabitants of 'the square' were even worse off for water, one woman having lately

counted a hundred buckets at the spring. Women get up in the middle of the night to get water, and even then find others waiting their turns at two or three o'clock. The houses were 16 feet by 16, all one room, except that the four-post bed served as bed and bed-room too, and that there was a window in the roof left which made it into a sort of children's bed-room. Some of the families used it for this purpose. The houses were sometimes back to back, and sometimes 'single,' but all of one size. The window opened, running on horizontal slides. The great variety in the number of inhabitants shewed the error of making any great number of cots of the same size; the number of empty houses, which was great, seemed to shew that the rents were fixed so high as to induce men to crowd into few houses. . . . . Great numbers of dogs were kept at Prudhoe; much of the furniture was even luxurious. The whole people was irritated about the want of water, but only one man had a word to say about the cesspools in front of his house door."*

Some of our readers may consider this paper to be already sufficiently plain spoken. In a matter which affects the national welfare so deeply as this, plainness of speech is a duty. But in the foregoing extract from Dr. Hunter's Report, we have felt ourselves compelled to omit a passage which describes a condition of things, existing in Christian England in this century, which would disgrace a Hottentot's kraal or an Esquimaux's snow hut. No such filthiness of habit—on the side on which dirt is most closely connected with moral degradation—has ever come beneath our notice. We pass on, with genuine shame, to another aspect of the subject.

It would be unfair to leave it to be imagined that neither colliery owners nor great landed proprietors are doing anything to remedy the evils described, for many are doing much, not always wisely, but at least with good intentions. All Northumberland is not like Prudhoe. "In Emmaville the houses are double, with back doors and windows and opening skylights; real models, containing two good lofts and a bed-room. They have also detached washhouses. Ten of these cots visited contained an average of three working men or lads in each, the highest number being five. Some others are but half the size, and average two 'workers' in each."† Seaton colliery, and the Duke of Newcastle's at

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 183. † Ibid. p. 184.

Shire Oaks, Notts, are both specimens of the better sort. On the estates of this nobleman a satisfactory state of things generally prevails. On the Duke of Rutland's property the labourer gets a good cot, kept in decent repair, without being obliged to pay more than he would elsewhere for a decrepit ruin. The Duke of Leeds' houses at Harthill were formerly very bad, but are getting slowly replaced by better, with three bed-rooms each and a good garden. The Duke of Portland employs many well-paid workmen in Welbeck, but "how curiously his landlordship operates on the local population is seen in the census of Welbeck—1831, seven houses and sixty-three persons; 1851, seven houses and a hundred and seventeen persons; 1861, one house and twelve persons."* Surely his Grace lacks grace! Lord Brougham's cots are uniformly decent, though not in a good style of cottage building, and there are no two families living in one house. Lord Londesborough has repaired and rebuilt until every house is good, and there are houses for all who work regularly on the estate, which is large. Indeed, Yorkshire abounds with good old English homes, notwithstanding the sad work in one hundred and thirty parishes. The little ugly places at Fridaythorpe, with their gardens, their furniture, their window-blinds and their bright ruddled door-steps, are marked by Yorkshire comfort. Perhaps it is too much to expect Government inspectors to criticize Royal property. But the *Norfolk News* of Nov. 14th, 1864, gives a good account of the Prince of Wales's cottages at Sandringham. They were bad enough when his Royal Highness bought the estate, but are mending rapidly. The same paper has done good service by its searching exposure of the state of the Norfolk agricultural poor, and by the force of public opinion which it created impelled many landlords to do their duty in a more Christian fashion. One of the chief offenders, but also one of the first penitents, was a Reverend Baronet.

To return, however, to our Government authority. "Harlaxton," in Lincolnshire, "is in point of buildings one of the prettiest villages in England. A great part of it was built forty to a hundred years ago in the ugly style then common, but now some masterly hand has made it a most

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 172.

pleasing scene. There is substance, comfort and variety. Some of the interiors are out of repair for the moment, but there were gardens to all, and the rents were low. There was not a bad house in this large village; all but one belonged to a great proprietor. It is hardly necessary to add, that they are never to be let, and are reserved for persons working on the estate or belonging to the parish."* Model cottages are built on many estates, and as a rule the owners are satisfied with a very small per-centage. But unfortunately the builders are prone to waste money in ornament, and forget that the working classes most need comfort and plenty of sleeping room. At "wretched Wrestlingworth," a house called Richardson's "can scarcely be matched in England for original meanness and present badness of condition. A few yards from this cabin stood two of the most ridiculous model cottages ever seen. The money wasted on these two would have built a third of equal size and convenience, and the cabin might no longer have remained to disgrace the country." Berkshire has model villages where "good houses fit for a curate or young doctor have been erected under the name of a labourer's cottage," and a model cottage there means a £10 house for a man who has but £26 a year to spend in it. Sonning has been made a show place by Mr. Palmer, but how? Houses that cost £160 are let for £3. All this is the wrong way to go to work, and is sure to end in disappointment. It is desirable to quote Dr. Hunter's suggestions on what such cottages ought to be, at length.

"There will always be a sufficient number of small families to find room for bachelor lodgers. It is only necessary to build a house apiece for the families. Accepting the census experiment, if we have 41 families to accommodate, 10 of them will only require one bed-room; 3 will have 8 persons, and will require three bed-rooms; the remaining 28 will require two bed-rooms. When families reach such extraordinary numbers as 10 or 12 children, the elder children will attain an age to leave home before the younger are born. When a gentleman then is about to build cottages, he may plan them in this proportion; suppose he builds 30, two pairs shall be cots of a kitchen and bed-room on one ground floor, the remaining 26 shall be alike, and stand in two rows; but at one or both ends of each row shall be a house

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 225.

of three bed-rooms; that is, one to which the back bed-room of the next house has been added, the latter being added to the list of single bed-roomed houses for new-married or barren couples. In arranging a new group of cottages with special attention of affording sleeping room to the families, respect must be paid to the instinct with which mothers of numerous children prefer a back house within a yard to a house fronting the street. The yard keeps the playing children under her eye. The back houses should therefore have the more bed-rooms. The row I propose should have a front and a back kitchen, both paved with brick or tile; the front about 11 feet by 11, by 6 feet 8 inches high; the back about 11 by 8 feet 6. Ceiling would be unnecessary. There should be five doors only, the closet under the stairs requiring one, each bed-room one, and two house doors. There should be four sliding windows; a grate with an oven; a boiler in the back kitchen; a little fire-place in one bed-room; a Welsh slate roof, the bed-rooms being ceiled. There should be a pig-stye to every other house; a privy to every four; the well should have a pump. There should be spouts and a butt for rain water. Such houses might be supplied at about £50, or £1500 for the 30. Let at 1*s.* a week each, they would yield £78 a year; no great yield; but of course if profit be the object, a much higher rent might be asked. I would never pay people's poor rate for them; they should learn there is such a thing."*

Space is not left to discuss the question as it affects large towns. And perhaps it is better to let the Government Report stand alone, while criticisms help it to tell its tale. Circumstances limited it, and so limit this article, to the homes of the people in the agricultural districts. In relation to the evils with which they abound, the remedies are written on the surface. First, the landed proprietors must do their duty. Then philanthropic capitalists may be fairly asked to build such houses as men and women can live in without violating decency and morality; and let them, if they like, make their philanthropy a paying investment. If land for building purposes be refused, then let Parliament take it at its own price. It does so for railways and public works, and good homes where the future citizens and rulers of the nation have to be brought up are even more essential. Finally, abolish entirely the law of settlement, so that the excuse for close and open villages may perish. The pro-

* Dr. Hunter's Report, p. 139.

position for equalizing rates over a whole union will only scotch the snake, not kill it. Let the country, however, be one common parish, and a new and happier era will begin. Above all, give every cottager some garden-land, if it be impracticable to restore the laws enacted by the benevolent despotism of Queen Elizabeth. A dozen acres, let off for gardens and allotments from a farm of some 200 or 300 acres, would prevent both poverty and idleness. Landlords object to the trouble of collecting small rents, and farmers do not like their labourers to be in a state of semi-independence; but the welfare of the whole nation demands some such arrangement, as an act not only of humanity, but of simple justice. Certainly it cannot be to our national credit that Englishmen should be lodged as multitudes of them are. Doubtless, pictures as melancholy, and possibly more melancholy, might be painted from life in Germany, Russia, and elsewhere. The same thing might also be done in France. There, in 1846, "Les Ouvriers" of Pierre Dupont "opened an unexpected scene of poverty, and caused some consternation, but no improvement."

"Mal vêtus, logés dans les trous,
Sous les combles, dans les décombres,
Nous vivons avec les hiboux
Et les larrons, amis des ombres."*

Let us hope, however, that in England a statement of the wrong is only preliminary to its removal, and that our knowledge of it is its sentence of death.

The moral aspects of the subject may not be separated from the physical. Here is involved, not simply the question of what sort of homes shall the people live in, but what shall be the moral future of the nation. These crowded hovels at Lubenham and other open villages, these revolting scenes in Northumberland and Durham, are the very deathbed of the higher nature and the nurseries of immorality and sin. It is impossible for them to be aught else. Preaching is thrown away on those whom proprietary guilt and parliamentary neglect predestine from childhood to the bondage of iniquity. Literature in vain endeavours to deliver the victims whom the cup of Comus has changed to beasts; his wand must be broken before they can be free. A Lei-

* Quoted by Dr. Hunter.

cestershire clergyman came to the conclusion that the crowding, though confessedly *indecent* in parts of that county, still had no *immoral* effect. But how long will indecency be before it produces immorality? Often in country cottages we see virtue and purity of soul that would ornament a palace. Men whose integrity is unimpeachable, women who might be canonized for their self-sacrificing affection, children with natures unstained as they come from the Eden of God, and whose looks make sunshine in a shady place, may—heaven be thanked!—be found dwelling beneath lowly roofs. But what is the fair result of the sort of homes we condemn? The actual vice is enormous in quantity, and the deadness to better influences is incalculable. The drunkenness, profanity, illegitimacy and incest, may be reckoned up, and Dr. Hunter saw an abundance of all; but the blunting of the fine edge of instinct and the gradual dying out of the nobler aspirations can be but faintly guessed. Yet these are the worst results. That the people do not care to rise, is the darkest blot on the system that crushes them, as slavery is foulest when it leaves no desire for freedom. Reform must begin low down indeed. It is well to hope for and strive after a perfect state of society and an absolute religion; but they, if they are ever to come at all, must be the growth of centuries, and meanwhile we must turn our hands to humbler things as the sole means of winning the greater at last. If a sound mind needs a sound body, equally do a good heart, a pure conscience and an aspiring soul, need healthy material surroundings. The social perfection offered by theorists of the school of Godwin's "Political Justice" and Paine's "Rights of Man" is at present a chimera; and so is the Absolute Religion offered by the Pantheism of Spinosa and the Theism of Theodore Parker; they are chimeras even on the supposition that they are based on true principles, and will be so until we are content to enter more intimately into the actual life of the masses, and clear away the physical burdens beneath which they groan, knowing not what ails them, instead of spinning airy cobwebs of our own. The dependence of inner upon outward conditions is becoming clearer every day. Climate and geographical position help to determine national character and religion, and are an important portion of the agencies used by God to generate the profound metaphysical genius of

India, the many-sided activity of Greece, and the indomitable enterprize and perseverance of the Teutonic race. And the same law is equally omnipotent in every smaller sphere. What chance has temperance when it breathes the atmosphere of gin palaces, and virtue when it is sentenced to the chain-gangs of Norfolk Island? Poor Oliver Twist only triumphed over the wicked machinations of Fagin the Jew by escaping from them, and crime is often the offspring of necessity as much as of choice. There are villages in England, streets and courts in London, Glasgow and Liverpool, and even in quite new towns like Birkenhead, where angels from heaven can scarcely avoid corruption. It is vain to expect that the multitudes "who travel on life's common way" can

> "Keep their souls like stars, and dwell apart,
> Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free."

We all need the quickening help of God and our fellow-creatures, and these especially need it. They need, too, that those who can shall take care that no superfluous temptations beset them, and no material difficulties baffle all their attempts to rise. Here is the great argument at once for education, political liberty and healthy homes. Let education develop latent powers, let political liberty give them fair play, and let healthy homes make the development possible, and save soaring spirits from needless risks of being dragged down to the bondage of sense and matter again.

The farthest-seeing minds of the age may here find a field of action. At present their energies are wasted because spent on barren soil. In the conflicts of politics and theology, questions which come more home to the people than either the triumph of any party or any creed are forgotten. Far remote from the classic floor of St. Stephen's and the shadow of episcopal sanctities in Convocation, are multitudes to whom the fortunes of both churches and thrones are indifferent. The throne, the altar and the cottage, agree in toasts, but have little in common anywhere else. The Government wins or loses in a faction fight, and the governed masses do not care, for Whig and Tory are the same to them. Orthodoxy cheers and groans as Neology is now at the top and now at the bottom, but the preached-to hear the varying notes with marvellous calm, for they are only a dissonance in the air, and the present wrong of open villages and

crowded homes cuts deeper than the far-off consequences of unintelligible heresy from unintelligible dogmas. The populace of large towns and manufacturing centres may read the penny press, and get some glimmering of the fires constantly burning in higher quarters, so that chartism, socialism and rude unbelief, express below the forces working above. But agricultural England is a picture of the dark ages in the 19th century of Christianity; superstition is its faith, and apathy its life. The devils possessing it are hard to exorcise, for they have that stupidity against which the gods are said to fight unvictorious.* Reformers may re-construct the constitution in Church and State, and leave the sources of evil untouched. Better than political theories is an honest political conscience and a genuine feeling of brotherhood, under which progress is a folded flower sure to open out at the right time when the spring rains fall and the spring sun shines.

How far the spirit of party is responsible for blinding the nation to matters beyond party is hard to tell, for who knows the relative influence of place and principle? But an obvious one-sidedness in the minds of most politicians and theologians has had much to do with it. The common good possible to-day is put off for Quixotic devotion to a pet imagination called an ideal. Protests against ideals would be crimes. But if it be, as some think, our providential destiny, we may journey towards republicanism, while we combine state architecture with crossing-sweeping, and, after deposing a monarch in theory, clear away some mud in fact. It is well for free inquirers, Unitarians, African bishops and suspected clergymen, to continue their half-iconoclastic, half-constructive work, and to apply common sense not only to the Bible, but to the whole world of speculation; for this is one method of preparing for the millennium. But neither in politics nor theology need we now discuss the art of sowing seeds to bear fruit a century hence. Visions of any golden age, as distant even as that of Eden, are always sweet to indulge in and inspiring to work for; but they may sink the practical in the sublime, and while Alnaschar dreams, his basket of eggs may be smashed. Anticipating

* The dying Talbot's invective in the "Jungfrau von Orleans,"
"Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens."

the Christ descending in the clouds, many early Christians thought no earthly things important enough to fight for, and no earthly relations sacred enough to enter into. Without faith in the descending Christ, the Peace Society perpetuates the former, and the Roman Church the latter superstition. All enthusiasts are of the same family; they prefer Utopia to sanitary laws, and the second advent to visiting the fatherless and the widow. The kingdom of heaven only comes with pomp, and distance is needed to lend enchantment to the view. Washing in Jordan would cure the leprous nation, but they set their hearts on distant Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus. Another class is as ready to sacrifice to-morrow to to-day, and to reduce the stars to candles. So they peddle in statesmanship, opposing theoretical reforms because "things work well," and at the most applying a new patch when a new suit is wanted, and, if new wine be made, taking care to put it into old bottles. In the same way they are bigots in religion, and love to have truth divinely settled once for all. As a shoreless sea stretches outside the harbour-mouth, vessels must anchor where they are landlocked; and that they may quietly enjoy what they already possess, they prohibit voyages of discovery. Besides, then, the partizanship that, like the knights in the old story, is pledged to look but at one side of the shield, the over-ambitious theories of idealists, and the over-many smallnesses and suspicions and limited views of practical men, have conspired to let grow the rank crop of weeds in rural neighbourhoods, and to breed indifference about rooting them up. They are evils of too commonplace a character to win the enthusiasm of one class, and they are of too far-reaching a significance to be roughly meddled with by another.

But only the eye seeing the horizon comprehends the whole landscape, and only when it notes every object does it realize the distance of the horizon itself. Modern civilization is at once practical and ideal, and opposites are uniting now. The Social Science Association has enlisted the foremost minds of both orders in its service. Nothing can postpone the woes with which the present is pregnant except a brave acceptance of the doctrine of development. The future is a vanishing meteor, except the living soil of humanity be first prepared for its reception; and then it settles into sunshine, after each night dawning a new day.

From this double stand-point all questions assume a healthy and human look: workers who despised the theorist, as the positive philosopher the theologian, dream of Utopias; and dreamers who were content to sing and eloquently rave, now deign to carry hods and build with humble bricks and mortar. Radicalism and Republicanism, Theism and Pantheism, play their parts in conserving so much of the Constitution and popular Christianity as can prove its right to live. And the smaller sects and parties will not fail to prolong the existence of every opinion and creed to the last moment that the world has room for it. Quite in harmony with this general principle is the mingled greatness and littleness belonging to the chief movements of the age, and one-sidedness and short-comings may be pardoned for the root they spring from, the end they seek, and the fruit they are sure to bear. Is it a little thing to reclaim a street Arab, to save a fallen woman, to destroy a nuisance, to build a model cottage? It is the necessary foundation of the greatest. If Domestic Missions are a failure, they assert good intentions; if Teetotalism be unnatural, it is self-sacrificing; if the Maine Law be philanthropic fanaticism, it has grand aims; if Secularism do violence to human instincts, it is independent thought; if Communism contradict political economy, it is Co-operation sowing its wild oats. And the same ideal yet practical spirit now recognizes the inseparable connection of the homes of the people with the weal of the nation, and of outward conditions with inward life. W. B.

IV.—LECKY'S HISTORY OF RATIONALISM.

History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. By W. E. H. Lecky, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1865.

No philological phenomenon is more interesting than the way in which words, which spring from roots closely connected and almost identical in meaning, gradually diverge in common use, till at last, charged with irreconcilable

associations and each containing a history, they rise to human lips as the expression, not of kindred, but of hostile ideas. Of the two names by which the Saviour of the world is commonly known, each has produced an adjective; out of each the original meaning has completely faded; and, except to philologists, Jesus and Christ, the names of the same person, practically convey the same idea. But what of Jesuit and Christian? Might not all the Protestant and half the Catholic world justifiably use these as the points of an antithesis? So the title of Mr. Lecky's book, "The History of the Spirit of *Rationalism*," will call up in the minds of most readers quite another set of associations from those raised by Locke's speculations on "the *Reasonableness* of Christianity." The word "Reasonableness" transports the mind, rightly or wrongly, into a region of calm orthodoxy, where whatever a believing man can desire to be true is proved to be true, and that in the most appropriate and satisfactory way. The word "Rationalism" evokes the spectre of self-confident scepticism, applying to Revealed Truth tests which it was never intended to bear, and finding the most convincing reasons for believing as little as may be. Regret it as we may, the history of theology during the last three quarters of a century has filled the word Rationalism with associations which cannot easily be discharged from it. It has been so long a term of reproach, that it cannot without ambiguity be used as simply significative of a known and definite philosophical tendency. It has been so long made to mean the reckless and presumptuous application of reason to religion, that when employed to denote the general relation between them, the inherent sneer seems to beg the question in favour of authority. Yet the misuse of the word is the more to be lamented that we have no other to take its place. When we call a man a Rationalist, we usually mean that he belongs to a certain well-known school of philosophical theology. And yet when we wish to characterize the action of the intellectual powers in regard to religion,—even that examination of the claims of Roman Catholicism which ends in complete submission to the Church,—we can call it by no other name than Rationalism. Perhaps Mr. Lecky's very thoughtful and eloquent volumes will do something to reconcile those who have hitherto made Rationalism a by-word, to this

wider use of the phrase. For if his theory be true, the chief difference between themselves and those whom they pelt with this theological missile is one of degree. Both are swayed by the same spirit of Rationalism; one perhaps carried further than another by the prevailing tendency of the age; but those who hate Rationalism with a perfect hatred are, after all, in relation to many of their most deeply grounded beliefs, Rationalists without knowing it.

The following passage from Mr. Lecky's first chapter may serve as an introduction to the idea which moulds his treatment of his subject:

"When a complete change takes place in public opinion, it may be ascribed to one or other of two causes. It may be the result of a controversy which has conclusively settled the question, establishing to the satisfaction of all parties a clear preponderance of argument or fact in favour of one opinion, and making that opinion a truism which is accepted by all enlightened men, even though they have not themselves examined the evidence on which it rests. Thus, if any one in a company of ordinarily educated persons were to deny the motion of the earth, or the circulation of the blood, his statement would be received with derision, though it is probable that some of his audience would be unable to demonstrate the first truth, and that very few of them could give sufficient reasons for the second. They may not themselves be able to defend their position; but they are aware that at certain known periods of history, controversies on those subjects took place, and that known writers then brought forward some definite arguments or experiments, which were ultimately accepted by the whole learned world as rigid and conclusive demonstrations. It is possible also for as complete a change to be effected by what is called the spirit of the age. The general intellectual tendencies pervading the literature of a century, profoundly modify the character of the public mind. They form a new tone and habit of thought. They alter the measure of probability. They create new attractions and new antipathies, and they eventually cause as absolute a rejection of certain old opinions, as could be produced by the most cogent and definite arguments."*

It is to the history of the changes effected in theological opinion by the second of these causes, that Mr. Lecky's book is devoted. "Towards the close of the eighteenth century," he says,

* Pp. 9, 10.

"It was observed that every great change in belief had been preceded by a great change in the intellectual condition of Europe, that the success of any opinion depended much less upon the force of its arguments or upon the ability of its advocates, than upon the predisposition of society to receive it, and that that predisposition resulted from the intellectual type of the age. As men advance from an imperfect to a higher civilization, they gradually sublimate and refine their creed. Their imaginations insensibly detach themselves from those grosser conceptions and doctrines which were formerly most powerful, and they sooner or later reduce all their opinions into conformity with the moral and intellectual standards which the new civilization produces. Thus long before the Reformation, the tendencies of the Reformation were manifest. The revival of Grecian learning, the development of art, the reaction against the schoolmen, had raised society to an elevation, in which a more refined and less oppressive creed was absolutely essential to its well-being. Luther and Calvin only represented the prevailing wants, and embodied them in a definite form. The pressure of the general intellectual influences of the time determines the predispositions which ultimately regulate the details of belief, and though all men do not yield to that pressure with the same facility, all large bodies are at last controlled. A change of speculative opinions does not imply an increase of the data upon which those opinions rest, but a change of the habits of thought and mind which they reflect. Definite arguments are the symptoms and pretexts, but seldom the causes of the change. Their chief merit is to accelerate the inevitable crisis. They derive their force and efficacy from their conformity with the mental habits of those to whom they are addressed. Reasoning, which in one age would make no impression whatever, in the next age is received with enthusiastic applause. It is one thing to understand its nature, but quite another to appreciate its force.—And this standard of belief, this tone and habit of thought, which is the supreme arbiter of the opinions of successive periods, is created, not by the influences arising out of any one department of intellect, but by the combination of all the intellectual and social tendencies of the age."*

After enumerating some of the forces which combine to make up this general tendency of any age, Mr. Lecky proceeds:

"If these views be correct, they establish at once a broad distinction between the province of the theologian and that of the

* Introduction, pp. vi, vii.

historian of opinions. The first confines his attention to the question of the truth or falsehood of particular doctrines, which he ascertains by examining the arguments upon which they rest: the second should endeavour to trace the causes of the rise and fall of those doctrines which are to be found in the general intellectual condition of the age. The first is restricted to a single department of mental phenomena, and to those logical connections which determine the opinions of the severe reasoner: the second is obliged to take a wide survey of the intellectual influences of the period he is describing, and to trace that connection of congruity, which has a much greater influence upon the sequence of opinions than logical arguments."*

Yet again:

"There is a theory or method of research which would amalgamate the two spheres, or to speak more correctly would entirely subordinate the theologian to the historian. Those who have appreciated the extremely small influence of definite arguments in determining the opinions either of an individual or a nation—who have perceived how invariably an increase of civilization implies a modification of belief, and how completely the controversialists of successive ages are the puppets and the unconscious exponents of the deep under-current of their time, will feel an intense distrust of their unassisted reason, and will naturally look for some guide to direct their judgment. I think it must be admitted, that the general and increasing tendency in the present day, is to seek such a guide in the collective wisdom of mankind, as it is displayed in the developments of history. In other words, the way in which our leading thinkers, consciously or unconsciously, form their opinions, is by endeavouring to ascertain what are the laws which govern the successive modifications of belief; in what directions, towards what conceptions, the intellect of man advances with the advance of civilization; what are the leading characteristics that make the belief of civilized ages and nations as compared with barbarous ones; and of the most educated as compared with the most illiterate classes. This mode of reasoning may be said to resolve itself into three problems. It is necessary, in the first place, to ascertain what are the general intellectual tendencies of civilization. It is then necessary to ascertain how far those tendencies are connected, or in other words how far the existence of one depends upon and implies the existence of the others; and it is necessary, in the last place, to ascertain whether they have been accompanied by an increase or diminution of happiness, of virtue, and of humanity."†

* Introduction, p. ix. † Pp. xvii, xviii.

Our author then proceeds to state the general scope of his work:

"My object in the present work has been to trace the history of the spirit of Rationalism: by which I understand, not any class of definite doctrines and criticisms, but rather a certain cast of thought, or bias of reasoning, which has during the last three centuries gained a marked ascendancy in Europe. The nature of this bias will be exhibited in detail in the ensuing pages, when we examine its influence upon the various forms of moral and intellectual development. At present it will be sufficient to say, that it leads men on all occasions to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and of conscience, and as a necessary consequence, greatly to restrict its influence upon life. It predisposes men, in history, to attribute all kinds of phenomena to natural rather than miraculous causes; in theology, to esteem succeeding systems the expression of the wants and aspirations of that religious sentiment which is planted in all men; and in ethics, to regard as duties only those which conscience reveals to be such."*

And again, in the following passage, we have his own account of the method which he has employed:

"In the first place, I have examined the history and the causes of that decline of the sense of the miraculous which is so manifest a fruit of civilization. But it soon becomes evident that this movement cannot be considered by itself; for the predisposition in favour of miracles grows out of, and can only be adequately explained by, certain conceptions of the nature of the Supreme Being, and of the habitual government of the universe, which invariably accompany the earlier, or as it may be termed, the anthropomorphic stage of intellectual development. Of the nature of this stage we have some important evidence in the history of art, which is then probably the most accurate expression of the religious realizations, while the history of the encroachments of physical science upon our first notions of the system of the world, goes far to explain its decay. Together with the intellectual movement, we have to consider a moral movement that has accompanied it, which has had the effect of diminishing the influence of fear as a motive of duty, of destroying the overwhelming importance of dogmatic teaching, and of establishing the supremacy of conscience. This progress involves many important consequences; but the most remarkable of all is the decay of persecution, which, I have endeavoured to shew, is

* Introduction, pp. xviii, xix.

indissolubly connected with a profound change in theological realizations. I have, in the last place, sought to gather fresh evidence of the operations of the rationalistic spirit in the great fields of politics and of industry. In the first, I have shewn how the movement of secularization has passed through every department of political life, how the progress of democracy has influenced and been influenced by theological tendencies, and how political pursuits contribute to the formation of habits of thought which affect the whole circle of our judgments. In the second, I have traced the rise of the industrial spirit in Europe; its collisions with the Church, the profound moral and intellectual changes it effected, and the tendency of the great science of political economy which is its expression."*

It is hardly possible to speak too highly of the manner in which Mr. Lecky has performed the task which we have suffered him to describe in his own words. His reading is wide and often curious, though, as we shall hereafter have occasion to point out, deficient in regard to some departments of his very comprehensive subject.† The wonder is

* Introduction, pp. xxii, xxiii.

† Mr. Lecky's pages contain many errata, blemishes upon a noble work which we hope to see removed in a second edition. His French reading has been very extensive; has he approached the classical part of his theme on that side? We hardly know how else to account for the fact that Dionysius the Areopagite appears here as "Denys" (I. 375), while one of the very few precise Greek references to be found in his book assumes the outrageously queer shape of "Denys, *Halycarnassus*, lib. ii. cap. 28." Why, too, should Arnold of Brescia be introduced under the French name—illustrious enough in its way—of Arnauld? What does Mr. Lecky mean by the extraordinary statement that "Ennius, Plautus, Terence and Epictetus—*and many other writers*—were slaves"? (II. 254). It is certainly not true of Ennius and Plautus, and he would find great difficulty in substituting a catalogue of names for the vague phrase, "many other writers." There are several other mistakes, small and great, which a little more care would have obviated. His predecessor in the work of writing the History of Rationalism, Amand Saintes, is always quoted under the name of Armand Saintes. Armand is a common, Amand an uncommon name; the more reason why the mistake should have been avoided. Masaccio, the Florentine painter, twice appears as Massacio. In a case where the accuracy of a diphthong embodies the controversy of centuries, we read of "Homoousians and Homoiosians" (II. 34). Howard the philanthropist was not a "noble Quaker" (I. 381), but a Nonconformist of the Independent type. To say that "Woolston and Tindal, Collins and Hone, have long since passed into the region of shadows, and their works have mouldered in the obscurity of forgetfulness" (I. 192), is surely to put the harmless author of the Every-day Book into very unaccustomed company, as well as to commit an anachronism. The English Deists are a class of writers emphatically belonging to the 18th century, while William Hone, Deist though he may have been, was familiarly known to many men who have not yet passed middle life. But the most curious oversight is where Mr. Lecky says that Pascal "based his defence of Jansenism in

that so young a student as we understand Mr. Lecky to be, should have already traversed so great a field of research, and used to such admirable purpose the accumulated store of material. His power of generalization is very remarkable; he has a keen eye for the relations of distant and apparently disconnected phenomena; the very conception of his work is, in its grasp of a single tendency acting on the most dissimilar regions of human belief, almost as notable a thing as the execution of it. His style is perfectly lucid; and if a sharp criticism might sometimes accuse it of a too elaborate ornateness, a somewhat monotonous balance of rhythm, the very character of the charge bears testimony to the fine qualities of Mr. Lecky's writing. And yet, in spite of all this, we have risen from the perusal of the book with a feeling of dissatisfaction. Not with the matter of it, for he must be a well-read man indeed who has nothing to learn from Mr. Lecky—not with the author, for it is impossible not to give a joyful welcome to a religious thinker who is at once so able, so free, so reverent. But if Mr. Lecky's main theory be true, with as little qualification as he gives it, one cannot but feel a certain distrust and weariness of those intellectual labours which, half fruitless though they be, are the very breath of some men's nostrils. If, after all, we are but creatures and puppets of the age in which we live—if the belief towards which we thought ourselves to have been consciously struggling, be really determined for us by a multitude of subtle causes quite beyond our personal control—why should we not passively resign ourselves to the inevitable, and "roll darkling down the current of our fate"? Mr. Lecky's is, it is true, not the ignoble theory of the materialist and the statistician, which makes religion an affair of race, and seeks to explain by the rise and fall of the thermometer a people's alternations of nobleness; the forces which rob us of our free-will are not the material conditions of existence, but are generated in the last resort in human minds and hearts. But if the age really carries us

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a great measure upon the miracles at the tomb of the Abbé Paris" (I. 180). Pascal died in 1662; the Jansenist miracles at the grave of the *Deacon* Paris, to which Mr. Lecky refers, were alleged to have taken place between 1725 and 1732. The miracle which played so great a part in Pascal's apologetic, was the cure of his niece, Marguerite Perier, of a lachrymal fistula by the application of the Holy Thorn. This took place on the 24th of March, 1656.

forward in its unconscious progress, why should we trouble ourselves any more to carry forward the age? The reformer's is always a thankless task; in certain departments of belief, men hate and fear nothing so much as a new thought; whoever would draw men up to him must himself be lifted upon a cross. Let us believe what our time believes, and no more; there *is* a slow motion of the whole age towards absolute truth; we shall be a little nearer to it when we die than we are now, and our sons nearer than we. What need of more?

So noble a book as Mr. Lecky's is a sufficient answer to this statement of his theory—a statement which, though true in regard to the general impression which it produces upon the mind, he might complain of as extreme. Does he really suppose his work to be in harmony with the prevailing spirit of English thought to-day? Will not the great majority of the religious teachers of the nation utterly reject its conclusions, even where they are unable to impugn its facts? Will not a storm of ugly words hurtling about his head, be the first token that he has succeeded in attracting the attention of the mass of preachers and writers who impress upon the religion of the age its distinguishing characteristics? It is almost a condition of genuine theological influence that a man should receive a diploma of infidelity from our dominant schools of religious thought; and unless Mr. Lecky be soon advanced to the degree which Martineau, and Mill, and Maurice, and Colenso, and many other thinkers of the same force, adorn, we shall infer that we have been mistaken in our estimate of his book. And what does all this mean, but that whoever is to contribute anything to the progress of his age, must necessarily be himself before it; that whoever would enjoy the privileges of influence, must bear also the penalties of isolation? There was once a purgatory of thinkers in every department of science: now, for the most part, it exists in the domain of theology alone. No man would be ostracised from the fellowship of chemists for impugning the atomic theory: a geologist might propound what revolutionary thought he would, and the only question would be as to the accuracy of his observations and the cogency of his arguments. But all great discoverers are solitary men. For a time, their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them. They win a new

vantage ground for society in the heat and toil of perpetual conflict. And they are thrice happy if, towards the last, their younger contemporaries begin to discern the need of the battle, the worth of the victory, and their aged heads are touched by a gleam of that glory which perpetually gilds the graves of the noblest benefactors of mankind.

The principle, the operation of which in the revolution of opinion it is the main object of Mr. Lecky's book to trace, is beyond doubt both true and fruitful. No better example of it could be adduced than the history of the declining sense of the miraculous, which forms the subject of the first chapter. The belief in magic and witchcraft was supported by the universal concurrence of men, by the authority of all churches, by the clear statement of Scripture, by express legal enactment; the weight of controversy, whenever controversy arose, was in its favour; and overwhelming popular prejudices supplied both facts and an interpretation of them to the credulous. Yet in a very few years this apparently solid edifice of conviction fell into a mere rubbish heap of discarded opinions, as an old tower, which, having stood for centuries, seems strong enough to bear the storms of centuries still, crumbles into dust on a windless night simply by its own weakness. So at the present moment there is in the current of popular belief a set against miracles, which is quite independent of controversy. Men put them aside, more because a belief in them is felt to be out of keeping with the other furniture of their minds, than because they have weighed the difficulties involved in their acceptance or rejection. They cannot believe them, they say, and that is all; nor are they moved from their position if, in contest with an opponent better versed in the controversy than themselves, they manifestly get the worst of the argument. The gradual and unconscious movement of thought in this direction, as well as in others, where, as it appears to us, the phenomenon is less marked, is tracked and described by Mr. Lecky with great insight and force. But in this case, as in so many more, the resurrection of a neglected principle has been the partial obscuration of another more familiar, yet not less true. Mr. Lecky, in dwelling with fond persistence upon the subtle forces which have slowly swayed the collective mind of Europe, hardly brings into due relief the fact that they are, after all, but

the aggregate of those individual balancings of evidence, those petty collisions of argument, which he passes over as practically inoperative. And he altogether fails to take into his account certain intellectual movements, which, if we interpret them rightly, have little or nothing in them of the unconscious element, but have been produced by the direct action of argument upon human opinion.

A singular defect in his book is the absence of any definition of the "spirit of rationalism." In a passage which we have already quoted, we are told that "it leads men on all occasions to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and of conscience, and as a necessary consequence greatly to restrict its influence upon life. It predisposes men, in history, to attribute all kinds of phenomena to natural rather than miraculous causes; in theology, to esteem succeeding systems the expression of the wants and aspirations of that religious sentiment which is planted in all men; and in ethics, to regard as duties only those which conscience reveals to be such." Now, passing by for the present the loose language in which this quasi-definition is couched, to tell us what the spirit of rationalism "predisposes men to," is another and far less satisfactory thing than to tell us what it is. So long as we are unable to distinguish it except by its effects, we can regard it only as a kind of blind inspiration which has seized upon men's minds in these latter days, hurrying them in a given direction, though whether in the force of a heavenly impulse or a Satanic seduction it is impossible to say. We do not dispute the general accuracy of Mr. Lecky's enumeration of those effects; we think that there is a real, though not obvious, link which connects them together. But to tell us that the increasing disinclination to believe in the miraculous, and the recognition of conscience as the ultimate moral arbiter,—the application of reason to theology, and the belief that successive systems are the changing phases of a fundamental religious sentiment,—are one and all the effects of the spirit of rationalism, is surely to expect us to be satisfied with a very superficial theory of the most important revolutions of opinion. We want to know whether this spirit is a mere unconscious tendency, or the product of the application of human faculties to the materials of theological speculation. If the latter, what are the methods

of inquiry, and what the tests of truth that have been employed? Are all the alleged results upon the same level of certainty, so that to affirm the possibility of miracle is as absurd as to appeal from the moral arbitrament of conscience? Is it not possible that the rationalistic spirit may work within necessary limits, in transcending which it becomes the nurse, not of truth, but of error? Any attempt to define what the spirit of rationalism is, might have supplied a partial answer to these questions: the mere statement of what it does, leaves them without reply.

Mr. Lecky might probably urge in his defence, that he is no metaphysician, but an historian of opinion, and that his work is only to describe the succession of phenomena, not to trace them to their secret sources, or to apply a test of their moral or intellectual quality. But the excuse will hardly avail him. In a passage which we have already quoted, he admits that there are "points of contact" between the sphere of the historian and the sphere of the theologian, as "it is impossible to reveal the causes that called an opinion into being without throwing some light upon its intrinsic value." The great merit of his book is to have shewn the relation to one another, and to a prevailing tendency of human thought, of a great number of apparently unconnected phenomena; and it would have been, it seems to us, not only within the limits of his subject, but the needful completion of it, to have carried the investigation a step further, and to have resolved the "spirit of rationalism" too into its ultimate elements. Does this vague personification mean anything more than the free application of men's individual faculties to the problems of theology and ethics? The middle ages, to go no further back, inherited from preceding centuries a system of authoritative theology, firmly supported by ecclesiastical and social arrangements, by the gross ignorance of the laity, by the superior knowledge and the class spirit of the clergy. The Bible was a sealed book. The creeds of the Church were the sole depositaries of truth; Christ's Roman Vicegerent their only interpreter. Whatever activity of human thought there was, moved within these limits: to accept, to expound, to apply the decisions of authority, was at once the highest philosophy and the only safe expediency. And authority, seeing arrayed against it no controlling force of individual

opinion, was swayed by the passions and interests of the hour, till, unknown to itself, its dogmas lost any direct relation to truth, and its moral deliverances had no regard to right and wrong. Then theology, thus distorted and degraded, and playing upon the fears of men, had usurped a wrongful reign over belief and life, and had imposed her own arbitrary laws upon philosophy, and science, and government. Scholastic philosophy revolved round the poles of so-called Catholic truth. Geography was compelled to deny the existence of antipodes; astronomy to confess the earth's central place in nature. In the Crusades, Europe was convulsed for a religious sentiment; and the pretensions of Rome are a mainspring in the history of every great Western people down to the Reformation. In one word, a theology which was no "doctrine of God," but a compound of some of the grossest prejudices and worst passions of which humanity is capable, had raised itself to an intolerable tyranny over men's convictions and lives. It gave no account of its claims, but ruled by right divine. And the history of the last five hundred years is the history of the rebellion of the human mind and conscience against this usurped rule.

As the principle of mediæval theology—alike in the middle ages and in this—is authority, the principle of the rebellion is individual right and responsibility. The battle has been a long one, and is still undecided: during the perpetually varying conflict, great principles have acquired form and consistence but slowly; and many who fight most stoutly on the side of freedom have no more, even yet, than a dim perception of the real motive of the struggle. Some who abandon the authority of the Church of Rome, appeal to that of the three first centuries; others are content to abide by the declaration of the creeds; others, especially in England, make an altogether delusive appeal to Scripture. Presently the true issue on which battle has been joined will be discerned by all; on one side authority, on the other the right of reason and conscience to judge for themselves in matters of theology and morals. What a man's own reason reports to him, that for him is *true;* what a man's own conscience bids him do, that for him is *right;* other truth and right knows he none. The essence of the rationalistic spirit (to adopt for a moment Mr. Lecky's nomenclature), or of

the spirit which has determined the intellectual course of modern Europe, lies, therefore, neither in the depreciation of a dogmatic theology nor in the disinclination to believe the miraculous (though both of them may be among its results), but in the application to all questions of an inner, personal test. All authoritative declarations to which this test has not been applied are simply words empty of meaning; all authoritative declarations which cannot stand it are lies, aping the semblance of truth. Doubtless, in all investigations, a large part of the evidence comes to us at second-hand, and must be accepted on the general ground of human veracity; while owing to the imperfectness of ordinary knowledge and ability, the perquisitions into truth made even by thoughtful men are only relatively successful. But the principle remains. That which a man has not directly or indirectly brought to the bar of his own reason, is not true to him; that upon which his conscience has not given a deliverance, is for him utterly without obligation.

This long struggle between reason and authority has not been fought out upon theological ground alone. After reading Mr. Lecky's book, we are tempted to believe that the key of the position has never been theological at all. The principle of authority, backed, wherever possible, by the influence of the Church, had asserted itself in science, in philosophy, in literature: here it was first assailed, here it has suffered the most signal defeat. The battle began in some of the obscure and apparently fruitless movements of thought which shed a dim and doubtful light upon what are known as the dark ages. But the revival of Greek letters was its first important phase. The mind of Europe, awakened from the sleep of ages, eagerly applied itself to all questions of speculation; a new philosophy, a fresh science, gradually grew up and gathered strength; theology was more and more pushed back into its lawful kingdom; while in the newly acquired domain of human thought, methods of investigation and tests of truth were elaborated which were necessarily fatal to the principle of authority. Not only was the boundary-line between theology and all other sciences re-adjusted, but the procedure of the mind in the investigation of truth, which was so brilliantly successful in scientific research, could not be restrained from overstepping the frontier and asserting its validity in religion

too. It is this unconscious rationalism, if we may so call it, which forms the subject of Mr. Lecky's book. It is impossible to trace more clearly and convincingly than he has done the influence upon theology of the general rationalistic spirit of modern European life. But his picture is not only incomplete for want of a delineation of *conscious* theological rationalism, but in many respects conveys a false impression. We admit that the direct influence of rationalism upon religion has not yet been so marked and so triumphant as its influence upon science; there are reasons enough why it should not have been so. But to deny the existence, or to pare away the extent of that influence, appears to us to be contrary to the plainest facts of the case. What was the Reformation itself but a rationalistic movement? A maimed and incomplete movement it may be, but still in the direction of human freedom and individual responsibility: when men rise above the conception of an infallible Church, even though it be only to the height of belief in an infallible Bible, the great idol of authority already lies, like Dagon, prostrate and shattered upon the temple floor. And the Reformation, although it may be difficult to exclude from it the unconscious effect of the general movement of contemporary thought, was in its essence a conscious rebellion against Rome on the part of men who had newly in their possession, and who argumentatively used, the original title-deeds of Christianity. Take a modern instance. Until a very recent period, the conscious theological rationalism of England presented itself in an exclusively Unitarian form. The very principles of which Mr. Lecky traces the history, have been for a century past the foundation of Unitarian theology. For more than one generation Unitarian thinkers have been vainly crying in the wilderness truths which, upon Anglican lips, men are beginning to receive as the theology of the Church of the Future. Why, if the rationalistic spirit of the age is a sufficient explanation of the case, should the Gideon's fleece of this little Nonconformist church have been wet with gracious dews, while all around was dry? It is easy to account for the isolation of a great thinker by exceptional circumstances of genius, but the isolation of a church must be explained by more general laws. If Mr. Lecky had been acquainted with the German language and literature (of which there is no evidence in

the numerous references which stud the bottom of his pages), he would have had forced upon him, in more ways than one, the fact that the procedure of human thought in the department of theology is undergoing precisely the same changes as it has already undergone in that of other sciences; and the investigation of the history of conscious, would have shed a needful light upon the nature of unconscious rationalism.

But it will be well to fortify our position by reference to a specific group of theological controversies. A number of questions, the changes of opinion in regard to which Mr. Lecky has treated with great force and brilliancy—the belief in the miraculous, the doctrine of future punishment, the institution of slavery, the duties of subjects to their rulers—stand in a definite relation to the question of the authority of Scripture. This question is at present the main battle-ground between what we have called conscious rationalism and its opponents, although one which Mr. Lecky nowhere touches. What is its history? Not a history, we venture confidently to assert, of the unconscious movement of the human mind from one point of view to another, and of the consequent abandonment of convictions anterior to or independent of argument; but of that very struggle of controversy which Mr. Lecky so often asserts to be almost without effect upon human opinions. Here, almost more than anywhere else, can be traced the impact of scientific methods and results upon theology. But there has been nothing mysterious or indirect in the process. Philology, beginning with the imperfect procedure of Erasmus and the Complutensian editors, and rising to the latest critical achievements of Lachmann and Tischendorf, has applied to the correction of the text of the New Testament precisely the same methods as to the text of Sophocles or Thucydides. The historical criticism which has dissipated into thin air the regal shadows which Livy had seated upon the throne of the seven hills, has reduced to their true value the legends of primæval man preserved in the Pentateuch. The lessons which historians have learned in the attempt to construct a probable narrative from a number of concurrent or discordant documents, have been brought to bear upon the discrepancies of the Gospels. Hydrostatics are as little reverent of the deluge of Noah as of the flood of Deucalion; and

astronomy holds her own in quiet confidence, though David declares the circuit of the sun to be unto the ends of the heaven. What application of the theory of an unconscious tendency of the age to all this? The very essence of the struggle is the *conscious* contention of opposing principles; authority engaged in illogically defending itself with reason's weapons; reason knowingly borrowing the artillery with which the citadels of authority have been battered down upon other than theological ground.

The clearer conception of his subject which we believe that Mr. Lecky would have gained by including in it the history of what we have called conscious rationalism, would also have saved him from some looseness of thought and expression in regard to dogmatic theology. We have seen that in his view one of the characteristic effects of the rationalistic spirit is "to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and of conscience, and as a necessary consequence greatly to restrict its influence upon life." Nor, when we recollect the many departments of human belief and action over which theology has exerted a usurped and wrongful sway, are we disposed to quarrel with this statement. But in the same passage Mr. Lecky enumerates as another characteristic of rationalism—"in theology, to esteem succeeding systems the expression of the wants and aspirations of that religious sentiment which is planted in all men;" and in another, which we have already quoted, he speaks of the "moral movement .... which has had the effect .... of destroying the overwhelming importance of dogmatic teaching, and of establishing the supremacy of conscience." Expressions, indeed, which seem to imply, if taken in their literal sense, that theological truth is beyond the reach of human faculties, and that any one passing phase of it is, if accompanied by certain moral manifestations, as good as any other, are not infrequent in Mr. Lecky's pages. In one place he lays down the following startling theory of "the relations of dogmatic systems to moral principles:"

"In a semi-barbarous period, when the moral faculty or the sense of right is far too weak to be a guide of conduct, dogmatic systems interpose and supply men with motives of action that are suited to their condition, and are sufficient to sustain among them a rectitude of conduct that would otherwise be unknown. But the formation of a moral philosophy is usually the first step

of the decadence of religions. Theology, then, ceasing to be the ground-work of morals, sinks into a secondary position, and the main source of its power is destroyed."*

In another he insists, in eloquent words which command our entire assent, upon the importance and vitality of the moral element of Christianity:

"If we were to judge the present position of Christianity by the tests of ecclesiastical history, if we were to measure it by the orthodox zeal of the great doctors of the past, we might well look upon its prospects with the deepest despondency and alarm. The spirit of the Fathers has incontestably faded. The days of Athanasius and Augustine have passed away never to return. The whole course and tendency of thought is flowing in another direction. The controversies of by-gone centuries ring with a strange hollowness on the ear. But if, turning from ecclesiastical historians, we apply the exclusively moral tests which the New Testament so invariably and so emphatically enforces, if we ask whether Christianity has ceased to produce the living fruits of love and charity and zeal for truth, the conclusion we should arrive at would be very different. If it be true Christianity to dive with a passionate charity into the darkest recesses of misery and of vice, to irrigate every quarter of the earth with the fertilizing stream of an almost boundless benevolence, and to include all the sections of humanity in the circle of an intense and efficacious sympathy; if it be true Christianity to destroy or weaken the barriers which had separated class from class and nation from nation, to free war from its harshest elements, and to make a consciousness of essential equality and of a genuine fraternity dominate over all accidental differences; if it be, above all, true Christianity to cultivate a love of truth for its own sake, a spirit of candour and of tolerance towards those with whom we differ—if these be the marks of a true and healthy Christianity, then never since the days of the Apostles has it been so vigorous as at present, and the decline of dogmatic systems and of clerical influence has been a measure if not a cause of its advance."†

No one can more willingly admit than we do, that the essence of true religion lies, not in belief, but in affection and action; that the most comprehensive belief may bring forth no fruit of love and duty; and, on the other hand, that such fruit is richly produced in connection with every phase of belief. Nor are we unaware that a nice etymological

* Vol. I. 335, 336. † Vol. I. 204, 205.

distinction may be drawn between a *dogma*, as an opinion sought to be imposed upon men by authority, and a *doctrine* which may be supposed to make its appeal to the learner's reason and conscience. But we cannot find that Mr. Lecky at all consistently uses the word dogma and its derivatives in the former of these senses. And what meaning can be attached to the term "dogmatic system"? It cannot be confined to forms of belief which Mr. Lecky may consider illogical and obsolete; it must include, if it have any clear meaning at all, every presentation of theological truth which aims to be consistent and complete. The simplest affirmation of the existence and fatherhood of God—the barest statement of theistic belief—is as truly a "dogmatic system" as the Thirty-nine Articles and the three Creeds. And, this being so, we accuse Mr. Lecky (who is, however, far from being the only offender in this matter) of overlooking two considerations, which approve their validity from his own point of view. First: theological truth, in so far as human faculties are able to grasp it, is, to say the least, as well worth our study as any other abstract truth can be. Grant that it can only be imperfectly grasped; grant, for the moment (though it be, indeed, the very reverse of the fact), that it has no side of relation to practical life;—it still presents itself to the human intellect in as attractive a guise as other objects of study against which no reproach is raised. The same quality of imperfection applies in different degrees to all human knowledge, and as impenetrable a mystery underlies the phenomena of our common life, as hides from us the unapproachable throne of God. Does the mathematician, investigating with keen delight some recondite property of numbers,—the chemist, resolving some obscure substance into its ultimate elements, stop to ask himself, "What usufruct to mankind of this labour?" Or does the world smile scornfully upon such unprofitable work? Surely that must be a maimed conception of rationalism—of the application of the powers of the human mind and conscience to theology—which, declaring that the religious sentiment is independent of any theoretical basis, gives up theological truth as alone, of all truth, not worth the trouble of search. Is it not nearer the truth to say, that the study of theology, cumbered as it is both with necessary difficulties and the accumulated prejudices and errors of ages, is still, in itself and

for its own sake only, the noblest subject upon which human faculties can be exercised? But, in the second place, there is and must be the closest possible connection between dogmatic belief and religious sentiment. By a happy ordinance of Providence, indeed, there is nothing in which even logical men are so habitually illogical, as in the practical inferences which they draw from their creeds; and the mass of believers are, in respect of all Christian affections, better than their belief. But if it be the essence of religion that "the worshiper should seek to become like the Object of his worship," it is no matter of indifference whether that Object be the Father of an infinite compassion, labouring to recall all His children to the embrace of His love, or the God who predestines the great majority of his reasonable creatures to unutterable woe, and peoples an eternal hell with little ones who but saw the light and died. Mr. Lecky's volumes are full of the immoral influence of false and arbitrary dogmatic systems: has the medal no reverse? If a perverted theological belief is all-powerful for evil, are we to look upon a true apprehension of the nature and ways of God as powerless for good? Genuine rationalism feels no affected aversion for dogmas; for although the word, like rationalism itself, has got an ugly sound, it means no more than a clear statement of belief. And the separation of truth from error, and the consequent attainment of a condition of mind in which such a statement of belief is possible, is the very object for which the rationalist lives and labours.

But is the doctrine of a slow religious progress, effected by those complex and subtly interwoven tendencies which we call the spirit of the age, supported by the facts of the case? We grant that Mr. Lecky has triumphantly shewn how the history of the last four hundred years is a story of the gradual abandonment of long-cherished prejudices, of the slow undermining of noxious beliefs, of a hardly won and still partial victory of intellectual freedom. But there is a point of view from which all these things appear in a negative aspect. Religion is not freedom from prejudice, but the activity of holy affections: a man may get rid of many corrupting beliefs, and yet win no deeper insight into divine relations. And we have been accustomed to think that if there be "one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves,"—and therefore a slow, secular progress of the

human race towards fellowship with God,—the advance of religion was rather like the alternate rise and fall of a flowing tide, than the steady tread with which science, making no misdirected step, casting no backward glance, presses on into the region of the unknown. We cannot admit, as the general scope of Mr. Lecky's theory seems to demand, that every half century is on a higher ground of vantage than the last. Was the France of the Regency a more religious nation than the France of the early years of Louis XIV., or did the Gallican Church purify itself as the storm of the Revolution lowered? Mr. Lecky has said very bitter things of the Anglican clergy at the time of the Restoration; were the godly fathers who danced attendance in Charles' ante-chambers, and alternated the flattery of a mistress with the suppression of a conventicle, nearer the Christian ideal than Queen Elizabeth's sober Bishops, or the severe divines who met in synod at Westminster? There is a gulf as from pole to pole of the moral world between the Saxony of Luther and Melancthon and the Saxony in which the next generation of Protestant divines bore rule with fierce intolerance; while it may fairly be questioned whether, in many points of view, Germany be not now a less religious nation than at either of the periods which we have indicated. And these alternations of religious apathy and quickening depend, if we read ecclesiastical history aright, upon quite another series of phenomena than those which Mr. Lecky has so lucidly described. Now and again—we have no apter words than these plain ones to describe the fact—God is seen by some great soul, to whom, with that intent, He has given a keener vision than to his fellows. Then, to such an one, in the light of this revelation, all human duties and relations are glorified as by a Divine Presence: he cannot lose sight of God in the world, having once discerned Him living and working there; and he strives, not without success, to quicken the deadness of other souls with the life that has flowed into himself. Such men make epochs of religious life: so long as their influence lasts, the tide of reverence and affection rises high in human spirits; when at last that influence fades away, the waters fall, only to be again drawn to their bounds by a like force of heavenly attraction. The positive elements of religious emotion—an awful sense of God's presence in the heart, a childlike

trust in his Fatherly loving-kindness, a reverent recognition of the equal sonship of all human souls, and the practical results of patience, goodness, self-sacrifice, which these produce—are, if we may say so, struck out of human nature by the very hand of God, as the sunbeams, striking upon the granite statue among the Egyptian sands, wake it to sweet music. He acts by men upon men, and in so far His operations may be reduced to the laws which regulate all human influence. But there are ages of faith, and, again, ages of religious apathy; ages when men, cumbered with many false theories of God, see His face plainly; and ages freed from misconception, in which there is yet no open vision. Montaigne before, Voltaire after Pascal, stood higher far than he, in such a scale of religious enlightenment as alone we could construct from Mr. Lecky's pages. Yet who would compare either with the author of the "Provincial Letters" in his firm hold of the great principles of morality, with the author of the "Thoughts" in his sense of the presence and providence of God?

We cannot help thinking that Mr. Lecky has some perception of the shortcomings of his own theory, for his long pæan in honour of the triumphs of rationalism dies away at last into a sad and uncertain cadence. The type of philosophy, he says, which at present prevails is utilitarian, and utilitarianism is fatal to enthusiasm. "With a far higher level of average excellence than in former times, our age exhibits a marked decline in the spirit of self-sacrifice, in the appreciation of the more poetical or religious aspect of our nature."* "The gradual evolution of societies, the organized action of great communities under the impulse of utilitarian motives, is admirably manifested; but great individualities act feebly and seldom on the world."† Then utilitarianism is closely connected with sensationalism, which in its turn is capable of easy development into materialism, as is but too evident in certain present tendencies of French and German thought. "This," Mr. Lecky goes on to say, in the concluding sentences of his work,—

"This is the shadow resting upon the otherwise brilliant picture the history of Rationalism presents. The destruction of the belief in witchcraft and of religious persecution, the decay of

* Vol. II. 405. † Vol. II. 406.

those ghastly notions concerning future punishments, which for centuries diseased the imaginations and embittered the character of mankind—the emancipation of suffering nationalities, the abolition of the belief in the guilt of error which paralyzed the intellectual, and of the asceticism which paralyzed the material progress of mankind, may be justly regarded as among the greatest triumphs of civilization; but when we look back to the cheerful alacrity with which, in some former ages, men sacrificed all their material and intellectual interests to what they believed to be right, and when we realize the unclouded assurance that was their reward, it is impossible to deny that we have lost something in our progress."*

And is this, then, all that Rationalism can give us? A civilization more peacefully rich in arts of luxury, yet infinitely poorer in those nobler instincts which arch the cathedral roof, and fix living forms of beauty on the canvas; an intellectual freedom which men do not care to use for the attainment of clear religious convictions, and a toleration which is chiefly tolerant of indifference; a waning belief in God's punishments, accompanied by an equally faint anticipation of His rewards; a religion in which philanthropic impulses willingly submit themselves to the restraints of political economy, and a philosophy whose object is to prove that man is a mere complex lump of animated matter, a brute with a more subtly compacted organization than all the rest;—if this be all, no wonder that men who still believe in a living God, and are moved by impulses of duty, and feel an unspeakable content in self-sacrifice, turn impatiently from rationalism to any "dogmatic system" in which the faith, in the strength of which they live, finds place and justification. If this be the result of employing Mr. Lecky's new method for the investigation of truth, this the answer which the "spirit of the age" gives to those who ask for oracles at this new cave of prophecy, why not boldly return to the old beaten tracks of inquiry, which, however they may be disparaged, can hardly lead us to a less stable ground of belief than these new paths? But, in truth, we do not read the signs of the times quite so despondently as Mr. Lecky. The electric thrill which vibrates through half Europe at the voice of Giuseppe Garibaldi,—the grim tena-

* Vol. II. 408, 409.

city with which the Northern States of America have clung to the guidance of their murdered President,—are hardly proofs that "great individualities act feebly and seldom in the world." There never was a time when the mingled forces of religious earnestness and philanthropic self-sacrifice so powerfully swayed the heart of England; when the highest good of every member of the body politic was so much in the minds of the privileged classes; or when so large an amount of time, of labour, of substance, was freely spent upon the attempt to make the land a true "city of God." The number even of educated men who are able to trace the easy descent by which utilitarianism glides into materialism, is very small in comparison with those who persistently keep before their eyes a not ignoble ideal of political justice and social well-being, for which, in a quiet, unheroic way, they are content to live and suffer. What we chiefly need is one of those prophetic souls who, instead of questioning, mould the spirit of the age. It may be that God will send such an one speedily; never did men's ears more hunger for his voice.

In the mean time, we firmly protest against the inference that the opinions of any school of thinkers at the present moment—and most of all those of the school with whom in the sentences last quoted Mr. Lecky seems to range himself—are to be taken as the complete outcome of the spirit of theological rationalism. If rationalism really be, as we have defined it, the deliberate application to theology of the same faculties which have won so many victories in other fields of science, and therefore, in virtue of the constitution of human nature, the only method by which any certain result can be attained, we are content to wait the issue. We rejoice to believe that the forces which Mr. Lecky has so well described are being powerfully exerted in the same direction as our own conscious efforts. It is a great thing to know that the strongholds of an unreasonable and immoral theology are being attacked, not only by all the force of conscious controversy, but by the unconscious weight of the scientific method and spirit of the times. But the end is not yet. If a materialist philosophy, a utilitarian theory of morals, be in the long run incontestably proved to be true, we will accept them with what courage we may, and strive towards the noblest ideal of individual and social life

still possible. In God's universe there is for man no better thing than truth, even though it be a truth which proves his finest instincts to be unreal, his highest hopes delusive. But if we are to accept these things, it must be, in accordance with the first principle of rationalism, because they approve themselves to our own reason and conscience, not because they seem to result from a possibly erroneous interpretation of the spirit of the age. And even were this method of investigation far less open to objection than it is, we should still be inclined to recollect that, in the long battle between truth and error, victory, though it perch at last upon the banner of truth, often hovers from side to side; and we should appeal from the verdict of an age immersed in one long dream of selfish ease, to the judgment of a coming generation, newly awakened to self-sacrifice by the voice of God, and pressing on towards His throne once more in the strength of immortal hope.

C.

V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Christ the Interpreter of Scripture: a Series of Discourses, &c., with a Preliminary Essay on the Sources and Guarantees of the Gospel History.* By J. R. Beard, D.D. London: Whitfield, Green and Son.

Dr. Beard, in closing a ministry of more than thirty-nine years to his congregation in Manchester, has dedicated to its members a volume of sermons which contain the fruit of his life-long studies respecting the Bible. There are few men in the Unitarian church who have laboured more zealously than he to place within the reach of the humblest student the means of reading, with understanding heart and mind, the pages of the book whence we draw our faith, in which we find the confirmation of our highest hopes and the incentives to the holiest form of life. Nor could he have offered a more appropriate parting gift than one which is designed to guide the reader to a proper use of the rich treasury of religion laid up in the Bible, and to guard him against the many prevalent errors which

dim its beauty and lessen its intended usefulness. Most of the previous biblical works of Dr. Beard have been directed to the elucidation of those points of historical and geographical difficulty which must be understood before the facts of Scripture can be comprehended, and have had reference, therefore, to subjects on which no controversy of a purely theological nature could arise. The present volume, however, rises to the consideration of a more important subject, and deals with one of the most interesting problems of the present day,—the authority and value of the Bible as the source of religious knowledge and faith.

The views which the author seems to have espoused are those which are entertained by some of the most liberal theological writers of modern days. He deals with his vast subject with the utmost freedom, but also with the devoutest reverence, giving at one and the same time full recognition to the human instrumentalities by which the various biblical books were written, and to the Divine Spirit which reveals itself in them and forms the underlying unity which harmonizes the various elements, and causes them to leave on the mind of every attentive reader the impression that the "Bible is one book." In a succession of earnest sermons, all the chief arguments for and against the common doctrine of plenary inspiration are examined and judged; the true methods of studying the Scriptures are clearly expounded, and the leading features of the true faith which the Scriptures teach are placed before the reader. As a necessary preliminary to these sermons, an introductory essay is prefixed, in which the sources of the gospel history are enumerated, and the guarantees of their authenticity are briefly examined. The tone of this essay is decidedly conservative; the authenticity of the Gospels is defended, and the arguments in favour of their early origin are stated in a popular and simple manner. We cannot deny that in perusing its pages we felt that there were, however, many difficulties left untouched and unalluded to, which could not fail to arise in the minds of those who have read the first life of Christ by Strauss, and have devoted some attention to the theories of the Tübingen school. No doubt the learned author considered that, in a work intended for the general reader, it was not needful to enter into any detailed criticism of the varied views which have been ad-

vanced by modern writers on the Canon, as this would lead him into discussions unsuited to the character of his book; and there can be no doubt that an appreciative study of the minute criticism of some of the Tübingen professors requires an amount of preparatory work such as cannot be expected of persons not specially trained to theological study. The introduction given is, however, very valuable, in so far as it shews how the Gospels are corroborated by the Epistles, and how surely the ecclesiastical tradition of the first two centuries confirms the leading features of the New Testament, so that if we had even lost the precious records of the four evangelists, the essential truths of Christianity would not have perished with them.

"The gospel itself is imperishable. It is that word of Christ and God which, whatever else may pass away, cannot pass away, for in its essence it rests on God's relations to man, and men's sense of dependance on God. Moral and spiritual forces are in their nature supremely divine and purely human, and as such must survive so long as God loves man and man seeks after God."

Having thus shewn the authentic character of the New Testament records, our author proceeds to examine our power of judging their spiritual value. In pursuing this inquiry, he maintains the existence of a religious sense in man, enabling him to judge of the claims of any doctrine to the character of divine truth. The very fact of man's being able to form religious ideas, is in his eyes an all-sufficient proof of this verifying quality. He claims the authority of Jesus Christ himself in behalf of this power, and asserts that the Saviour excluded nothing, not even the character of his own mission, from its exercise. But at the same time, like everything that is human, it requires discipline and education. "Two great implications run through the whole of Christ's preaching. One is, that men are capable of religion or have a religious sense; the other is, that that sense, while alive and active, requires elevation and refinement." With these, the great and leading lessons of Christ's teaching, the author contrasts the ordinary views inculcated by the Church, which reserve so many points from human judgment. As might be expected, he condemns these restrictions as irrational and irreligious too in their tendency; but, on the other hand, he earnestly and wisely dwells upon

the great responsibility which rests upon all who have this power given to them by God, and yet refuse to exercise it, and permit it to lie unused and neglected. "We cannot be healthy and vigorous in soul so long as we are dark in conscience and weak of will, so long as the deed halts so far behind the word, or the word hurries to the lips, leaving the deed to care for itself." This religious sense, when duly exercised, is a trustworthy means of obtaining a knowledge of the truths which God reveals; for human consciousness is even more to be relied upon in questions of a moral and spiritual character than in mere physical matters. God teaches us by direct communication with the religious sense. The inspiration does not, however, lie in the outward form, in the words, but in the mind and thought; and therefore, although the Scriptures are, according to our author, truly inspired, we must not ascribe that quality to the letter. In the study of Scripture, therefore, we must not seek to find in it our own notions and sentiments, but must seek "the mind first of the writer, then of the speaker, and therefore, wherever real inspiration exists, the mind of God."

"Inspiration," says our author in another passage, "is the first of two processes by which God makes Himself known to man, and leads man to fear, love and obey Himself. The second is revelation. Revelation completes what inspiration commences. When God by His Holy Spirit has quickened our souls and made them desire to see His face, then by His hand He lifts the veil which hides Him from our sight, and discloses His majesty and loving-kindness. Beholding His glory, we bow down in lowly and enraptured devotion, feeling our own littleness, while we own and adore His transcendent and unutterable grandeur."

According to this view, it is by inspiration that God communicates spiritual life to man, and enables him to rise to divine things. If we lay ourselves open to its influences we become one with God, and it is because Christ was completely under its power that he was truly one with his heavenly Father. Its influence is not dogmatic as giving intellectual clearness, but it is moral and spiritual. As a matter of course, therefore, it is higher than the channel by which it comes to us, and must be reverenced more than the mere letter of Scripture. But as it is a moral influence, it may be connected with intellectual errors, if these errors are not of such a character to affect the sentiment itself; and

infallibility is therefore no necessary adjunct of inspiration. More or less, these sentiments pervade the whole of this volume, and form the leading principles of all the sermons. The true test of inspiration, its moral and spiritual influence, is freely applied to the teachings of the Old and New Testament, and with fearless intrepidity the author rejects every claim of divinity on the part of statements which, thus tested, cannot stand. The false views of those who defend the doctrine of plenary inspiration, meet with no mercy at Dr. Beard's hand, as he in turn exposes their uncritical methods and the immoral effects of their teaching. But while the ordinary method of reading and using the Bible is overthrown, and shewn to be dishonourable to God and unfair to the writers of the Scriptures themselves, the candid reader will rise from the study of these sermons with a higher view of the real value of the sacred book, and will have found that a nobler idea of the unity pervading these varied writings has impressed itself upon his mind. Underlying all the differences and contradictions, one spirit manifests itself, and "the word of the kingdom of God" reveals itself as pervading all. Faith in a Fatherly Providence, guiding all the events of life to a final reconciliation of humanity with God, inspires all the books, and gives a unity of aim to all. To teach this great lesson is a high and lofty endeavour; and Dr. Beard deserves the thanks of all Christian students for the attempt he has made to its attainment.

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2. *Miscellaneous.*

Miss Cobbe's new volume, "Studies, Ethical and Social,"* consists of a series of nine essays, two of which are now for the first time published; one, "Christian Ethics and the Ethics of Christ," originally appeared in our own pages, while the rest are reprinted from Fraser's Magazine. They range over a wide tract of thought, the link which connects them being, in the author's view, the fact that "they are all, strictly speaking, *ethical studies*, developments in various directions of the views of morals advocated in her earlier works. What shall we say of the book? Such volumes are the critic's puzzle, not from their want, but their wealth,

* Studies, New and Old, of Ethical and Social Subjects. By Frances Power Cobbe. London: Trübner. 1865.

of suggestiveness. Miss Cobbe describes the sacred books of the Zoroastrians, and characterizes the spirit of the 19th century; passes from the theory of self-development and self-abnegation to the morals of literature; discusses with great practical good sense the management of our workhouses, and lays down a theory of "cruelty to animals." We cannot give an epitome of so various a labour; while, on the other hand, it would be easy to fill a whole number of our Review with the discussions to which it might naturally give rise. We are inclined, however, to believe that Miss Cobbe has herself drawn attention to a true and valuable characteristic of her divergent speculations, in pointing out that they all have their root and test in a general ethical theory. A certain logical unity thus underlies the whole of the book, which at once greatly aids its impressiveness, and lifts it far above the dead level of platitude on which discussions of practical morals are usually conducted. The style is extremely pleasant and lively; and we venture to predict that into whatever part of the volume the reader dips, he will be drawn on to its continuous study. We cordially thank Miss Cobbe for a valuable contribution to a kind of literature which hitherto has been less attractive than from its importance might be desired, and commend her very interesting volume to our reader's attention.

"Henry Holbeach"* is a work of similar purpose, but executed on a very different plan. About the identity of Mr. Holbeach a great cloud is raised, which, however, does not succeed in separating in the reader's mind the personality of the editor from that of the author. The book consists of two parts, "a Narrative and a Discussion." Its value seems to us to lie chiefly in the former. The first volume contains a description of a congregation of Arian Calvinists in a Lincolnshire village, in the midst of which Henry Holbeach was brought up, which is either a very accurate transcript of real persons and things, or a remarkable product of imagination. When we passed from the photograph of Gravely and its religious world to the moral and philosophical dissertations which constitute the rest of the book, we were conscious of woful disappointment. The

* Henry Holbeach, Student in Life and Philosophy. A Narrative and a Discussion. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Strahan. 1865.

power of thought which the author undoubtedly possesses is impaired by needless vagueness and discursiveness: the reader often cannot see where he is going, and soon ceases to care. Any man who begins the description of Gravely will read it through: we cannot understand that any but the most scrupulous of critics will do as much for the rest of the work. Mr. Holbeach—if the author desires to be known by this *nom-de-plume*—has genuine literary power, but he has mistaken its direction.—Mr. Harland's collection of Lancashire Songs* is an elegant and interesting work, which it does not fall within our province to criticise. But the editor's well-earned antiquarian reputation, no less than its subject, will sufficiently recommend it to a large class of readers.

The elaborate account of Vinet's theological system, as well as of his influence upon the development of French Protestantism, which is to be found in our first article, preclude the necessity of a detailed criticism in this place of two volumes of extracts from his works just published in England. They are entitled respectively "Outlines of Theology,"† and "Outlines of Philosophy and Literature,"‡ and consist of fragments from Vinet's various works, artfully dovetailed together by a French editor, M. Astié. Notwithstanding some unavoidable abruptness of style, resulting from the way in which the volumes have been put together, they may be warmly recommended to the English reader who is desirous of becoming acquainted with Vinet's method and scope of thought.—A volume little less fragmentary in effect than the foregoing, although the continuous work of one author, is Mr. Douglas Campbell's "New Religious Thoughts,"§ in the successive chapters of which we have found it impossible to detect any connecting link of argument or allusion. Mr. Campbell is an uncompromising monotheist, and in his repeated statements of the great central truth of theology gives evidence of deep and genuine

* Ballads and Songs of Lancashire. Collected, compiled and edited, with Notes, by John Harland, F.S.A. London: Whittaker. 1865.

† Outlines of Theology. By Alexander Vinet. 8vo. London: Strahan. 1865.

‡ Outlines of Philosophy and Literature. By Alexander Vinet. 8vo. London: Strahan. 1865.

§ New Religious Thoughts. By Douglas Campbell. Second Edition, revised. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

religious feeling. Side by side with his philosophical speculations are biblical criticisms so utterly absurd and unfair as to be beneath all serious notice. Nor can we find in the volume any justification of Mr. Campbell's title. To any educated man there is nothing "new" in the matter of his religious thoughts.—The author (or authoress) of a little pamphlet with a not dissimilar title, "Thoughts for our Homes,"* slips from under the possibility of this criticism by the ingenuous declaration that "there is nothing original in them." Nevertheless, there *is* in them a clear statement of religious as distinguished from theological truth, or rather of theological truth in its religious relations, and much valuable practical suggestion earnestly and pleasantly given. The pamphlet is worthy of wider circulation than it is likely to attain in its present form. Divided, according to the subjects of each of its sections, and somewhat condensed, it would make two or three very valuable tracts for general distribution.

We wish to call the attention of all our readers who are interested in the study of Hebrew, to a translation of the "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament"† of Dr. Julius Fuerst, by Dr. Davidson. It is being issued in monthly parts, of which the first is now before us. Each part, containing eighty handsome and well-printed pages, costs no more than one shilling. We shall probably return to the subject when a larger portion of the work is in our hands; in the mean time, it is enough to say that the combined work of two such distinguished Hebrew scholars has a peculiar claim to the attention of all who take an interest in biblical philology.—We can cordially recommend to our readers two excellent sermons on the death of President Lincoln, by Mr. R. B. Drummond‡ and Mr. Steinthal.§ Is it a proof of the decay of theological prejudice, or of the way

* Thoughts for our Homes. By F. H. London: Emily Faithful. 1865.

† A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament, &c. By Dr. Julius Fuerst. Third Edition. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Part I. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

‡ President Lincoln and the American War: a Funeral Address, &c. By R. B. Drummond, B.A. Manchester: Johnson and Rawson.

§ Address on the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, delivered in the Ashton Town Hall, on Sunday, May 7th, 1865. By S. Alfred Steinthal. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

in which for a time it disappears in presence of an overmastering political feeling, that when the Liberal party in Ashton-under-Lyne desired to give public expression to their feelings of grief and indignation in a combined religious service, their chosen mouthpiece should have been an Unitarian minister of the neighbouring city?

E.

VI.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

A CONTROVERSY, which attracts little public attention, but which is of great importance in the interests of religious liberty, has for some time been carried on between the Committee of Council on Education and the clergy, as represented in the National Society. The case is briefly this. The Privy Council makes grants for building and maintaining schools on what may be called the denominational system. It will grant the public money to a Church school where the children are required to learn the Catechism and attend the parish church on Sunday, and it will also grant it to a British school in the same parish in which no such regulations are enforced. But suppose the frequent case of a rural parish where the Church children are so far in the majority, that though there are children of Dissenting parents, these cannot support a school for themselves,—what is to be done then? The Privy Council very properly insists that in such cases Dissenting children shall be protected, by the insertion of what is known as "the conscience clause" in the trust-deed of the Church school, from any interference with their religious faith or practice, and takes this course on the ground that the money applied to the maintenance of a Church school under such circumstances has been raised by the taxation of all classes of the community. On the other hand, many clergymen insist that Dissenting children in attendance upon parish schools shall either learn the Catechism and go to church, or be altogether excluded from the benefits of the school. It appears from a recent Parliamentary return that in the years 1861—1864, the Privy Council has on this ground actually

refused to make grants in seventy-one cases. In 1862, the aggregate amount granted for building was £35,000 less than in the previous year: in 1863, this sum had decreased by £25,000 more. It is not unworthy of remark, that almost the whole of these cases are in quiet country parishes, where Dissenters are few and without influence, and where the clergyman has a fair chance of establishing an autocratic authority. In the populous districts, where National are exposed to the competition of British schools, the conscience clause is for the most part quietly accepted.

At the annual meeting of the National Society, held on the 30th of May, a resolution pledging the Society to opposition to the conscience clause was passed almost unanimously. Archdeacon Denison has succeeded in carrying through the Lower House of Convocation a series of resolutions of similar purport. In the House of Lords, the Archbishop of York, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishops of London, Llandaff, Lincoln and St. David's, prevented the introduction of a clause guaranteeing the protection of Dissenting children from theological molestation, into a Bill enabling railway and other public companies to establish schools for the children of their workpeople.* At a meeting of managers of National schools, the eloquence of the Bishop of Oxford was thrown away in the attempt to secure the acceptance of the principle of the clause. At the same time, that so astute an upholder of High-church principles as the Bishop of Oxford should have abandoned the party to which he naturally belongs, is a good omen of the hopelessness of their cause. And the Privy Council, which holds the power of the purse, is pledged to persistence upon this point.

The question of an alteration in the Court of Final Appeal remains where it was. Convocation, almost unanimous in the opinion that some alteration is required, finds itself quite unable to decide what that alteration shall be; so the subject has dropped out of sight, and Lord Lyttelton has prudently deferred to next session his Parliamentary motion. A Bill embodying the recommendations of the Clerical Subscription Commission has already been passed by the House of Lords, has been read a second time without a division in

* This Bill has been subsequently withdrawn altogether.

the House of Commons, and may probably before these pages are published have become the law of the land. But the terms of clerical subscription are settled not only by Acts of Parliament, but by the Canons of the Church, and the leaders of Convocation saw here a great opportunity of reviving synodical action to some purpose. The necessary steps were taken; both Houses of Convocation manifested a wonderful unanimity of agreement with the recommendations of the Commission and the Government Bill; and an application was duly made for the Royal permission to effect the necessary alteration in the Canons. Sanguine newspapers of the High-church type actually announced that this permission had been granted, and that the world was to be edified by the spectacle of a real act of self-government on the part of the Anglican Church. It is true that the Church (or rather the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury) had declared its absolute unity of judgment, for this occasion, with the State; but still Convocation and Parliament were to act together, and the amendment of the law and the alteration of the Canons were to proceed *pari passu*. That these hopes were destined to be blighted, is no more than any one who is at all acquainted with the true relations between Church and State would expect. The licence to Convocation has not been granted. The Queen, as the Government has pointed out to the expectant Churchmen, cannot by granting such a licence anticipate the action of her Parliament. Her royal assent must not be signified until the matter has received the full consideration of both Lords and Commons. When that is the case, a licence may possibly be issued, and Convocation will be at liberty to follow in the footsteps of Parliament if it chooses. But even so, there is no intention of consulting the Irish branch of the Church; and, notwithstanding the energetic appeals and protests of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Killaloe, the Irish Convocation will not be summoned.

Mr. Newdegate has made another ineffectual attempt to compromise the Church-rate difficulty, by bringing in a Bill to substitute for the rate, in the case of certain parishes, a charge of 2*d*. in the pound upon all real property. The Bill, the objections to which are patent, was thrown out by a large majority upon the second reading. Mr. Hadfield's Bill for relieving Dissenters from the necessity of making certain

declarations as a qualification for office, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 72 to 49. It is worth recording that though Lord Derby opposed the Bill on the ground that it would encourage Dissenters in further measures of aggression upon the Established Church, he admitted that this declaration was "not worth the paper on which it was written." This is the fifth time in which the House of Lords, reinforced by a large attendance of the bench of Bishops, has rejected this Bill. On the other hand, Mr. Monsell's Bill for modifying the oaths required to be taken by Roman Catholics, was read a second time in the House of Commons by a majority of 190 to 134; and having survived a vigorous opposition in committee, led by Sir Hugh Cairns, has been read a third time and passed. Mr. Göschen's Bill, too, which would have the effect of giving Dissenters at Oxford a vote for the University, of admitting them to the governing body, and of throwing open to them 80 lay fellowships, has been read a second time in the Lower House by a majority of 206 to 190. Both these Bills will probably escape rejection by the House of Lords, from the fact that the state of public business and the approaching dissolution will render necessary their postponement to the first session of the new Parliament.

The most interesting questions which occupied the attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland during their meeting last May, were the same as those debated in 1864. We mentioned a year ago that the Assembly, having discussed the question of innovations in public worship, arrived at a conclusion which was virtually a triumph for the reformers. This year, however, the conservative party came up in greater force, and by a small majority carried a resolution which puts the matter upon a different footing, and by asserting the authority of Presbyteries limits the freedom of individual congregations. Dr. Pirie, the ex-moderator, led the attack, assailing Dr. Lee, whose previous offences have been aggravated by the introduction of an organ into the Old Greyfriars' church, with considerable acrimony. Without mentioning any names, he stated, on the authority of an Edinburgh paper, that in a certain church "there was something in the form of an altar, the clergyman standing on one end of it, and the

reader or curate on the other; and there were a pair of candles, or rather of gas-lights (!), burning at the end during the course of the forenoon." This was characterized as a masquerade of Popery, amid the applause of the Assembly; and the alleged fact that in the same church "there was a fearful onslaught on effectual calling," was brought forward as an additional proof of the alarming growth of the innovating spirit. Dr. Pirie concluded by moving, that in consequence of unauthorized innovations having been introduced by certain ministers, "the General Assembly, while recommending the utmost tenderness to the feelings of unanimous congregations as to matters of form, do hereby declare and enact, that arrangements with regard to public worship, and all other religious services and ecclesiastical arrangements of every kind in parishes and congregations, are to be regulated by the Presbytery of the bounds, always subject to the ordinary right of appeal, and that even though no express law should exist with reference to such particulars; the decisions of Presbyteries in each case being absolute and obligatory until they have been finally reversed by the competent courts of review." Besides this, two other motions were brought before the House, one by Professor Stevenson, to the effect that the regulation of the form of public worship should be left in the hands of the minister and elders of each congregation, with the right on the part of any one interested to bring any charges under the notice of the Presbytery of the bounds; and one by Professor Crawford, requiring that no change should be made without previous notice to the Presbytery, and until the Presbytery shall have been satisfied that the change will not endanger the peace of the congregation, but forbidding unnecessary interference with innovations already introduced. The liberal side found powerful advocates in Principal Tulloch, Dr. Norman M'Leod, and finally Dr. Robert Lee, who in a long and elaborate speech defended the practice of standing to sing and kneeling to pray, as well as the use of instrumental music in public worship. Referring to the attack upon himself, Dr. Lee stated that the newspaper on whose authority the accusation was made, was one that "lived by abusing the Church, and by abusing everybody who is believed to be doing any good service to the Church." In the course of his speech he declared that his innovations

were prompted by his warm love for the Church of Scotland and his desire for her progress. To what an extent personal hostility to Dr. Lee influenced the Assembly may be inferred from the fact that, on a division, Dr. Stevenson's motion was carried against Dr. Crawford's, though the latter was more stringent in regard to future innovations, more lenient only in regard to those who had already been introduced. On a division between Dr. Pirie's and Dr. Stevenson's motions, there appeared for the former 173 votes, for the latter 140; Dr. Pirie's thus having in its favour a majority of 33. Dr. Lee protested against the decision for himself and all who might adhere to him. Subsequently, reasons of dissent were read by Dr. Forsyth and recorded by the Assembly. It will generally be considered a matter of regret that the Church of Scotland should have taken so retrograde a step in this matter. It remains to be seen whether the Edinburgh Presbytery will be impolitic enough to forbid Dr. Lee to use his organ. They have now the power to do so, and Dr. Pirie took good care, as may be seen from that part of his motion which we have already quoted, that in case of an adverse decision, the organ must immediately become mute, and remain so until the decision be reversed. And all this has been done under pretence of promoting the peace of the Church! It is possible, however, that the enemies of reform and good sense may not have such an easy triumph as they imagine. Serious doubts have been expressed whether the Assembly, in transferring the regulation of worship from the Kirk session—the governing body of each congregation—to the Presbytery, has not exceeded its powers, in fact, committed an illegal act; and, should the matter go further, it is more than probable that Dr. Lee will carry the question into the civil courts, and have the decision of the Assembly reversed. Our readers will be surprised to learn that the use of the Lord's Prayer, the offering of prayers at funerals, and the celebration of the Communion in private, are as much innovations (though not quite so recent) as the introduction of the organ. These innovations were brought about by the gradual change of public opinion operating through the Kirk session, and it would be according to the tradition of the Church that the organ question should be dealt with in the same way.

Another very animated and interesting debate took place

upon the question whether lay elders should be relieved of the obligation of signing the Westminster Confession. Upon one side it was argued that there was as much reason for elders signing as for ministers; that the law of the land requires elders to declare their approval of the Confession; that the Confession is founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and contains no difficulties but such as are to be found in the Scriptures; and that there were hardly any instances of proposed elders refusing to sign. One gentleman, himself a lay elder, went so far as to affirm that he had met with hundreds and thousands of elders belonging to the National Church, and had never yet met a man who did not understand the Confession of Faith, or who said he would not sign it. Another denounced the proposal to relax the terms of subscription as most dangerous. "Heresy," he exclaimed, "is creeping in through very narrow meshes. We have the poison of the Essays and Reviews creeping in through the veins of the talented, the philosophical and the learned; we have the false arithmetic of Colenso making the books of Moses a cunningly-devised fable; we have Renan's History of Christ, in which our Saviour is painted in terms so beautiful as to make him a moon-eyed enthusiast and an unworthy impostor. Are these times in which we are to remove the landmarks which our fathers have set up?" Upon the other side, Principal Tulloch contended that very special knowledge was required in order to understand the Confession, and stated that there were many parts which he himself had considerable difficulty in understanding. Dr. Norman M'Leod defended Dr. Lee against an implied charge of hostility to the standards of the Church. Dr. Lee, who reserved himself till the close of the discussion, delivered a long and able speech, in which he shewed that, whereas ministers were obliged to sign the Confession by Act of Parliament, and could not without a fresh Act be relieved from the obligation, the Confession is binding upon elders only by the authority of the Assembly, which has always power to revise its own acts. Dr. Lee denied in the strongest terms that private members of the Church of Scotland were bound by the Confession, and affirmed that, "by being members of the Church, they shew their general approval of its doctrine and their willingness to be instructed therein, but no more." Dr. Lee's motion, however, which

was simply to appoint a committee to consider the question, was lost by a majority of 102 out of 158. This debate was upon the last day of meeting. After the moderator's closing address, the Assembly was dissolved, according to the usual form, first by the Lord High Commissioner, "in the name of our gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen," and then by the moderator, "in the name and by authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Head of his Church,"—both concurring in appointing the next General Assembly to meet on Thursday, 24th May, 1866.

Many persons not versed in Scottish ecclesiastical history, when, upon their first visit to Scotland, they hear of "the disruption," fall under the impression that some great physical catastrophe is alluded to. Could they have listened to Dr. Begg, the moderator of the Free Church, they would know that the disruption was the breaking up of the Establishment in the year 1843, which took place in consequence of the declaration, on the highest authority, that the Church as established in Scotland was merely "the creature of the State." The fact is, a large number of the clergy and laity of the Establishment wished to have all the advantages of a State-Church combined with all the advantages of Dissenters, and, finding they could not have both, marched out and formed a separate Church for themselves. Although we do not sympathize with that peculiar form of theology which is known among its professors as "evangelical religion," we are not disposed to deny that the "disruption" exercised a good influence in stimulating religious earnestness among the people of Scotland; and if liberality in contributing to the support of the Church may be taken as any test, the fact that the Free Church has raised, during the twenty-two years of its existence, more than £7,000,000, certainly indicates a large amount of zeal and determination. It was to be expected that Dr. Begg, in his moderator's address, would attack the Establishment, and he did so with no sparing tongue. The English Church, however, is the great bugbear of Scottish Dissent, and is continually held up as the type of all that is evil in ecclesiastical government. Dr. Begg bewailed its Erastianism, noticing, upon the one hand, the freaks of Brother Ignatius, and, upon the other, the fact that "it has been solemnly declared that a man may hold essentially infidel opinions and still be a

minister of the Church of England." For these evils he suggested, as the only remedy, a disruption similar to that which has taken place in Scotland; but, failing this, found comfort in the reflection that "there will be no Erastianism in heaven."

On the whole, the meetings of the Dissenting bodies have been—we will not say, remarkable for (for that would imply that the phenomenon was a singular one), but—characterized by a display of bigotry and narrowness which must be astonishing to those who are unfamiliar with the sight, and by a strong re-assertion of the Calvinistic theology in its most naked form. Odd phrases, not at all smacking of the nineteenth century, turn up in the reports of these meetings, and illustrate in a remarkable way the tone of thought pervading the minds of the speakers. The civil power of course is always "Cæsar," who stands opposed to Christ. One orator speaks of "the breaker" as of a personage who ought to be perfectly familiar. On turning to the Concordance, we find that the words, "the breaker is come up," occur in Micah ii. 13; but who the breaker is does not appear very clearly from the context either of the Hebrew prophet or of the modern divine. Then Dr. Begg quotes the words of Ezekiel, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn," with manifest unction, and with express reference to the present and the approaching state of the world. The recent American war is the beginning of sorrows spoken of in the gospel; God has begun "to ride his bloody circuit," and the "cup of judgment" is to "go round." Were these expressions addressed to a miscellaneous audience by a mere popular orator, they would not be deserving of notice here. But when they are uttered in a grave deliberative assembly, and by the representative of that assembly, they assume a significance which would not otherwise attach to them.

No decided step has been taken since last year towards the contemplated union of the dissenting Presbyterian churches. There has, however, been a great deal of very friendly talk, and a meeting was held in the Free Church Assembly Hall of the members of the different bodies. From the identical reports submitted by the union committees to the General Assembly of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Synod, it appears that, so far, no difference of opinion exists except in regard to the relation

of the civil government to the Church. Upon this point the English Presbyterians adhere to the principles of the Free Church, while the Reformed Presbyterians are true to the purely voluntary principle. But upon all questions of doctrine, the four Churches are perfectly agreed. There is no evidence that there is a grain less Calvinism or more Christian liberality in any one than in the remaining three. The most painful feature in the reports referred to above—which include in their scope all four Churches—is the strong assertion of the doctrines of the Confession of Faith in the strictest and most literal meaning of the words. If any one supposes that Calvinism is losing its hold upon the people of Scotland, this year's proceedings will probably free him from the delusion.

We owe the following account of the Unitarian convention lately held in New York to the kindness of an American correspondent:

"The national convention of Unitarians which assembled early in April in the city of New York, may be regarded as an epoch in the denominational history of American Unitarianism. Nearly two hundred churches were represented, and the convention numbered six hundred, two-thirds of whom were laymen. The character and position of these is an illustration of one of the marked features of this religious communion. Besides the eminent clergy who have adorned the American pulpit by their eloquence and scholarship, there were present among the lay delegates those who were distinguished in literature and prominent as statesmen and jurists. There was the poet Bryant with his long flowing white hair and noble brow, and Palfrey the historian of New England, and a host of other names, who as members of congress, judges of the courts, governors of States, physicians, essayists and merchants, occupy places of influence and honour. Rarely in any religious convention do you see so large a number of intelligent representative men as was gathered on this occasion. So much for the character of the delegates.

"If we pass to the proceedings of this body, we find many points of interest. In the first place, everything was done in a business-like way. The details were arranged with skill, and the two days' proceedings were marked by unusual despatch for such a body. In this respect it was in striking contrast with the usual gatherings of Unitarians. It was very evident from the onset that a majority of the delegates had assembled with a distinct and determined purpose to effect a working organization. The

question of creed-making, which had been previously discussed in the journals, did not, as many had apprehended, cause a split, for the convention did not meet for any such purpose. The simple object aimed at was organization for practical Christian work. What then are the actual results which were accomplished?

"Already, it will be remembered, the Unitarian Association has been engaged in raising one hundred thousand dollars. This has been nearly accomplished. It is proposed to raise a like sum, in addition, for the endowment of Antioch College. This institution of learning, situated in Ohio, will be under the entire control of the Unitarians, and they hope to make it the Harvard of the West. Nearly fifty thousand dollars have been obtained, and the rest will doubtless be secured soon. Besides this, the convention passed resolutions, recommending the churches to raise still another one hundred thousand dollars for missionary purposes for the coming year. Thus it will be seen that the Unitarians are launching forth in a new career. They are laying out work on a large scale. The opportunity for extending a liberal faith has awakened a zeal among them, such as they have never before exhibited. To carry out their plans, the convention has organized itself by the adoption of a preamble and constitution. Thus a step has been made towards ecclesiasticism. Hereafter they will have an annual convention, made up of one clerical and two lay delegates from each church.

"Besides these practical measures, there were other features which deserve a record. Dr. Gannet, in summing up the results, said the convention established four things: first, the independence of each church; second, individual Christian liberty of opinion; third, the emphatic avowal of the historic name Unitarian; fourth, Christ the Lord and Saviour as the foundation of their faith. It was very evident, moreover, that the Unitarians as a whole were a stable body of Christians. The two extremes of opinion had a feeble show of hands. The wings were small. While there was a willingness to give a generous tolerance towards all shades of opinion, the great majority shewed a strong and deep attachment to the old name Unitarian. An effort was made by the more radical wing to have the next convention organized on a broader basis, so as to include all the various liberal churches in the United States; but this was voted down by a very large majority. The convention declared that the principles on which the Unitarian churches were founded were broad and generous enough for all liberal Christians to stand upon. The radicals also tried to defeat the preamble of the constitution, because they thought it exclusive. In this they were also out-voted.

"From all this it will be seen, that those who occupy a position between the two extremes made up a very large part of the convention, and the proceedings carry with them the momentum of the whole body. The conservatives are delighted with the results, and the radicals, with a very few exceptions, have resolved to remain, and by discussion so create a change as in the future to carry out their plans. As a whole, the convention was a grand success. It has inspired among Unitarians more courage, stimulated them to larger plans of action, demonstrated that they have a much deeper unity of spirit and purpose than was supposed to exist, and proved that they can unite for the accomplishment of Christian work. The influence of this gathering will be felt throughout the churches, and cannot fail to quicken them into more life. Although primarily the convention may be characterized for its practical organizing tendencies, still it will have a very decided influence on opinion, and do much towards giving solidarity to the denomination.

"This 'revival' as it is called, has evidently surprised the orthodox. They have supposed that Unitarianism was nearly dead, and that its days were numbered. This waking up has opened their eyes. They see that considerable vitality yet remains; and as the war has on the whole tended to liberalize men, they watch this movement with interest, and even acknowledge that it has given Unitarianism a longer lease of life. There certainly has not been a period within the last twenty years when the Unitarians themselves were more hopeful, and the readiness with which the churches have responded to the appeals for money is proof of an increased earnestness. This record we think in itself contains facts which are a demonstration of more zeal.

"A question here rises—will this effort to crystallize into a denomination block the wheels of progress? The discussions in the convention settle this. While the great body are engaged in organizing for work, there are active, independent, progressive thinkers who will prevent stagnation of opinion; and a movement in the direction of practical action will be a corrective of some of the evils from excessive intellectual and speculative tendencies."

A movement in quite another direction, but of at least equal importance, has taken place at Harvard University. This institution, whose local habitation is at Cambridge, a mile or two from Boston, and which is the oldest foundation of its kind in the United States, is practically under Unitarian control. Connected with it is a Divinity School, where young men are trained for the Unitarian ministry. But the

governing body of the University, "the Board of Overseers," have conceived the large and liberal idea of making their theological faculty not the school of any particular sect, but, as in the German universities, a place where theology as a science may be taught and studied by men of varying opinions and ecclesiastical destinations. Their purpose may be best expressed in the words of their own resolutions, passed January 18th, 1864:

"*Whereas* it is desirable that in this University the important branch of Divinity should be open to all denominations, and offer to students of Christianity an opportunity of hearing different views on all important points at issue among Christians,—therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That a special Committee be appointed of five members to consult with the Corporation and with the Faculty of the Divinity School, to see what methods can be taken to give a truly university character to the Theological department, by inviting all Christian denominations in the State to endow professorships therein, to be filled by suitable men among themselves; and this Committee is requested to report at the next annual meeting of this Board."

The Committee thus appointed made their report in February of the present year. They state that they have consulted, by letter, the leading theologians of different religious bodies throughout the country, and specify the names of those from whom they have received answers. "Of these gentlemen, a few give to the plan their hearty concurrence. Dr. Peabody, of Cambridge, Dr. Haven, of Michigan University, and the Rev. Robert Lowell, of New York, regard the plan as practicable and eminently desirable. Most of the gentlemen consider it desirable, but have doubts as to its practicability; and one gentleman at least considers it neither practicable nor desirable." At the same time, this correspondence revealed many unforeseen difficulties, which we cannot here enumerate; and the Committee close a very thoughtful and interesting report by asking the Board of Overseers to adopt the modified plan sketched in the following resolutions. We heartily wish success to a movement prompted by so truly catholic a spirit.

"That the Corporation of Harvard University be requested to consider the expediency of adopting the following plan:

"I. To appoint a number of University Lecturers in Theology

from among distinguished gentlemen of different denominations, who may be nominated to them by those willing to guarantee an adequate compensation for their labour in preparing and delivering lectures.

"II. When a sufficient number of such University Lecturers have been appointed, to unite them, together with the Professors of the Divinity School, as a *University Faculty of Theology;* with power to arrange the times and subjects of their lectures as may be most expedient—to hold examinations in Theology at the end of the year—and to confer the degree of Bachelor of Theology upon such persons as shall pass a satisfactory examination in the Scriptures, Christian History and Christian Antiquities, and who shall also have passed a proper course of study in some theological school or with a private teacher.

"III. To invite any and all denominations who may desire it, to establish at Cambridge a Divinity School with its own Professors, to have its own in-door system of government, but under the general control of the University, and having all the advantages and privileges enjoyed by the present Divinity School."

From France we learn that the protest against the late elections, presented by the three liberal ministers of Paris to the Minister of Public Worship, has been of no avail. As far as he is concerned, the elections are to stand. As a last resort, however, some lay members of the church of Paris are bringing the whole matter under the notice of the Council of State. The probability is, that the high functionaries of the empire view with profound indifference ecclesiastical dissensions which can by no possibility produce political complications, and that for the next three years the Presbyteral Council, elected by so scant a majority, will be able to neglect with impunity the just claims of half their constituents. Of what their intentions are, they have already given two significant tokens. They have refused to re-elect to the office of deacon M. Carlier, a gentleman of unblemished character and great efficiency in his office, simply because he took an active part on the liberal side in the late contest. And they have again refused the request of M. Martin-Paschoud, that they would re-appoint M. Athanase Coquerel, fils, as his assistant minister; in this instance, however, calling upon M. Martin-Paschoud to nominate within two months a candidate for the vacant office who shall come up to their standard of orthodoxy. This, as might be expected, he firmly refuses to do. He

stands upon his right as an independent minister, and, if his nomination of M. Coquerel be refused, will make no other.

Not long ago it seemed likely that a contest like that which creates so much bitterness in the Protestant Church of France, would also divide that of Holland. To the National Synod, which met in July and August of last year, several petitions were presented, asking that repressive action might be taken against certain ministers of the newest school of theology, who were specified by name. These petitions were referred to a committee of five persons—among whom were Professor Scholten, of Leyden, and Professor Van Oosterzee, of Utrecht—whose position as chiefs of opposing schools of theology has been clearly described in our pages by Dr. Réville. The report of this committee, unanimously given, was unanimously adopted by the Synod. No repressive action was recommended or will be taken. The full liberty of preaching which at present exists is approved. In short, the *status quo* is strictly maintained, and the conformity of any minister's preaching with the engagement entered into at his ordination is left to his own conscience. When we recollect that this result was arrived at unanimously, it is impossible not to admire the consistent liberality of the orthodox majority of the Synod.

E.

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—THE BOOK OF DANIEL. No. II.

An Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel. By the Rev. J. M. Fuller, M.A. (Kaye University Prize.) Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. 1864.

THE interest attaching to a book is not always an index of its merit; not even of the importance of the subject treated. Perhaps more has been written of the "Song of Songs, which is Solomon's," of Daniel, and of Esther, than of the most authentic histories and prophecies of the Old Testament; certainly far more of the "Revelation of St. John" than of the best authenticated Epistles in the New. In modern times, many works have aroused an interest quite independent of their intrinsic worth; such are the Icon Basilike, the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, the Letters of Junius, and the recent Life of Julius Cæsar. The historical value, too, and the interest aroused, often stand in curiously inverse proportion to one another. None of the Christian Scriptures is of less practical utility to any modern Church, however millennarian its theology, than the Apocalypse; yet of none is so much written. So in the Old Testament, no book of history or prophecy would tell us less of the past history and present aspirations of the Hebrews than Daniel; yet, while the really important questions suggested by the obscurities, inconsistencies and gaps left by the historians in their honest but incomplete narratives of the early ages, find but rarely an elucidator, the apologists of Daniel are counted every season almost by the dozen.

In a former number of this Review we examined the historical data furnished by the book of Daniel.* This is the point to which attention ought first to be given. The story,

* Antea, p. 172.

so far as it concerns private persons unknown to history, may plausibly be regarded by one as fact, by another as fiction. The miracles—so perversely contradictory are human judgments—are to one proof of untruth, to another evidence of truth. The prophecies, to one demonstrating the early date which alone allows them to be prophetic, to another prove the late date of composition which removes them out of the rank of prophecy altogether. But about history there is necessarily a greater consensus of opinion. If the known facts of history are correctly given, we at once gain a presumption that the writer's accuracy extends to other fields also; and conversely, if we find him playing fast and loose with the facts of his time, we shall feel less confidence in his honesty and carefulness in dealing with subjects less open to inspection. Hence we treated him, on historical ground, with proper respect and reserve, gave him the benefit of every doubt, and insinuated no considerations borrowed from the miraculous or apocalyptic portions of his book. It was quite possible that his historical character might be unimpeachable—that the invasion of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar might be correctly dated and described—that the kings Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede and Cyrus, might be correctly named and placed—and yet that his story might turn out a mere romance. This was, however, not the case; the historical respectability of the writer utterly broke down on the very first investigation: Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was wrongly dated; Belshazzar, if rightly named and rightly called the last king of Babylon, was wrongly treated as son of Nebuchadnezzar; Darius the Mede appeared to be fictitious in every point. Therefore, in now considering the writer from the apocalyptic point of view, we can no longer concede to him the same respect as before. Of historical incapacity he stands convicted; and that previous conviction inevitably damages his case with any court before which he may subsequently be brought.

The second chapter tells how Nebuchadnezzar, having had a dream which troubled him greatly, demanded from his wise men, first the description of the dream itself, and then the declaration of its meaning. All the native philosophers having failed to do either the one or the other, Daniel through prayer obtains a revelation of the dream itself, which is as follows:

ii. 31 "Thou, O King, wast looking, and thou sawest a mighty Image—an image great and of extreme splendour—standing
32 before thee; the aspect of which was terrible. To this image its head was of good gold, its breasts and its arms of silver,
33 its belly and its thighs of brass, its legs of iron, its feet—part
34 of them of iron and part of them of clay. Thou didst look, I say, until there was cut off a stone, which was cut off not by hands, and this struck the image upon its feet of iron and
35 clay, and smashed them. Forthwith, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, all crumbled down together, and becoming like chaff driven from the threshing-floor in summer, were carried by the wind, so that not a trace was found of them; and the stone that had struck the image became a great rock and filled all the earth.

36 "This is the dream; its interpretation we shall say before the king.

37 "Thou, O King, thou king of kings, to whom the God of
38 Heaven has given kingdom, wealth and strength, and whom he has made to rule over all that live—the sons of man, the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air, given into thy hand:—thou art the head of gold.

39 "And after thee will arise another kingdom lower than thou; and another, a third kingdom, of brass, which will rule
40 over all the earth; and a fourth kingdom, which will be strong like iron;—just after the manner of iron crushing and pounding down everything, as iron which breaks things, so will it crush and break all these.

41 "And in that thou sawest the feet and toes in part of them potter's clay and in part iron,—it will be a divided kingdom, having in it part of the firmness of iron, just as thou sawest
42 the iron mixing with the loamy clay. And as for the toes of the feet, in part of them iron and in part clay—at one end
43 the kingdom will be strong and in part it will be brittle. And in that thou sawest the iron mixing with the loamy clay—they [the two kings] will be mixing themselves by means of human seed, but will refuse to blend the one with the other, as iron cannot mix itself with clay."

The seventh chapter describes a dream which Daniel himself had in the first year of Belshazzar, of which the following are the essential points:

vii. 2 "I was looking in my vision by night, and I saw the
3 four winds of heaven bursting forth upon the Great Sea, and four great beasts coming up from the sea, differing the one from the other.

4 "The first was like a lion, with the wings of an eagle—I continued looking until its wings were plucked and it was lifted up from the earth and made to stand upon two feet like a man, and a man's heart was given to it.

5 "And I saw another beast, a second, resembling a bear, which was made to stand towards one side, with three ribs in its mouth between its teeth; and thus people said to it, 'Arise, eat much flesh.'

6 "After this I was looking, and I saw another, like a panther, with four wings of a bird on its back, and four heads; and dominion was given to it.

7 "After this I was looking in my vision by night, and I saw a fourth beast, exceedingly terrible, strong and mighty, with great iron teeth, devouring, crunching and trampling the remains under foot; differing from all the beasts that were
8 before it, and having ten horns. I was observing the horns, and, lo, another small horn came up among them, and three of the former horns were plucked out before it; and this horn had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things. . . . .

16 "And he said to me, informing me of the interpretation of these things:

17 "'As to these great beasts, of which there are four—four
18 kings will rise up from the earth; but the kingdom will be received by the saints of the Most High, and possessed by them for ever, and for ever and ever.'

19 "Then I wished for certainty upon the fourth beast, which was different from them all, exceedingly terrible, with teeth of iron and nails of brass, eating, crunching and trampling
20 the remains under foot; and upon the ten horns on its head, and the other that came up, before which three fell—the horn that had eyes and a mouth speaking great things, and whose aspect was greater than its fellows. . . . .

23 "Thus he said:

"'As to the fourth beast—there will be a fourth monarchy upon the earth, differing from all monarchies, which will eat
24 up all the earth, trample it down and crush it. And as for the ten horns—ten kings will rise up, and another will rise up after them, different from them, and will depose three
25 kings, and will speak words against the Most High, and torment the saints of the Most High, and hope to change times and law; and they will be given into his power until one time, [two] times, and half a time.'"

The coincidences between these two visions are so many

and obvious, that interpreters of every school agree to regard the purport of both as nearly identical, or at least as demanding that they be treated together. We are, indeed, more in danger of assuming too complete than too partial coincidence, as will be presently shewn.

The writer furnishes us with the elements of interpretation of both visions. Of the image in chapter ii. he tells us that Nebuchadnezzar himself is the golden head; and that the silver, brass, iron and clay portions represent kingdoms which are to succeed each other, until the last is broken down by a new and lasting kingdom established in their stead by the God of Heaven himself. Of the four beasts in chapter vii., we are told that they symbolize four kingdoms; of which, however, only the last is described, being represented as devouring the whole earth, having first ten kings, and then an eleventh, hostile and cruel towards the Saints, and specially innovating on their laws and religion, but ultimately deposed to make room for the everlasting kingdom of these Saints of the Most High.

That the writer here gives no full interpretation is evident. The only point he settles is, that in the first dream Nebuchadnezzar is the golden head. What powers are intended by the silver, brass, iron and clay of the first vision, and by the second, third and fourth beasts of the second? Do all of those denote distinct countries, distinct dynasties over the same country, or in any case distinct individual kings? Such are the points left doubtful by the writer.

In considering these questions we shall adopt a different order of investigation from that generally taken by commentators, especially of the Messianic and Evangelical school. They start from the earliest kingdom, identify that with Babylon, then discuss the second and third, which they generally explain as Medo-Persia and Greece, and then come to the fourth, which must be the next following great Empire, the Roman, understood either in its strict sense, or as including, through the convenient fiction of Charlemagne's revival of the Empire, the whole course of modern European history. But the most striking feature in both visions is the prominence given to the fourth kingdom. This alone is described so accurately as to afford data sufficient to secure its correct identification; while the second and third are passed over in a few words. Now this difference of treat-

ment must suggest to us that the writer himself either could not or did not care to expound the second and third kingdoms. We can therefore be certain of having everything *in situ* only if we first gather up all the characteristics of the fourth kingdom, and obtain certainty about it, and then proceed backwards to investigate the others.

Now the description of the fourth beast in chapter vii. is greatly aided by another vision seen by Daniel, and described in chapter viii.

viii. 3 "I raised my eyes, and saw one ram standing before the river, having two horns which were high, but one higher than
4 the other, and the higher coming up last. I saw the ram butting towards the west, north, and south, and that no animals could stand against him, nor could any one deliver out of his hand; and he did according to his own pleasure, and became great.
5 "And as I was regarding this, there came a he-goat from the west over the surface of the whole earth, without even touching the ground, having a conspicuous horn between his
6 eyes; and he came on, up to the ram with two horns which I had seen standing before the river, and ran at him in the heat of his power.
7 "And I saw him coming up close to the ram. And he was exasperated against the ram, and struck him, and broke his two horns; and the ram had no power to stand against him. And he threw him to the ground and trampled on him; but
8 the ram had no one to deliver him from his hand. And when the he-goat had become very great and powerful, the great horn broke, and four conspicuous ones came up in its place,
9 towards the four winds of heaven. And from one of these issued one smaller horn; and it grew exceedingly great to-
10 wards the south, the east, and the Lovely Land,—as high as even the Celestial Host, so that it knocked down to earth some
11 of the host and of the stars and trampled on them;—as high as even the Prince of the Host, so that from him he took
12 away the daily sacrifice, casting down his holy place. And, an assault being made upon the daily sacrifice by impiety, it [the horn] cast down the Truth [the true religion] to the ground;—it did so, and prospered."

This vision is interpreted as follows:

20 "The ram which thou sawest, having the two horns:—the kings of Media and Persia.
21 "The rough goat:—the king of Greece.

"And the great horn which was between his eyes:—that is the first king [Alexander].

22 "And as to the broken horn, in the place of which four rose up:—four monarchies springing from the people, which will rise up, though not with his [the first king's] power.

23 "And at the termination of their sovereignty, when the trangressors have reached their maximum, will rise up a king,
24 bold-faced and versed in craftiness; who will be mighty in power, though not with his [the first king's] power; and marvellously will he destroy, and prosper in doing so; destroying
25 mighty men and the people of Saints; and through his cleverness he will make deceit successful in his hands, and become great in his own opinion, and during the security of peace destroy many, and stand up against the Prince of Princes;—but will be crushed without human hand."

Here we are distinctly told that the first beast, the ram, symbolizes the Medo-Persian Empire; and that the second, the goat, personates the Greek. There is some looseness of language in the use of the words *king* and *kingdom;* still it is clear even here that the writer intends the goat to represent the Greek *empire* or *power*, and the various horns the individual kings of that empire. For the one original great horn is identified with the first king Alexander; and the four which took its place with the four individual potentates (Antipater, Ptolemy, Seleucus and Antigonus) who divided Alexander's empire among them. The word *kingdom*, therefore, in viii. 22, must be understood, not in a territorial, but in an abstract sense, *kingship* or sovereignty. Moreover, the small horn which grew up out of one of the others is also identified with one special *king*, and definite actions are assigned to it which could only be performed by an individual. This small horn assumes a prominence which makes it evident that all that precedes is only preparatory to it; that it is the one point upon which the attention of the writer is directed; and that its ultimate fate is the problem of intensest interest in the writer's age. We must put ourselves in the position of the writer, and look at the history of Alexander's successors from a Jewish, not from a Greek, point of view; we must regard the character of the kings mainly with reference to the degree in which they favoured, tolerated or persecuted the Judaic religion, and especially the service of the temple in Jerusalem. We must

regard the various monarchies established in Macedonia, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt, not according to their intrinsic magnitude or importance, but according to their importance relative to the Hebrew race and the Jewish religion. If we follow these principles of common sense, we must admit that the only line of the four that succeeded Alexander, which the writer cares to follow down to the growth of this new "horn," must be the Syrian dynasty of the Seleucidæ which held dominion over Palestine; and that the only sovereign of that line who adopted a system of sufficiently decided hostility to the Jewish religion to justify the description of that horn is Antiochus Epiphanes. The account of him in the first book of Maccabees strikingly corroborates this conclusion.* This historical narrative explains many points which the vague symbolism of the prophet left obscure. The horn "grew exceedingly great towards the south, the east, and the Lovely Land:" Antiochus aspired to conquer first Egypt and then Persia, and was constantly bent upon annihilating the Jewish nationality and religion. The latter being the great domestic calamity which most nearly affects our author, is enlarged upon by him: Antiochus, he says, even directed his enmity against the heavenly host that surrounded the throne of the God of Heaven, and presumed to assail the supremacy of the God himself, by abolishing his sacrifices and defiling his sanctuary. But besides this open hostility, he was remarkable for concealment of his plans, for craft and for "ambiguous sayings," which put people on a wrong scent (Dan. viii. 23, 25); and of this the first book of Maccabees affords a notable example (i. 29, 30): "The king sent his chief collector of tribute to the cities of Juda; and he entered Jerusalem with a vast multitude, and made deceitful professions of peace to them, and they believed him; but then he fell suddenly upon the city and inflicted a great blow, destroying much people of Israel." But in the end he is to be "crushed without human hand" (Dan. viii. 25): in other words, Antiochus "lay down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for; and there he continued many days, because his grief was constantly renewed; and he considered that he was dying.... So king Antiochus died there in the

* See 1 Macc. i. 10, 20—24, 29, 30, 39—46, 54.

hundred forty and ninth year" (1 Macc. vi. 8, 9, 16): his death was not through the hand of human vengeance overtaking him, but a natural death upon his bed.

But we are not left to infer from the terms in which Antiochus Epiphanes is elsewhere described, that the symbolical language of our author has reference to him; in chapter xi., the only piece of pure prophecy undisguised by symbolical forms or acts which the book of Daniel presents, our author traces the history of Syria and Egypt from Alexander down to Antiochus Epiphanes, and shews by the space allotted to the latter (25 verses, whereas his four predecessors were despatched with 16 verses in all), as well as by the strong language employed respecting him, that to him Epiphanes is the central figure of history. The earlier history produces this tyrant, and later history there is none. This eleventh chapter, indeed, may be regarded as the key to the book of Daniel; for by shewing us that Antiochus Epiphanes was the personage of greatest importance to the writer, it gives us a clue to the interpretation of the other chapters, where the historical allusions are studiously obscured under symbolical forms. As a conviction of this belongs to the very alphabet of Daniel-criticism, and can scarcely be attained through the errors of our authorized version, we give our own translation of the chapter, with the necessary explanations of the historical references, chiefly adopted from Knobel's Commentary:

xi. 2 "*There will be three more kings of Persia* [i.e. four in all, including Cyrus, in whose reign Daniel lived: Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes], *and the fourth* [Xerxes] *will gain greater riches than any, and on his becoming strong through his wealth, he will rouse up all against the kingdom of Greece.*
3 *And a warlike king* [Alexander] *will stand up and rule with*
4 *strong rule, and do according to his own pleasure. But on his decease, his kingdom will be shattered and divided according to the four quarters of the sky, and not belong to his posterity, nor be equal to what it was when he ruled; for his kingdom will be uprooted and fall to others than those.*
5 "*And the king of the South* [Ptolemy I., Lagi or Soter, king of Egypt] *will be strong. And one of his* [Ptolemy's] *generals* [Seleucus I., Nicator], *will be stronger than he, and rule over a*
6 *great dominion. And at the end of many years they will connect themselves together, the daughter of the king of the South* [Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, king of

Egypt] *going to effect a reconciliation* [by a matrimonial alliance with Antiochus]; *but she will not retain the power of her arm* [inasmuch as, after the death of her father, Antiochus II. abandoned Berenice, and took back his first wife, Laodice, breaking the articles of pacification with Ptolemy, by which he had engaged to divorce Laodice on marrying Berenice, and to exclude the offspring of the former from the succession]; *and his own arms will not stand* [for he was poisoned by Laodice, through her jealousy of Berenice]; *and she will be given up, as well as he that took her in marriage, and he that begat her and held her during these times* [for she was killed by the partizans of Laodice at Daphne, which they laid siege to and
7 took]. *And from a shoot of her roots some one will stand up in his proper place* [Ptolemy III., Euergetes, sprung from 'her roots,' i. e. from the same father as she, took his place as king of Egypt] *and join the army, and come against the fortress of the king of the North, and act against them* [the Northerns, the Syrians] *and conquer* [for Ptolemy III., to avenge his sister, made war against Seleucus II. Callinicus, king of Syria,
8 laid siege to and took Seleucia in Syria]. *Their gods, too, with their molten images, together with their precious things, silver and gold, he will take into captivity to Egypt* [he carried into Egypt spoils from the greater part of Seleucus' empire, 40,000 talents of silver, 2500 idols, &c.], *himself abstaining*
9 *for a time from* [again attacking] *the king of the North. And he* [Seleucus II.] *will come against the kingdom of the king of the South, and return again to his own soil* [for he was defeated by Ptolemy III., and fled back to Antioch with but few fol-
10 lowers]. *And his* [Seleucus' II.] *sons* [Seleucus III. Keraunos and Antiochus the Great] *having gone to war and assembled a crowd of great forces, one* [Antiochus, for Seleucus II. had been murdered on the previous expedition against Asia Minor] *came on, overwhelmed and overflowed* [for he took from Ptolemy IV. Philopator Seleucia in Syria, Tyre and Ptolemais]; *and he returned* [the next spring], *and they* [Seleucus and Ptolemy] *waged war as far as his* [Seleucus'] *fortress* [of Gaza, Antiochus having subjugated the country on both sides of the
11 Jordan]. *And the king of the South will be exasperated, and come out and fight with the king of the North, taking a great multitude, which will be put under his own command* [Ptolemy set out at the head of 70,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry and 73
12 elephants]. *And the multitude will be elated, their hearts being exalted, and he will fell myriads of enemies* [for Antiochus lost in the battle of Raphia nearly 10,000 infantry, 300 cavalry and 5 elephants killed], *and yet not shew any vigour* [in fol-

lowing up the victory; for Justin says he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom, if his energy had equalled
13 his good fortune]. *And the king of the North will return* [to Antioch, after his defeat]; *and he will set up a multitude greater than the former; and at the end of those times, being many years* [13 or 14 years], *he will advance with a great army and much equipment* [for after conducting victorious wars in Eastern Asia, he, in conjunction with Philip of Macedonia, took from Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, who had just succeeded his father at the age of four years, Phenicia and the Egyptian
14 possessions in Syria]; *and in those times, when many stand up against the king of the South* [not only Philip of Macedonia and Antiochus, but the Egyptians themselves, who were driven to insurrection by the tyranny of Agathocles the Regent], *and robbers belonging to thy people raise themselves* [some of the Jews lent aid to Antiochus in besieging Scopas, the Egyptian commander of the fortress of Jerusalem], *so as to establish a*
15 *vision, and fail, the king of the North will come and throw up a mound and take a fortified city* [Sidon, into which Scopas had thrown himself with 10,000 men; it was besieged and reduced by Antiochus, notwithstanding the attempt made by an Egyptian army to relieve it], *where the arms of the king of the South and his chosen people will not stand, nor have any*
16 *strength to stand, against him. And whoever comes to him* [Antiochus] *will have to do his pleasure, and none can stand against him; and he will stand in the Land of Beauty* [the Holy Land], *holding destruction in his hand* [threatening de-
17 struction against his enemy, Egypt], *and set his face to come with the force of his whole kingdom; but he will make a reconciliation with him* [Ptolemy V.], *giving to him the daughter of women* [his daughter Cleopatra] *for a wicked purpose* [to protect himself by this union against Roman interference, and to gain a further title to interfere in Egypt]; *but it will not*
18 *stand, nor turn out to his advantage. And he will turn his face to the maritime states* [of Asia Minor and the Greek islands], *and will take many; but a general* [Lucius Scipio Asiaticus] *will put down his reproach against him* [Antiochus' insults against Scipio], *if not turn the reproach back upon him* [by the decisive battle at Magnesia in Lydia, when Antiochus sued for peace and had to submit to very harsh condi-
19 tions]. *And he will turn his face back to the fortresses of his own land; and will then stumble and fall and be found no more* [he went to the east, and was killed in a plundering expedition against the temple of Belus, the Elymean Jupiter].
20 *And in his place will rise up one* [Seleucus IV., Philopator]

who will send a tribute-collector [his treasurer Heliodorus] *to the Beauty of the Kingdom* [Jerusalem, to possess himself of the treasure in the Temple]; *but in a few days* [after that event] *he will be broken, yet not through wrath* [of any one against him], *nor in battle.*

21 "*And in his place will rise up a reprobate* [Antiochus IV., Epiphanes], *and they will not put upon him the glory of royalty* [for Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV., was the legitimate heir, but he had been sent to Rome to take the place of his uncle, Antiochus IV., as hostage]; *and he will come in unexpectedly and seize the kingdom by fawning hypocrisy* [having been at Athens, on his return from Rome, at the time of Seleucus' death, and hastened to Syria to seize the
22 crown]. *And the arms of the flood* [of enemies, i.e. the Egyptian army that marched against Antiochus IV., because on the death of Cleopatra he refused to give up to her son Cœlesyria, which had been promised to Egypt as her dower] *will flow away before him and be broken* [i.e. will be defeated]; *and also a Covenanted Prince* [will be broken: i.e. the High Priest Onias III., representative of Jehovah's covenant with
23 the nation of Israel, was murdered]. *And directly after friendly relations have been established towards him, he will use deceit, and go up* [from Pelusium up through Egypt], *and gain*
24 *supremacy with but few men, entering peacefully into the fattest parts of the province. And he will do what neither his fathers nor his fathers' fathers ever did,—distribute to them* [the people of these rich districts of Egypt, who would have expected rather to be plundered than to receive largess] *booty, spoil and wealth* [for at this time he lavished his gifts recklessly, to gain popularity]; *but against fortresses he will devise*
25 *his devices, up to a certain time. But he will arouse his power and his courage against the king of the South* [Ptolemy VII., Physcon, who had been set up in the place of his elder brother, Ptolemy VI., Philometor, and held Alexandria] *with a great force; and the king of the South will take the field with a very large and powerful force, but will not succeed, because they* [some of his subjects, who favoured the other brother] *will*
26 *devise devices against him, whilst they that eat at his own table break him, and his army melts away and many fall down slain.*
27 *And these two kings* [Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometor, who were allied against Ptolemy Physcon], *whose hearts are set on doing evil* [to one another, i.e. on overreaching one another] *will speak lies at one table* [each pretending to be the friend of the other and to have no separate and selfish ends]; *but it will not succeed; for the end will be still reserved to a later*

28 *term. And he* [Antiochus] *will return to his own country with great wealth, his mind being set against the Holy Covenant* [the covenanted nation, the Jews]; *and will do so, and return to his own country* [because the siege of Alexandria did not approach its conclusion, and he heard of the rising of the
29 Jews]. *At the time he will come again to the South, and it will not now be as before* [for the two brother Ptolemies had come to a reconciliation, and were both ruling in common, and
30 suspicious of the design of Antiochus]. *And Kittian* [Roman] *ships will come against him* [the fleet under C. Popilius Lænas, on the complaints of the Alexandrians], *and he will be reduced to despair, and will return and vent his anger against the Holy Covenant, and act accordingly; and he will return and pay*
31 *court to those that had abandoned the Holy Covenant. But portions of his force will stand there, and profane the fortified sanctuary, and put away the daily sacrifice, and set up the*
32 *Horrible Abomination* [of idol-worship]. *And the evil-doers of the Covenant* [apostate Jews] *he will corrupt by soft words; but the true people, consisting of those who know their God, hold*
33 *fast to him, and act accordingly; and the teachers of the people who give understanding to the multitude, they will fall by sword,*
34 *by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, for a long time. On their fall, indeed, they will be helped, but with insufficient help; and*
35 *many will attach themselves hypocritically to their cause. But of the teachers some will fall, thus becoming purged and purified and cleansed, up to the final end; for this is still reserved for*
36 *the appointed time. And the king will do according to his own pleasure, and elevate and magnify himself over every god, and over the God of gods, speaking wonderfully; and he will be successful until* '*Wrath is over*' [Is. x. 25], *because* '*The Pre-*
37 *determined*' [Is. x. 23] *is done. And to the gods of his fathers he will not attend, nor to the Delight of Women* [the Persian Artemis, whose temple in Elymais he plundered], *nor to any*
38 *god; for he will exalt himself above all. But to the God of* '*the Fortress of the Sea*' [Is. xxiii. 4; i.e. Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules] *in his own place* [Tyre] *he will pay honour; and to a god whom his fathers knew not* [Jupiter Capitolinus] *he will pay honour with gold, silver, precious stones and jewels.*
39 *And he will procure for strong fortresses people belonging to a strange god* [putting in heathen garrisons to overawe and gradually exterminate the faithful Jews]; *those* [of the Jewish inhabitants] *that he has noticed* [to be accessible to his arts, such as Jason and Menelaus] *he will greatly honour, and put them in command over many, and divide land to them by way of reward.*"

Antiochus Epiphanes is here portrayed in terms closely resembling the description of the fourth beast in chapter vii. As Antiochus is "set against the Holy Covenant," and under his rule "the true people who know their God fall by the sword" (xi. 28, 32—35, and xii.), so the horn of the fourth beast "made war with the Saints," and prevailed over them "till the Judgment" (vii. 21, 22, 26). As Antiochus "profaned the Sanctuary, and put away the daily sacrifice, and set up the Abomination" of idolatry (xi. 31), so the king represented by the last horn of the beast tried "to change times and law" of the religious feasts of the Temple (vii. 25). As Antiochus "elevates and magnifies himself over every god, and over the God of gods, speaking wonderfully" (xi. 36), so the king symbolized by the horn "speaks words against the Most High."

The resemblance between the Antiochus of chapter xi. and the little horn of the Greek goat in chapter viii. is even more striking. The little horn represents a king of fierce character, but "versed in craftiness" (viii. 23), and "making deceit successful" (viii. 25); and Antiochus obtained the kingdom by fawning hypocrisy and used consummate deceit and falsehood (xi. 21, 23, 27, &c.). The king of the horn "grew exceedingly great, as high as even the Celestial Host, so that he knocked down to earth some of the host and of the stars—as high as even the Prince of the Host, and stands up against the Prince of princes" (viii. 10, 11, 25); and Antiochus "magnified himself over every god, and over the God of gods" (xi. 36). The king of the horn, like Antiochus, "took away the daily sacrifice, casting down the Holy Place" (viii. 11—13, cf. xi. 31). The king of the horn "destroys the people of Saints," and treacherously "destroys many during the security of peace" (viii. 24, 25); and so under Antiochus the true people will fall by the sword (xi. 32—36). This fearful and wicked rule is, moreover, described in both chapters by the same striking and expressive term, as the Wrath (viii. 19, xi. 36); and although in both a long career of prosperity is ascribed to the king in his onslaughts on all that was holy and venerable (viii. 12, 24, xi. 36), yet an ultimate fall is announced: "the end will be at the appointed time" (viii. 19, xi. 35, 45).

Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image symbolizes, not the individual kings, but the great Powers or Empires;

but here also we trace in the fourth kingdom, that of iron, the lineaments of the same Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, whose mutual relations chapter xi. so accurately draws. As iron and clay will not unite, and the attempt of the powers thereby symbolized to "mix themselves by means of human seed" (or matrimonial alliances) is pronounced futile in ii. 43, so in xi. 6 we hear that Berenice the Egyptian princess went to Syria to effect a reconciliation by uniting herself in marriage with Antiochus II.; but that the design was utterly frustrated, and introduced new elements of hostility between the two royal houses. There is something so very distinct and tangible in these historical allusions, that it is impossible to resist the conviction that they both refer to the same event. And the ultimate fate of the Greek dynasty culminating in Antiochus Epiphanes is described in the very same words in this dream and in Daniel's vision of the ram and goat; in the former, the feet of the image were struck by a stone "which was cut off not by hands" (ii. 34); in the latter, the last Greek king represented by the goat "is crushed without human hand" (viii. 25); and in chapter xi. Antiochus "will come to his end, with none to help him."

We consider, therefore, that the fourth power in chap. ii., and the fourth beast in chapter vii., are proved by their perfect agreement with the description of the goat which represents Greece in chapter viii., and the history of the Syrian dynasty in chapter xi., to represent the Empire of Alexander and his successors.

With this result let us return to the dream of the Image in chapter ii. The golden head is Nebuchadnezzar; the legs of iron, and the feet of iron and clay, are the military empire of Alexander and the divided powers of Syria and Egypt wielded by his successors. The breast and arms of silver (the second power), and the belly and thighs of brass (the third power), remain to be determined. Of the second power we are only told that it is "lower" than Nebuchadnezzar. What power succeeded to that of Nebuchadnezzar which was *lower* than his? The Median power surely cannot be meant. That power, if it conquered and supplanted the Babylonian, ought to be called, not lower, but higher. And it is to be noticed that the writer appears sedulously to avoid describing the first power as the Babylonian. He

identifies it with Nebuchadnezzar's person: "*Thou* art the head of gold." Now Nebuchadnezzar was neither in fact nor in the belief of the writer the last king of Babylon. The power that succeeded to him was, according to our author, his son Belshazzar; and the son's kingdom or kingship was undoubtedly *lower* than the father's, in intrinsic power and glory as well as in the catastrophe which his weakness and wickedness did much to bring upon him. If the writer, for reasons best known to himself, which we shall presently try to conjecture, thus separated the two kings of Babylon, the third kingdom, that of brass, can only be the Medo-Persian. The writer describes it as "ruling over all the earth," thereby implying that the earlier kingdoms were more local and partial. The expressions in verse 38 concerning Nebuchadnezzar's dominion do not contradict this, since the writer only means that the Babylonian monarchy rules over "all that live" in his own territory. The Medo-Persian monarchy was of course supplanted by that of Alexander, which we have already identified with the fourth kingdom, that of iron; and thus everything is satisfactorily explained. Moreover, for other reasons, the second and third powers cannot be Media and Persia respectively. The writer knows of them only as one consolidated monarchy. It was Cyrus, the first king of the united empire, who conquered Babylon; and a Babylonian, or a Jew then living at Babylon, or still more any Jew of later times, had no cognizance of Media as an independent kingdom. Our author never speaks of Media and Persia as separate kingdoms. The handwriting on the wall declares that the royal power of Babylon is transferred to the *Medes and Persians* together; no separate Median conquest is acknowledged. The goat in chapter viii. is expressly declared to represent the kings of Media and Persia. Darius, who is called the Mede, is ruler over both countries, and administers the laws of the Medes and Persians; and the terms of the decree issued by him, in vi. 25, 26, imply an empire which arrogated universal dominion, such as the small kingdom of Media certainly never could. Moreover, the four powers are not dynasties located *anywhere* in space, but those which successively ruled over Babylon; and Media has therefore no claim to a place among them.

Let us now turn to Daniel's dream of the four beasts in chapter vii. Although a certain general likeness exists be-

tween these beasts and the four component parts of the image, yet there are also important differences. The head of the image was declared to be Nebuchadnezzar. Here so completely does the interest of the fourth beast overshadow that of its predecessors, that Daniel asks only for the interpretation of the fourth, and consequently leaves us without information as to the others. The third beast alone has "dominion given to it," just as only the third kingdom, in chapter ii., was to rule over the whole earth. From this circumstance, and from the place it occupies immediately before the fourth or Greek empire, it can be no other than the Persian; and this is rendered doubly certain by its four heads, which, like the horns of the symbolical animals, must denote the individual kings. These must be Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes; and we see from xi. 2 that our author knows of just these four kings of Persia, and no others. The four wings appear to symbolize the four quarters of the empire, overshadowed and protected by it. So far this symbolism corresponds with that of chapter ii. If the rest corresponds equally, the first beast must be Nebuchadnezzar, and the second, Belshazzar. But here we are met by a difficulty. This dream is assigned to the reign of Belshazzar, and is a prediction of four kings (or kingdoms) which *will* arise (vii. 17). The writer's assumed standing-point is, therefore, different from that of chapter ii.; the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is already behind him. Looking into the future, he sees first the lion and then the bear. Even Belshazzar might seem not to answer to these conditions, since he was reigning, and had therefore already arisen upon the earth. But it is not necessary to insist on the strict meaning of the future tense, in v. 17, with regard to the moment of the "arising," if the plucking of the wings, i.e. the degradation of the king, in v. 4, were still future. The first beast, then, symbolizes the failing empire of Babylon. The second beast, the bear, can in this case be nothing but Media, the only power which could by any possibility be regarded as intervening between Babylonia and Persia; and the bear may be advisedly chosen to represent that northern and mountainous kingdom, whether from the astronomical significance of the animal, or because it lived and was hunted in the highlands south of the Caspian Sea. But this separation of Media and Persia is, as we have just shewn, contrary to

our author's usual view of history. If it is to be admitted here exceptionally, we must consider what grounds he could have for deviating from his usual course.

The conception of four ages of the world is one of the oldest and widest-spread historical myths. Hesiod, the Bœotian poet of the eighth century before Christ, tells us of ages of gold, of silver, of brass, and of iron; the last of which is the age in which he lived, and indeed the only historical period, the three preceding ones being peopled by an earlier creation, an utterly distinct race. A gradual declension from the beauty of the first creation marks each subsequent age. The same myth is found among the Hindus, where the four ages are styled that of Truth or Virtue, of the Three Sacrificial Fires, of Doubt, and of Sin; and the duration of each diminishes in the ratio of 48, 36, 24 and 12. The Hebrew mythology presents a striking analogy to this system in the stories of primitive humanity contained in Genesis: Paradise and the period from Adam to Noah constitute their first age, which, like the Grecian golden age, is an earlier creation sharply separated by the Deluge from all following time; the second age comprises the period from Noah to Abraham; the third, that from Abraham to Moses; and the fourth is the historical age commencing with Moses' death. These ages are most palpably distinguished by the length of human life assigned to each, which is as follows: in the first, 1000—700 years; in the second, 600—200; in the third, 200—120; in the fourth, 70 or 80 years, or the ordinary length. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to follow out this fruitful subject further. But the existence and wide extension of this idea of *four* ages (and the constancy of the number four is especially to be remarked*), with a steady increase of passion, violence and crime, and the curious symbolical designation by the metals, are to be noticed. It seems to have coloured our author's idea of the succession of really historical dynasties, and forced him to make out four, even where history could, without a strain, find him no more than three. In the vision of the beasts this seems

* Hesiod's account forms a seeming exception, since it has five: gold, silver, brass, the Heroic age, and iron. But the want of any metallic designation of the Heroic age proves that to be a later and clumsy interpolation made on Greek soil, because the original universal myth had not provided a suitable place for the special Greek heroes of Thebes and Troy.

likely enough; but in the dream of the image the use of the identical four metals amounts to absolute demonstration. We can understand the haste with which the writer passes over the second and third kingdoms in chapters ii. 39, vii. 17, not giving enough detail to ensure the correct identification, if the number was not intentionally taken, but forced upon him, and he is conscious that it will hardly bear investigation. And where the number four could only be made out of the existing three by splitting one of these forcibly into two, we are not surprised to find the author not adopting in both cases the same device, but in the first instance dividing the Babylonian empire into two periods according to its two kings, and in the second attempting another and more promising device by breaking the existing Medo-Persian empire into its original factors. If this result be true, then it is evident how important is the principle we laid down at the outset, that the fourth empire alone is of vital interest to the writer, and must be first (if not alone) identified; since at least one of the other three may hardly have any certain existence at all.

We have discussed these visions by way of example only, and have not space even to indicate the nature of other questions of equal importance (such as the prophecy of the seventy weeks, in chapter ix.). But even without that we are now in a condition to form some judgment on the chief questions respecting the age, unity and character of the book.

Our discussion of the four kingdoms now requires to be supplemented by a notice of what follows them. The history of Antiochus Epiphanes, in chapter xi., ends abruptly and mysteriously with an assurance that "he will come to his end, with none to help him," and that "there will be a time of such trouble as has never been since they were a nation up to that time; and at that time thy people will be delivered, all that are found written in the book; and many of those that sleep in the dusty earth will awake—these to eternal life, those to shame, to eternal disgrace." But when Daniel, with a business-like dissatisfaction at these generalities, presses for information as to the exact date of this "end," he only obtains a vague answer, that from the profanation of the temple by Antiochus 1290 days must elapse, but that it may be necessary to wait 1335 days. Whence this minute

accuracy of historical detail up to Antiochus Epiphanes, and this uncertainty as to his end; and how could the writer place the millennium immediately after his death? If Daniel himself had, by a miraculous gift, foretold the history of Antiochus, he must have told the death as well as the life. Subsequent history, in refuting his millennarian prediction, makes it impossible to maintain his character as a miraculously enlightened prophet with reference to the earlier period also. One only conclusion is left to us, that the writer wrote this *during* the life of Antiochus, and therefore spoke with the utmost precision of the events prior to and occurring in his reign, but could only adopt a vague mode of hinting at what he believed and hoped would happen afterwards. This assumption, moreover, explains the intenseness of the interest which the reign of Antiochus has for him; it was his own age, and one most critical and anxious for the Mosaic religion—the first which had witnessed religious persecution, afterwards, alas! too well known alternately to Jews, Christians and Moslems. It was necessary to fire the faithful with the spirit of martyrdom; and with this end, ancient stories of fortitude, exhibited by Jews in captivity and at heathen courts, were eagerly collected, and vague hopes of ultimate crowns of martyrdom assumed a distincter form and were assigned to a nearer future. The legends of Saints have served the same purpose in the Christian Church, and betray, in the coarseness and intensity of the colours with which they invest the heathen persecutor, their origin in an age like the Maccabean, when the strongest stimulants were required, and the highly strung imagination would not be touched by anything short of the greatest conceivable horrors.

The visions of the image, of the four beasts, and of the ram and goat, all have the same dénouement, in the establishment of a Fifth Monarchy, a Kingdom of Heaven, or Millennium. These visions speak more distinctly of the fall of Antiochus, and even assign a certain date to it (vii. 25, viii. 14); yet they are quite as vague as to the manner of his fall, and the machinery, human or divine, by which the "kingdom is then given to the people of the Saints of the Most High;" and there seems, therefore, every reason to assign these stories to precisely the same date as chapters xi. and xii.

Dr. Pusey tells us that "no one doubts now that the book of Daniel is one whole." But criticism requires much greater precision of thought and language than Dr. Pusey, from the lofty pinnacle of his faith, can condescend to employ. No one, not Wolff himself, doubts that the Iliad is "one whole," and has been so since the days of Peisistratus at least. So also Bishop Colenso does not question the unity of Genesis, and probably would not dissent from the hypothesis of a single author, provided that such author were considered as mainly a compiler, who strung together the various accounts left by earlier writers, connecting them together by insertions of his own. Upon this hypothesis, Genesis would be one single work; references from the events of one chapter to those recounted in another might be found in requisite abundance to prove the unity with perfect satisfaction to Dr. Pusey's mind; and yet behind this superficial unity might lurk any amount of multiplicity of age and authorship in the older fragments verbally quoted or freely paraphrased by the compiler. So here with the book of Daniel; references from one part to another establish the superficial unity, but cannot undo the fact of certain incongruities, which make us suspect that the book consists of various distinct tales, subsequently lashed very loosely and clumsily together.

1. The dates in chapter ii. are incompatible with those in chapter i. Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem and carries off Daniel and his companions when he is already king (i. 1); appoints for the captives a three years' course of training (i. 5), at the end of which (and therefore certainly not earlier than the third year of his reign, i. 18) they are presented before him and approved. But in the next chapter we hear that in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar the king dreams a dream, and Daniel interprets it, being then no longer a pupil, but one of the wise men of Babylon, and having a house of his own (ii. 1, 13, 17).

2. The story of chapter ii. does not know of Daniel's having been a youth of high birth, specially chosen and educated for a courtier, as is told in chapter i.; on the contrary, he is simply "one of the captives of Judah," unknown to the king and requiring an introduction (ii. 24, 25).

3. After Daniel's interpretation of the dream about the image, Nebuchadnezzar elevates him to the rank of "ruler

over the whole Province of Babylon" (ii. 48, 49). But no subsequent chapter seems to know of this promotion to one of the highest offices of state; for in iv. 9 Daniel is addressed by Nebuchadnezzar simply as "Chief of the Professors;" and under Belshazzar (v. 11, 16), the queen-mother, mentioning Daniel's talents and the dignities conferred on him by Nebuchadnezzar, only says that he was made "master of the Professors, Enchanters, Chaldeans and Astrologers." Moreover, Belshazzar appears not to know him even by sight, which is surely incredible if he had been one of his father's chief ministers.

4. The events recorded in later chapters to have happened after the promotion of Daniel in chapter ii. to the government of the whole province of Babylon, and of his companions to the inferior administration of the same province, appear quite inconsistent with them. The execution of the edict requiring adoration of the great image, in chapter iii., surely required the cooperation of the three friends "set over the affairs of the province" in which it stood; yet they are not accused of dereliction of this official duty, but only of refusal to worship; and Daniel, whose responsibility was most grave if he was ruler of the whole province, does not appear in the story at all.

5. The historical difficulties connected with the name of Darius the Mede have been considered in a previous article. We were unable to identify this Darius with any known king, and were therefore forced to pronounce his conquest of Babylon apocryphal. But his conquest and his reign are the only ones that are certainly told by our author as following after Belshazzar's reign. It is carelessly assumed by even the best commentators on Daniel, that two conquests of Babylon—the first by Darius king of Media, and the second by Cyrus king of Persia—are alluded to by Daniel; or at least that Cyrus is treated as the successor, whether by conquest or otherwise, to Darius in Babylonia. But our author only says that Darius took the kingdom, and made certain administrative arrangements (v. 31, and vi.). Neither of his death, nor of Cyrus' accession, nor of any reign of Cyrus over Babylon, have we any account at all. The very name of Cyrus occurs only in the three following sentences: "Daniel lived until the first year of Cyrus the king" (i. 21); "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and

in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (vi. 28); "In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed to Daniel" (x. 1). The two latter assertions are incompatible with the first, which certainly implies that he lived *no longer* than the first year of Cyrus. In the second passage, which is the concluding verse of the story of the den of lions, it would have been more natural to say only that "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius," the king who had just subjected him to that terrible ordeal; and the words, "and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," may have been added by a later hand. And when we put together all the facts, and consider how incredible it is that, if Daniel lived through a second conquest of Babylon, it should be simply passed over in silence between the reigns of Darius and Cyrus, the inference is irresistible, that these three mentions of Cyrus have been interpolated by a later reviser, who knew that the name of the Persian king who conquered Babylon was Cyrus, and not Darius,—in the hope of bringing the statements of the book into accordance with history.*

These discrepancies as to facts are surely so fundamental as to preclude the possibility of the book being one whole, written by the same writer from beginning to end, whether all at once, or, like Isaiah's prophecies, given forth at very different times. The references from one chapter to the events of another are fully explained, as we observed above to be the case in other similar instances, by the assumption of one final collector and reviser of the separate stories. It may be thought that any such collector would surely have the sense to harmonize these contradictions. But the ancient compilers had not the modern critical intellect, though that is only another name for common sense; they wove together the various current stories in chronological order, and formed a kind of cento, never suspecting the divergence which we now know to be possible, and indeed inevitable, in the reporting of facts. The composition of the Pentateuch and of the Gospels furnishes abundant proof of this. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that plurality of authorship has

* In so doing he followed an uncritical method similar to that of the Harmonizers, who, unwilling to reject one narrative as untrue, admit *two* of the same event, and make two events of it: as Matthew and Mark do in their accounts of the miraculous feeding of a multitude which had been variously estimated as four or five thousand.

never been asserted of any ancient book without some truth. Dr. Pusey may be right in saying, "That hacking school of criticism which hewed out the books of Holy Scripture into as many fragments as it willed, survives only in a few expiring representatives;" but it is succeeded by a school which generally admits the adoption by the later author of numerous fragments of earlier age and the most various authorship; and when the discordance of the parts has once been proved, the original unity can never be restored. No one now adopts Wolff's dissection of the Iliad; but no one will dare to affirm its strict unity of authorship.

The question still remains, Who was Daniel? If it is proved that the book was composed in the Maccabean age by an unknown writer, who was the hero he selected to hold up to his countrymen as pattern of the martyr-spirit required to meet the persecution and tyranny of heathen powers?—a creation of his own, or a hero already familiar to the people in old stories, whether of fiction or of history? Unfortunately we have not sufficient data to give any but a very conjectural answer to these questions. Besides 2 Chr. iii. 1, where the name Daniel is incorrectly given to a son of David, called in 2 Sam. iii. 3 Chileab, and Ezra viii. 2 and Neh. x. 6, where the mere name Daniel occurs in a list of priests, the only writer in the Old Testament who mentions Daniel is Ezekiel, in the following passages:

"The word of Jehovah came to me, saying: 'Son of Man, suppose that a land sins against me with great treachery, and I stretch out my hand over it and break the staff of bread for it, and send famine into it, and cut off from it both man and beast; and suppose that these three men are in its midst, namely, Noah, Daniel, and Job: then they through their righteousness shall save themselves only. If I cause noisome beasts to pass through the land, so as to desolate it and make it a desert without a single traveller on account of the beasts: then if these three men be in it, neither sons nor daughters shall they save, but they themselves alone shall be saved, and the land become desolate,'" etc. (xiv. 14—20).

"Lo thou art wiser than Daniel: nothing secret can they hide from thee" (xxviii. 3).

It appears from these two passages that Daniel's name was a byword for the loftiest integrity of moral character, and also for wisdom especially in declaring the obscure. These

are precisely the most prominent features in the Daniel of our author: the former character being exemplified in the stories of his food and of the den of lions; and the latter in the interpretation of dreams and of the handwriting on the wall. The identity of person may therefore be considered certain. But if our author's narrative is correct, and Daniel was carried off very young by Nebuchadnezzar, then he was Ezekiel's junior; and Ezekiel could not thus speak of him as the best known example of virtue and wisdom. The expression manifestly refers to a hero of antiquity, regarded by Ezekiel's contemporaries as an ideal of virtue and wisdom. This would be evident if his name occurred alone in these phrases; but its association with the two patriarchs Noah and Job, and its position between them, make the inference doubly sure. Without entering on the obscure question of the historical character of the man Job, or the age and credibility of the book called after him, we may assume it to be evident that he was *regarded* as an ancient hero, belonging to the earliest period, before the Mosaic law had separated the Israelites from the kindred Arabian tribes, and turned their fellow-feeling with these into hatred of them as excluded from the covenant; and the length of life assigned to him (140 years after his afflictions) is that of the Patriarchal age. It would seem, therefore, that Daniel was another patriarch of the same class; and that our author has transferred him to Babylon, and to the period of the captivity, in order to tell stories of his virtue and wisdom exemplified under persecution at a heathen court. More than this it appears impossible to determine. These very stories may have been told of the old Daniel, whose heroism must then of course have been proved elsewhere than at Babylon; in this case the author has altered place and date only, but left the stories nearly as he received them. Or his stories may really be of the Babylonian captivity; and he may, without any intention of identifying his hero with the patriarch Daniel, have borrowed the mere name, to characterize his peculiar virtues. This hypothesis seems to us far the most probable. Ewald thinks that the original Daniel lived in the Assyrian, not the Babylonian, captivity, and that the four empires of which he spoke were the Assyrian, Babylonian, Medo-Persian and Greek; and that when the story removed Daniel

to Babylon, the retention of the number of powers in that prophecy produced the difficulty of identification which we have found. But the antiquity of the Assyrian captivity appears far too low to meet the requirements of Ezekiel's expressions; and no sufficient cause appears why the story, if originally told of Nineveh, should have shifted its locality to Babylon; and the number of empires has been, as we think, far more naturally accounted for above.

One word must be said, in conclusion, of the literary character of the book. Into the peculiarities of the Hebrew and Chaldee composition, and into the curious phenomenon of the employment of two languages, we cannot enter here. The style is that of the later Hebrew Biblical books, and long drawn out, intolerably wordy and careless; having indeed no charm of any sort, but distinguished rather by the absence of any beauty. But of the literary merit shewn in the composition of the allegories, predictions, and the like, some estimate may be formed even from a translation. To us the merit of these stories appears very small. The conception of four successive empires under the form of a statue, of which the head represents the oldest, and the feet the latest, is very clumsy and inexact; since the hostile force which could historically overthrow only the fourth empire, here brings down also those earlier powers which were really beyond its reach. Moreover, some fitness ought to be discernible between the reality and the figure; but the attempts to find the character of each empire indicated in the part of the human frame which here represents it, are lame and impotent indeed, and only prove the superior ingenuity of the modern commentator over the ancient writer. It may be by design that Nebuchadnezzar is represented by the golden head, but it is simply the design of flattery, and is surely no testimony to the superior intellect of the Babylonian rule over the Persian and the Greek. The symbolism is replete with absurdities at every stage. When the image is thrown down, the solid masses of various metals are somehow pounded into powder by the fall, and blown away by the wind. It is difficult to imagine a sane writer composing so lame an allegory. The vision of the ram and the goat in chapter viii. lies open to similar censure. We have no sooner learned in chapter vii. that the *horns* of our author's beasts represent the individual kings, than we find the ram's

two horns in chapter viii. standing for the two kingdoms (Persia and Media) united under one king; whilst the horns of the goat which attacks this very ram again symbolize individual kings. The writer soon falls out of his rôle (viii. 11, 12), and, forgetting his symbolism, speaks of the *horn* as performing actions only possible to a man.

We have great pleasure in putting at the head of this article the name of an essay which is equally creditable to the head and the heart of its author. The generous tone which Mr. Fuller adopts towards critics of every school, is evidently no artificial liberality, but the native ingenuousness of one who, in becoming a clergyman, does not cease to be also a scholar and a gentleman. The points of dispute are stated by him with rare logical precision, and reasoned on with singular freedom from passion; and if Mr. Fuller's book contains less learning than Dr. Pusey's, it is both pleasanter to read, and more convenient to consult. It is far more scholarly in its presentation of the subject, and will retain a certain value when the vituperation of Dr. Pusey's huge, overgrown partizan-pamphlet has gone to the limbo in which we trust obsolete theological polemics are destined to rot. That we can judge thus far favourably of a writer whose conclusions are hardly ever our own, is to us a strong proof of the goodness of his spirit. Mr. Fuller's strongest point is his fairness in stating a case; his weakest, his judicial decisions. In some instances he seems singularly deficient in reading on questions not immediately connected with Daniel, as when he quotes with approval the following statement of a dilemma:

"To suppose that the Saviour made such an appeal to a book that was the comparatively recent work of an impostor, or at least of a forger of romance, is to suppose Christ himself to have been either ignorant of the state of facts, or else willing to foster the false regard paid to the book by the Jews."

Does Mr. Fuller know nothing of modern inquiries into the date of the Gospels, which make a very early origin of those books at least highly improbable? And if they were composed in their present form by other and later Christians than the Apostles, we certainly cannot retain our reliance on the perfect truth of all their narratives; and the speeches especially, even if faithfully transmitted in the

main, cannot be relied on in every word. The dilemma, in this case, is one of Mr. Fuller's own making; for the reference to the authority of the prophet Daniel may be made only by an anonymous writer of the second century, and not by Jesus at all. "An anonymous writer," we say; for the titles of the Gospels themselves, if authentic and worth anything as testimony, are actually (as Renan has well observed) witnesses against the authorship by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, since they describe those books as giving the Good Tidings *according to* (and not *by)* those Evangelists.

We have now done with the Book of Daniel for the present. It scarcely needs to be observed, that we have only selected the most salient points of history and apocalyptic vision, upon which any judgment of its age and significance must mainly be based. One very curious point, upon which many commentators place their chief reliance—Daniel's commentary upon the seventy weeks of Jeremiah—has not been touched; and still less have we ventured to approach the question of the double language, Hebrew and Chaldee, and the Greek additions to the book. We may find a future opportunity to treat these points, which will only yield further confirmation of the conclusions already reached. Dr. Pusey gives, in an appendix, some critiques on the origin of some of the peculiar non-Hebrew words occurring in the Hebrew and Chaldee chapters, by Professor Max Müller; by which he would apparently have it supposed that that eminent linguist lends his authority to his own peculiar views on the origin of the Chaldee dialect. It is an injury to Professor Müller to believe this; we thankfully accept this dissertation, as everything else proceeding from his pen; but refuse to admit that it does anything towards establishing Dr. Pusey's case.

In conclusion, let it be noted, in excuse for the fragmentary and selective character of our criticism, what difficulties meet a modern critic on any Biblical question. He has to consider not only the book he is treating, but its relation to others, and the authenticity of these. Thus, to answer Dr. Pusey or Mr. Fuller, who both refer to the Gospels for the sanction alleged to be given by Jesus himself to the prophetic character of Daniel, we ought to investigate these no less carefully than the Book of Daniel itself And if their reliance on the evangelical evidence is as implicit as

their words suggest, no less than this would satisfy them. Our task has necessarily been humbler; we have addressed ourselves mainly to readers who would hold that the evidence supplied by the book itself must rule the result; and that where that evidence allows only one conclusion, no authority of Church, Evangelists, Apostles, nor even of Jesus himself, can bar the verdict.

R. M.

II.—WOMAN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH.

Deaconesses. By the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D. 12mo. London: Longmans. 1862.

Woman's Work in the Church. By J. M. Ludlow. 12mo. London: Strahan. 1865.

THE desire to devote ourselves wholly and for ever, whether to a person or to an idea, by an irrevocable vow, is a singular element in all the noblest sentiments of humanity. It is this desire whose presence or absence forms the unfailing test dividing pure and unselfish affections from those of grosser origin. All things holy bear with them a claim to eternity. All things base and earthly betray themselves, even in the hottest hours of passion, by a conscious transiency and evanescence. To look beyond Love, Friendship, Religion, Duty, and calmly contemplate the probability that the time will arrive when we shall loosen their golden fetters and forget our friend, or choose a new love, or forsake our religion, or give up the effort to perform our duty —to do this is to be false, then and there, to the bond in question. It is true that sad experience in later life warns us to speak with 'bated breath and downcast eyes of any future faith or constancy which our poor failing, changeful hearts may maintain. But at the least, if we are honest and true, we must be faithful *now* in every thought and wish. The cloud which time may bring must not yet have risen, even to the size of a man's hand, over our horizon.

This great and sacred desire to seal our devotion eternally to the object we supremely love, prompts us nearly

always, in the case of Religion, to entertain schemes of action at variance with ordinary domestic and social life. Very few (it is to be believed) have ever felt strongly the blessed sense of divine allegiance, without, at some period or another, framing ardent aspirations after a course of devotion, involving the renunciation of worldly pleasures and ambitions, and the exclusive pursuit of some religious end. The choice of the ministry, or of a monastic or missionary life, is doubtless usually made under the pressure of these feelings, whose guidance in early times led the primitive Christians by thousands to court persecution and rush into the arena of martyrdom. Calmer reason, or perhaps we should rather say, a further advance in the ways of God, places a limit on these aspirations, and teaches that the self-consecration, incumbent on all, is the true and complete sacrifice; and that the choice of a course of life must be determined, not by an ebullition of fervid devotion, but by a deliberate judgment of what may truly be the best method for the individual,—such as he is, with all his existing claims and abilities,—to serve God by serving man. To the end of time, however, it must remain a natural and a holy desire to choose the most definite form of religious service, and to feel the need of some outward and public dedication which shall at once express and give future support to the inward resolution. It may be well for a moment to pause and consider the very obvious, yet often forgotten, consequences of that form which this high dedication most commonly takes amongst us, namely, the adoption of the ministry of religion. When we are called upon (as by the books at the head of our article) to contemplate the probable speedy establishment of a species of secondary ministry open to women, it is desirable to hold in view at once the good and the harmful side of that great institution which has come down to us from remotest ages, and will doubtless last yet for centuries to come—nay, till that millennium which the prophet foresaw, when *all* men shall be "kings and priests unto God."

The benefits we derive from the existence of an order of ministers of religion are almost too obvious to be recapitulated. It ensures a regularity and frequency of public worship otherwise unattainable, and it provides instruction and spiritual aid to thousands of the community whom

private zeal might fail to reach. Further, it supplies to the dedicated persons themselves a position, a moral pedestal (if we may so express it) whence a noble attitude of life may be adopted almost spontaneously. What the Poor Laws are to public pauperism, an ecclesiastical system is to public ignorance and irreligion. Each institution lacks somewhat of grace and freedom, yet affords an orderly provision for pressing wants, such as no individual voluntaryism could be trusted to supply. What high social rank is to a man's demeanour, the ministry of religion is to his morals. Each, by affording *prestige* of dignity and elevation, tends to produce without effort results otherwise achieved only by strongly exerted personal qualities.

On the other hand, the evils of a priestly order are to be discerned no less than its benefits. Religion, if preached more diligently and continuously, is yet preached less forcibly and effectively by a professed minister than by another man, and this simply for the reason that the minister *is* a professed preacher, and that his utterances are supposed to be a part of his official routine. A clergyman must be not only as good and gifted as a layman, to have the same influence, but more good and more gifted. The same exhortations will have less force from his mouth than from the mouth of a man of the world. The same moral aphorism which will fall dead from the pulpit, will be caught up from the stage and echoed with shouts of sympathetic applause. Since the old popular reverence for priestly authority has passed away, every clergyman works at a disadvantage, and many an one must wish that he could mix for a time in social and family life unmarked by the garb of his order, and bear his testimony, as simply a *man*, to the faith which is in him. The knowledge that (in vulgar parlance) it is his *business* to uphold certain doctrines or condemn certain faults, detracts half from the weight which his ability and character would legitimately give to his expression of opinion. Perhaps it is a great mistake that it should be so. The fact that a man has devoted his *whole* life to the support of such doctrines, or rebuke of such vices, ought, in one view, to add infinite value to the vote he throws into the scale. But, justly or unjustly, the world will not thus first estimate a man's entire weight, and then, as it were, take him again and again piecemeal in each record of opinion. That a good,

wise and able man is a clergyman of such a denomination goes for much in the esteem of his neighbours for the denomination to which he belongs. But, this accorded, his assertion *seriatim* of the doctrines of his sect, will not do the doctrines service beyond the precise logical value of his arguments.

Beside this great difficulty thrown by popular opinion in the way of professed ministers of religion, there are others which more intimately concern their own feelings, and which many of the noblest of them have deplored,—the difficulty of resisting the effect of familiarity in weakening the sentiments of awe and veneration—the difficulty of keeping clear of professional and party feeling—the difficulty (signalized long ago by Hume) of maintaining the decorum of a sacred office without lapsing into those little hypocrisies of manner which destroy natural simplicity and manliness. All these difficulties, it must be confessed, form a serious counterpoise to the benefits derived from an order of professional ministers of religion. If, in the estimation of most men, the benefits will be thought to outweigh the disadvantages, yet all must desire that it were possible to secure the former without entailing the latter, and that we might have teachers blessed in heart by the sense of their own secret devotion to God's service, yet unshackled by the conventional notions of their neighbours,—men whose mental and moral authority should exert its natural intrinsic force undiminished by the dull prejudice which now turns aside the edge of their sharpest words by deeming them merely official and professional.

If these things be so as regards the existing Protestant priesthood, what shall we say as regards the proposed Female Diaconate? Some of the observations made above, obviously would apply remotely, if at all, to such a lesser form of ministry; others would bear with double weight on the peculiar nature of women. How does the balance incline? Hitherto a Protestant woman of fervent religious feelings has no outlet for the desire to devote herself publicly and irrevocably to Divine service. While Romanists, men and women, have many fields for such devotion in the monastic orders, charitable, ascetic and contemplative,—while Protestant *men* have the clerical and missionary offices,—a woman has nothing of the kind, and is consequently driven

back to the daily round of ordinary duties.* Is this to be lamented, and is the new opening to be hailed with rejoicing? Will the benefits of the existence of an order of publicly devoted persons here also outbalance the evils entailed thereby? Shall we find the ministry of religious Charity beset with fewer objections and involving parallel benefits to the ministry of Religion itself? Shall we here endure no drawbacks from the deadening effects of professionalism, and find no *esprit de corps* (always on the increase) substituting itself for genuine feeling (always wearing out by habit)? Shall we find no undervaluing of official charity, as we find undervaluing of official exhortations? These are questions by no means to be answered hastily.

The books under review in this paper ought to help us to some conclusions in the matter. They are both able, both learned—Mr. Ludlow's exceedingly learned,—and both written by men of what is deemed the more liberal party in the Church of England. Their arguments are all devoted to the recommendation of the Female Diaconate, and, incidentally, to the condemnation of monastic establishments. Let us endeavour briefly to state the drift of the two books.

It is evident that both Mr. Howson and Mr. Ludlow expect their readers to be strongly impressed by the precedents, apostolic and patristic, which they adduce in behalf of a certain ecclesiastical office, which they distinguish very nicely from the equally primitive orders of Church Widows, Church Virgins and Συνείσακτοι on one side, and from heathen priestesses and Romish nuns on the other. The three first orders (albeit of most respectable antiquity) nobody seems to desire to restore; Romish and eke Anglican Sisterhoods are incidentally condemned by both the writers we are considering; and the idea of a feminine Priesthood is evidently not merely inexpedient in their eyes, but actually sacrilegious and blasphemous.†

For this Female Diaconate they claim the formidable

* It might be curious to inquire how many young girls of evangelical tendencies marry clergymen under precisely the same feelings as, if they had been Romanists, would have made them enter a convent.

† We cannot help pausing to ask *why* should this be so? Why should the disciples of a religion which has commonly been held up as the great elevator of woman be almost alone among mankind in feeling that a priestess is a monstrous thing, and that any sacerdotal office would be profaned by being performed by a woman? That women are very little fitted, physically or mentally, to preach

weight of the sanction of the whole early church. A very ample array of authorities are adduced to prove—1st, that the order of Deaconesses existed in apostolic times and was approved by St. Paul; 2nd, that it continued to exist and be patronized by the greatest of the Fathers—notably by St. Chrysostom; 3rd, that it expired at last only in the very darkest of the dark ages, in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit and the increasing influence of the regular monastic orders; Lastly, that it has been revived with great success in several experiments in Germany, Switzerland and France, and needs only to be tried in England to insure signal utility.

We must take these arguments for what they are worth from our own stand-point. With regard to the authority of antiquity, it is probable that the readers of this Review will generally take the same view as ourselves, namely, that it is exceedingly little to the purpose. The system may have been expedient for such an age as that of the primitive church, and, almost for that very reason, be presumptively inexpedient for our own (utterly different) civilization. That a practical scheme of the kind has dropped into desuetude, is a greater argument against its utility than the fact of it having once existed is in favour thereof. There is no evidence that the apostles founded the institution with a view to eternal perpetuation; and if we were to gather up all the institutions and precepts, ethical and social,

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or teach, may by some be thought an open question, and by others be deemed decided by the dictum of St. Paul. But it is not the *inexpediency* of their preaching to which High Churchmen and Broad Churchmen alike object. It is to the *sacrilege* of their performing any sacerdotal function. If we could get at the root of this very strong sentiment, we should probably find some ideas both as regards the priestly character and the moral *status* of woman which would startle us not a little. Those European races of pre-Christian times from whom we draw our blood, our laws, our art and philosophy—Teuton, Celt, Roman, Greek—had all of them priestesses in abundance, and the Teuton deemed women peculiarly acceptable to the Divinity. But among Christians—Latin, Greek, Anglican—wherever the sacerdotal office is magnified, there, though the Virgin may be worshiped as a goddess, and Deborah, Anna and Huldah admitted to be supernatural mouthpieces of the Deity, yet the best and purest of women would be deemed to *pollute* the priesthood. Only among the extreme Evangelicals, Methodists and Quakers, where sacerdotalism is despised and the spiritual attainments of each soul supremely considered, the ministry of women has a constant tendency to arise and to be respected. On the other hand, the Anglicans and Puseyites draw the line with Oriental pride, till (as in St. Alban's and other such churches) women may not sit or communicate with men in church.

to which a Biblical origin may be assigned, but which have unanimously been consigned to oblivion, we should have to reconstruct a state of things including *agapæ*, community of goods, avoidance of "blood and things strangled"—in a word, the whole order of a by-gone world.

The real arguments in favour of the revival of the Female Diaconate we will venture to state somewhat differently; placing in the first rank the points which Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Howson consider as secondary.

There is immense need of organized labour among the poor in England—to aid the sick—to teach children—to visit the workhouses—to reclaim fallen women and criminals. For much of this work women are peculiarly adapted. There exists already a "redundancy" of single women in the community; these women are generally willing and even anxious to be useful; and, to adopt Mrs. Hannah More's dictum, "Charity is the profession of a lady." To make the labour of these women effective, the thing needed is organization. Such an institution as a Female Diaconate would supply—and has been proved on the continent efficiently to supply—the needed organization. Therefore (we might almost add, Q. E. D.) a Female Diaconate ought to be established.

It might seem that against such an array of arguments as this there was nothing to be done but to yield full assent and follow the course pointed out. Nevertheless, we confess to see sundry difficulties in the way. Let it be heartily granted that there is such work as we have specified to be done; that women are the proper workers; that hundreds of women are willing and anxious to do it; and that what they need to make their work effective is organization. Let all this be granted. The doubtful matter is, whether *that* organization supplied by such an order as the Diaconate, is the best organization for the purpose; nay, whether it be not one entailing after it such grievous dangers and inevitable disadvantages, as to promise rather to be a source of evil than of good.

It is quite true that the system of Protestant Deaconesses is flourishing at present in Switzerland, in France, and especially in Germany, where the great parent institution of Kaiserswerth sends forth fresh offshoots constantly, proving its vigorous vitality. We have visited that interesting

place, and seen in it much to command admiration; albeit on the whole it left on us the impression that the sacred services therein rendered to humanity were done rather in that spirit which (like the special garb) marks them as exceptional sacrifices, than in that other spirit, surely more true and noble, which makes the doing of good to God's children the most natural and simple and happy of all the occupations of life. But Kaiserswerth and the other Deaconess institutions of the continent, though efficient organizations of female charity, are not the only ones possible, nor the only ones actually tried in our time and found entirely successful. If this were so, if wholly individual and disjointed efforts were all that we could ever hope to contrast with such an ecclesiastical system, we might indeed, in our anxiety that the work should be well accomplished, yield to the imperative claim of the scheme by which alone it could be done. But this is as far as possible from being the case. The lay philanthropists of England are every year forming closer and better systems of free work, such as that lately started in London under the auspices of Bishop Tait, and all the various societies belonging to the Reformatory movement, Education, Workhouse visiting and Women's Employment, in connection with the Social Science Association. The difficulties and imperfections in the working of these societies form no more argument for a return to one of the schemes of the primitive church of Corinth or of Antioch, than railway accidents form an argument for the renunciation of steam and a return to stage coaches. We shall doubtless learn by degrees how to use our new modern machinery with safety and accuracy, and then we may bear a steam power such as the old world never knew; a whole community of workers leading the natural human life of home and family, and taking their labour of love, not as a sacrifice, but as a daily office specially dear and beautiful; the hour at the school or the hospital as welcome among the hours, as the Sunday among the days of the week. This is no visionary possibility set up for argument against the tangible scheme of the Diaconate. Kaiserswerth and St. Loup have their antithesis at Hamburg in the lay association of Amelia Sieveking, and to this we gladly turn as an instance to prove what not only *may* be done, but *is* done, by women

separate in no respect from the rest of the world, wearing no special garb, depriving no home of their presence, making no pretensions to extraordinary devotion, and owning no allegiance to any priesthood whatever. Amelia Sieveking had all her early life indulged in visions of an evangelical order of Sisters of Mercy, but circumstances constantly "hedged up her way with thorns" from such an undertaking, till eventually she was led to found a Lay Association of women of all classes joining in charitable work, which has proved quite as great a success as the ecclesiastical scheme of Pastor Fliedner. That excellent man, indeed, invited Miss Sieveking, in 1837, to assume the superintendence of the hospital at Kaiserswerth; but her own great work, already progressing favourably, kept her at home, and ere she died in 1859, the association had become a vast tree, spreading its ramifications all over Northern Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and Russia. We hear comparatively little of this association in England. No clerical party have taken it in hand; for, instead of aiding ecclesiastical parties, it very decidedly tends to smooth them all down by uniting women in holy labours disconnected from any special church or sect. Nevertheless, he who will read the Life of Amelia Sieveking, lately admirably translated by Miss C. Winkworth, and her "Principles of Charitable Work," will be convinced that no larger, healthier scheme than hers has been started for many a day, and that its great success is not only natural, but a thing to be securely anticipated wherever it may be tried. *This* plan is founded on the most simple and obvious principles of co-operation, and strictly guards itself against interfering ever so remotely with family ties and domestic duties. This plan encourages no idea of a superior virtue with its "counsels of perfection," no severance from the world and social intercourse, no peculiar garb with its insidious power to bind for ever by the strong fear of ridicule those who have once adopted it from ever relinquishing it again. This plan falls in not at all with the miserable propensity of so many women to worship their parish heroes, and make wise clergymen ashamed and foolish ones conceited. There is no room for any vestige of these things in the simple Lay Association of Miss Sieveking. Is it perchance *for that very reason* that we hear so little of it, and find no efforts made by English

Churchmen for its introduction into a country especially suited by the freedom of our habits for its reception?*

Let us be just. It is natural and inevitable that the adherents of a Church like that of England should, in seeking to benefit the poor, seek to do it through her ministrations, and choose among the schemes by which the poor may be benefited that scheme which at the same time aggrandizes the Church. We cannot blame Churchmen that it should be so. That they should expend such considerable labour of research as that displayed by Mr. Ludlow in demonstrating that deaconesses were sanctioned by the Apostles and Fathers, is evidence how much weight their own views of religion lead them to attach to such authority, and consequently to the whole ecclesiastical system which has grown out of it. In as far as this system is supposed to have value, in so far its influence must be desired. An honest Churchman must have one eye on the interests of his Church when he is working social reforms, just as a devout Romanist must have an eye to Popery in his political action. But, without blaming those whose views lead them to such a blending of aims, those who, on the other hand, hold that the aggrandizement of the power of the Church of England *(as now constituted)* would be an evil rather than an advantage, may be justified in viewing with very deep distrust such schemes as that of a Female Diaconate. Carried out as its designers wish, such a scheme would amount to something considerably more important than the grant of many thousands per annum for additional curates. Listen to Mr. Howson's dream: "Suppose that a clergyman had for his fellow-labourers in one of these crowded districts half-a-dozen Christian women of education and experience, of mature age and settled character, living together for the simple purpose of doing good

* See "Life of Amelia Sieveking, translated from the German by Catherine Winkworth" (Longmans, 1863); and also the "Principles of Charitable Work, Love, Truth and Order, as set forth in the Writings of Amelia Sieveking." We cannot resist quoting from the former book a passage beautifully illustrative of the practical bearings of a more liberal theology than *Church* Deaconesses will be permitted to hold. Miss Sieveking writes to her mother from the Cholera Hospital: "In such scenes I find endless comfort and encouragement in my belief in the ultimate restoration of all sinners. I know not whether I could have fulfilled with so willing a heart all the menial offices of a nurse towards some of these drunkards and fallen women, had not the happy thought been always in my mind—the time will yet come when even these souls will join with me in worship before the throne of God."—Life, p. 269.

under his directions,—how much more abundantly would he be enriched than by any sums of money!"* We entirely agree with him. Half-a-dozen women in each parish; women "of education and experience;" women living for "the simple purpose of doing good *under the directions*" of the clergyman; would be about the most powerful band of allies the parsons of those parishes could possibly obtain. Surely, without any animosity against the Church, we may be permitted to state some of the very good reasons which may make those who are *not* her disciples very seriously deprecate such an accession to her forces.

First, as regards the ladies themselves. That sacred desire of perpetual self-devotion, to which we have referred in the beginning of this paper, would doubtless make hundreds of women accept enthusiastically such an office as this Diaconate, were it fairly opened to them. But would not nearly all the evils which we have noted as pertaining to the priestly office be involved in such Diaconate, while the great need which justifies the former would fail to justify the latter? Would not the deaconess be subject to the same mournful influences of all official religion and official charity? Would not she lose in simple personal influence even *more* than the priest, inasmuch as her natural power is more purely persuasive and unofficial than that of a man? Would she not feel more than the priest (inasmuch as she is more acutely sensitive to all impressions) the evils of the special pretensions of her garb and title, her profession of piety, and severance from worldly pursuits? Would she not (inasmuch as she is constitutionally less capable of sustained labour, and perhaps of sustained monotony of any kind) be more likely to succumb to the temptation of substituting the *esprit de corps* for the pure love of her task? Lastly, we ask in all seriousness, and with no wish to introduce an element of ridicule into the question, what *can* be the relation of a deaconess to the clergyman under whose "directions" it is her one object in life to work? English ladies are very little practised in the art of working under anybody, beyond the arrangement of a district, or a class at a Sunday-school, or the selection of a ward in a workhouse; and in all such things it is not so much "direc-

* Deaconesses, by Rev. J. S. Howson, Appendix.

tion" on one side and orderly obedience to a superior on the other, as the friendly agreement of two free fellow-workers. The healthiest and best form of all female philanthropy is the care which the wife and daughters of a squire or mill-owner take of the workers and tenants with whom they are naturally connected. The sick labourer, the aged servant, the young children needing to be taught, and girls aided to start in life,—all these come spontaneously into the round of blessed duties belonging to such a lot. There is no effort, no special display of virtue, no need to come under anybody's "direction," in the simple and happy task, almost universally accepted with joy by the women to whom Providence has given it. But all this tends nothing to increase the clergyman's special influence. It is a purely lay influence of a peculiarly healthy and beautiful kind; and fortunate we are that it is at this hour exercised in nine out of ten of the parishes of England. But a "deaconess" is to be something very different from the squire's daughter, who makes her father's breakfast and orders dinner, and perhaps lingers half an hour playing with her dogs or her peacocks before she equips herself to trip off across the park to teach in her own village school, and then comes home to luncheon, and a drive in her pony-carriage, so arranged as to combine leaving soup at one cottage and wine at another, and paying formal visits to two or three neighbours, and finally drinking tea in the little parlour of some dear old servant. Such a day as this, wound up, very probably in a fresh evening toilette, by a gay family dinner, and an hour's music or perhaps a game of whist to amuse her parents, is no "deaconess" life, nor one in which clerical "direction" may be studied. We must go into quite another world of habits and ideas to learn what it means that a lady should devote herself solely to work "under the directions" of a priest. The picture is less pleasant to contemplate.

Let us take the case in the fairest way. Let us suppose the clergyman who is to "direct" the lady, to be a middle-aged, sensible, married man, neither too stupid to guide, nor too clever to escape being made a parish pope. Let us credit him with the best wishes to do good to his people, and let us exonerate him from certain failings—love of gossip, love of domineering, love of meddling—from which ordination

to a village cure has not always been found a guarantee. When everything is at its very best and safest, does there not still remain something difficult, and full of awkwardness and peril, in the relation of such a clergyman to the women he is to direct? Are they to be his unpaid curates, doing his bidding day by day? But if so, when they (like other curates) differ in points of judgment, is it to be expected they will always yield, and become mere passive servants of a despotic master? We can only record our belief (founded on some large experience of English ladies of philanthropic pursuits) that passive obedience is only to be had from them under certain religious persuasions the reverse of what we deem Protestant. On the one hand, there is the anomaly of a man exacting obedience from unpaid servants, and the disorders consequent on disobedience. On the other hand, there is the fanatical allegiance of the devotee to her priest. We can hardly imagine that a state of things like this is one calculated to fulfil the aspirations with which such a life of self-dedication would be adopted, in so far as the woman's own case is concerned.

There is little doubt that in all kinds of human work that which is *free* has many advantages. But in the case of charity the rule has double force. Charity done under orders is hardly charity at all. To go round to visit a certain number of sick beds because we are sent by a superior at a precise hour round those beds, becomes after a wonderfully short time as purely mechanical as to go round to dust a certain number of chairs against a wall. With the spontaneity of freedom there evaporates the essential spirit of charity—the spirit without which visiting, nursing, reading, praying, all "profit nothing." And why does it evaporate? Is it because the *motu proprio* had in it any selfish wilfulness? Not at all; but for this reason: When a person goes to visit a sick neighbour *because the neighbour wants him*, and from his heart he wishes to serve him, he does it from the one pure and right motive—the simple love of his neighbour. But when he visits the same man because *he is ordered to do so*, and because *it is his duty to obey such orders*, then a wholly new element has entered among his feelings — an element which with great speed dims and extinguishes the spontaneous sympathy he felt before. The inspection of many hospitals abroad under the charge of

Romish nuns, and a diligent inquiry into the moral results on the Sisters of Charity themselves of the exercise of obedience in their functions, have been to the writer, *not* the premisses for the foregone conclusion above stated, but, on the contrary, the overwhelming evidence which changed an original prejudice in favour of such organization into a deadly distrust thereof, and of every form of ecclesiastical "obedience."

But if the Diaconate would be no morally healthy post for the woman herself, what would be its effect generally on the community? Would the sick, the poor and the ignorant, be better cared for? and would the social life of England of all classes be elevated by the intervention of that unquestionably powerful agency suggested by Mr. Howson, "half-a-dozen deaconesses in every parish"? We think the gain would be outbalanced by the hurt. In the first place, an office morally unhealthy to the official can never be really good for those for whom it is performed. There is no sounder principle than that the best way we can raise others is to raise ourselves; and the greatest hurt we can do to society is to injure our own souls. *If* (as we have given reasons for believing) pious women would find under the garb of the Diaconate, not an easier, but a harder path to spiritual simplicity and pure human loving-kindness; if they would find themselves entangled in conscience-traps innumerable —then we must needs hold they would serve the poor far better by relinquishing such an office.

Again: we have already a public organization of charity, the Poor Laws. Whatever official and professional charity should do, these *ought* to accomplish. If, instead of improving these laws and reforming our workhouses on the sound principles of political economy, we bring to the relief of the poor an army of new relieving officers, directed by the clergy, instead of by any scientific rules, we shall only produce the old Romish evils over again; the pauperism and mendicancy and whining cant to be found wherever such monastic charity is distributed.

Lastly, there is another danger in the scheme, and one not too lightly to be overlooked.

It is well known to all who have resided much in France, that a great change has passed of late years over society in that country. A despotic Social Inquisition, a religious

Camorra has arisen and is working through every town and village of the land. The order of St. Vincent de Paul was ten or twelve years ago merely a large and active charitable association. It has become a power whose like we might faintly picture here, if we could imagine all the Poor-law Guardians in England banded in a religious confraternity, such as might have for its organ the *Church Review* or the *Record*. Its members are the almoners of all France; the body to whom the entire mass of the poor and labouring classes look for help in sickness or loss of employment, and whose favour they naturally seek by subserviencies of all kinds. Thus the power of the purse is added to the influence of the Church and of the Confessional, and of the cabals of hundreds of fanatical women led blindly by their "directors." The result, as we have stated, is nothing short of a social despotism. The members of the society meddle with everything, help their friends, punish their enemies, and by all the thousand engines of petty intrigue make themselves well-nigh omnipotent. Every day their power grows with their wealth, their *quêtes* for alms become more frequent and dictatorial, and, with the proceeds, they add yet another and another stone to their edifice of political importance. We have been assured by a French lady residing in one of the country towns, that while utterly disliking the whole society, and desiring to bestow her alms otherwise, she dared not refuse once the perpetual tax of the *quête*. If she did so, the "*cancans*" of the town would soon be directed against her with a thousand slanders, and she would find herself looked on coldly by all around her.* We urged her to a more courageous course, but her answer was simple: "I am a widow—I dare not draw on myself the enmity of St. Vincent de Paul."

We do not believe things would ever reach this pitch in England were ten thousand deaconesses ordained to-morrow. What we do believe is this: that an association of single women, under the direction of the clergy of the Church of

* In Rome it is well known that, before any of the illuminations in honour of the Pope, the collection of St. Vincent de Paul is made most rigidly, and the money obtained given to persons who will agree to spend a good share of it in lighting their windows. The simple fact appears to be, that no ecclesiastical body, *of those churches which make salvation depend on faith*, can be trusted to use power or money otherwise than for the aggrandizement of their Church.

England, would shortly become a social power of no mean force, whose influence, if sometimes good, would be also not unfrequently (as the simple result of human weakness) a source of miserable cabals among the rich, and of odious sectarian favouritism among the poor. And we believe, from sad experience, further, that, while such would be the mingled good and evil of the Female Diaconate *in* the Church, its existence would be a source of unmingled ill to Dissenters and all who were *not* members of the Establishment. It is needless to remind the readers of this Review of the almost numberless cases in which institutions for charity and education founded by Unitarians have passed into other hands, not a single Unitarian being permitted to share in their direction. It is needless to speak of other and national charities in which it is impossible for any but Churchmen and Churchwomen to obtain a part. A great effort has been made of late years to reverse this state of things. Unitarians like Mary Carpenter have forced the State as well as the Church to admit their labours, and the Social Science Association has perhaps achieved its very greatest triumph in blending all sects and churches in friendly work for human progress. But there is an under-current at work against us, a fresh animosity against free thought arising among people hitherto indifferent, whom the Colenso controversy has awakened to behold the breakers a-head of the vessel in which they slumbered. A new charitable organization attached exclusively to the Church, and consisting of women devoted to its interests, would be a formidable adjunct indeed to the cause of narrowness and exclusion in philanthropic labours. If Churchmen say to us (as they so often do), "We prefer that the poor should lack physical help rather than receive it along with your religious views,"—we also may, not unjustly, reply, "We prefer that the poor should be helped in that manner which will *not* also at the same time aggrandize that ecclesiastical Power which shews itself inimical at once to liberty of action and liberty of thought."

NOTE.

As a practical illustration of the kind of philanthropic system which we should desire to see established, instead of an order of Deaconesses, we need only refer to the work now carried on in

Liverpool, in connection with the Training School for Nurses; the annual report of which has come into our hands since the foregoing article was in type. The town has been mapped out into seventeen districts, and for every district there is a Lady Superintendent (generally assisted by another lady), and a paid Nurse under her direction. An average of about two hundred cases of sickness and distress seems annually to fall to each district, and to be relieved by the attendance of the trained Nurse, and by gifts of meat, wine, tea, coals, or clothing, as may be required. The funds for such assistance (which amount to about ninety pounds a-year for each district, or less than ten shillings for each case relieved) are of course supplied to the ladies by the Society, and are duly accounted for by them at the end of the year. At the head of the Training School there is a salaried Superintendent, a lady well known among English philanthropists for her great ability, Miss M. Merryweather. The Lady Superintendents of the districts and their assistants are voluntary workers, residing in their own homes, and disposing of their leisure in these tasks at their own discretion, without forming any sort of order or religious association whatever. Best of all, we find that persons of all denominations are joined in this good work; the Unitarians of Hope-Street church taking one district peculiarly to their share, while others of the same faith join in the management of many of the rest; and on the Committee for the Home we observe, beside the name of Mr. William Rathbone, Jun. (with whom we understand the scheme originated), that of the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., one of the very advocates of the Deaconess system, to whom we have been endeavouring to reply. The presence of this gentleman on such a Committee gives most honourable evidence, at all events, of his personal freedom from any desire to use a charitable institution for sectarian ends. Nevertheless, we must hold to our conviction that the establishment of an order of Deaconesses would have a very decided tendency to strengthen all existing differences, and to put a stop to the formation of such truly noble associations as the one we have now described.

It is doing two good works at once to bring together in harmonious action men whom theological prejudices would keep asunder. It would, on the contrary, be undoing with one hand the good we do with the other, to introduce a scheme whereby that charity, which ought to be the common bond of all who love God and desire to serve His creatures, should be attached so exclusively to a single ecclesiastical corporation, that it must form yet another hindrance to the friendly co-operation of men and women of different denominations.

F. P. C.

III.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON THEOLOGY.

We endeavoured in a recent paper* to give some aid towards the examination of the Influence of the Church of England on Society. We admitted the possibility of the objection that we were discussing the relations of the clergy rather than of the whole Church, and felt that in thus narrowing our field, we did not entirely keep the promise of our title. But if in the present article we restrict ourselves to the writings of the clergy and the formularies of the Church among them, we shall not allow that we are by so doing leaving untouched a part of our subject. For only the clergy are bound to the dogmatic statements of the Church by anything beyond their own convictions; nor are the opinions of the laity, however freely expressed, ever supposed to compromise the body to which they belong. The clergy, rightly or wrongly, are considered as tied not only by fixed forms, but by changing opinions, while the shadow of the Thirty-nine Articles is over them in all they do or say. And though they are, as they must be, affected by the current theology of the time, they, and they only, form that of the Church in which they are the teachers.

We must introduce another limitation. It is no part of the object of these pages to shew how Jeremy Taylor, with all his fervent devotion and all his Catholic bias, was yet free and unfettered in thought far beyond the scanty and one-sided liberalism of the present day,—how Bishop Butler's principles, even when imperfectly understood, have slowly leavened the teaching, at least of Oxford, on all subjects he touched. We have not the space to remind our readers of that passing "controversy about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England" which drew from Richard Hooker an imperishable treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, or to consider what weight is added to the Athanasian Creed by Waterland's solid and passionless defence, what force of argument against it is lent by Archbishop Tillotson's dislike. Great as are those Englishmen who, as Mr. Froude has said, share with the author of the Apocalypse the title of Divine, they are little read, save

* P. 277.

by professed students, or when crammed for a Bishop's examination. The readers of these days, who must fain know little about much, and that ill, rather than much about little, and that well, prefer to take their science, their art, their theology, in the hasty analysis of a Review, or from a modern writer who invents as he goes, rather than from pure founts of ancient thought. These writers do not directly influence modern opinion to any large or even appreciable extent. And there is, indeed, this excuse for the neglect of them, that by the fact of the storms which attended and followed the English Reformation, their works were cast in controversial moulds, while yet their controversies were not ours, nor for us of more than antiquarian interest. And he who would read them finds their pages marred by party words of dead strifes, by the records of divisions long since healed or forgotten. It is not such strifes that we would disinter. Let them rest in oblivion; would to God our own controversies might also cease, as dumb and dead as they! We have to speak of living men, and their words which breathe and burn; of the science we now have or are likely to have of things divine; of the fear of a more extended disintegration of religious parties, and the hope of future union; of the Church of England as she now is in word and thought. There are, however, two books nearly coeval with the Reformed Church of England, representing at their birth the Church's mind with more or less completeness, and still continuing to do so, which have had a remarkable share in the formation of English religious thought,—the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, with the Thirty-nine Articles. The first is of course the English Bible in no such sense as the Vulgate is the Roman Bible. This, to the post Tridentine Church at least, is the inspired Scripture. And it is obvious that many difficulties are thus avoided: Hebrew readings, variations of dialect, dates of books, on which for the critic so much depends, are nearly unimportant to the members of a Church which accepts a translation as a whole, complete, and, as it were, new work. No educated member of the Church of England can ever have attempted to defend all points in her version, or to scorn new translations simply because they differed from that received already, or to oppose a revision from a reverence for any inherent sanctity in the present text. Few

would claim for it any higher character than that of, on the whole, a faithful and careful rendering of the Scriptures. But though reason and calm judgment would allow no more than this, it has in fact and in feeling a far stronger hold wherever the English tongue is spoken and English associations are dear. It was made when our language was at its very noblest, when the rhythm and cadences of prose as well as those of poetry were most carefully studied; it has a grandeur which is by no means due to its lofty subjects only, a life and an energy which have never existed in any other translated book. It is ornate and simple, smooth or rough, flowing or abrupt, by turns; its tone and accent are almost always true. Both in the New and the Old Testament are passages which run into music on the most faltering tongue, and live in men's memories for ever. For power of carefully chosen words, for melody of sound apart, as far as may be, from the religious character of the ideas conveyed, we know nothing in the whole range of English prose literature finer than the prophecy of Balaam, the song of Deborah, the story of Elijah at Carmel, Isaiah's lay of triumph over fallen Babylon. Or in the New Testament, if it is impossible to disconnect the music of the Sermon on the Mount and the discourses in the fourth Gospel sufficiently from the sacred speaker,—if any feel there would be a tinge of irreverence in the analysis of the construction of these sentences, even when translated, let them take St. Paul's description of Charity, or the catalogue of Jewish worthies and their deeds in the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the pictures of the mystic city, of the land and armies of the Lamb in the Revelation, and see if it would be possible to change one word, one accent, without, as it were, striking a false chord.

But our translators were not content with making the Bible popular, nor with letting their opinions crop out, as was inevitable in their translations of doubtful passages. They adopted the device of a short summary of the contents of each chapter, and under cover of this summary imposed their own comments on the sacred text. They have thus done what was not done in the cases of the Vulgate or the Septuagint, and have virtually given far more notes than has the Roman Church to those translations in the vulgar tongue grudgingly allowed to the faithful. The boast of certain Protestant societies that they circulate the pure "Word of

God" without note or comment, is absolutely untrue, so long as the headings are retained to the chapters; and these headings are, we take it, a component part of the Authorized Version. On many important exegetical questions the Church of England has thus pronounced a decided opinion, which, as a body, though individuals may differ, it reiterates; and thus continues to influence the theological views, not only of its own members, but of all those many sects which adopt this version. For instance, we find in the heading to the third chapter of Genesis, "6. Man's shameful fall;" whereas the text speaks of "the woman" and "her husband." That man collectively fell in Adam may or may not be true, but the assertion that he did so is the thought of a far later age, and is undoubtedly here a comment on the simple words. In the heading to the twelfth chapter we find, "God calleth Abram, and blesseth him with a promise of Christ." We do not dispute for a moment that any theologian preaching on this passage would have a perfect right to quote the words of Christ, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad;" but the few words just cited are to the full as much a sermon. Above the fifteenth chapter of the same book stands, "6. Abraham is justified by faith," which surely hardens into the language of Protestant shibboleth the assertion, "And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness." Prefixed to the eighteenth chapter are the words, "Abraham entertaineth three angels." It may be so, but the text says "three men;" and though angels are introduced as visiting Lot in the next chapter, we may well be glad to dwell as long as may be in the region of the beings to whom we are more accustomed. But not to linger among these unhistoric times and books, where mystic interpretations can do at least no harm, we turn to the poetical writings, and find the same commentary indulging in a reckless and uncritical freedom. The second Psalm has the preface, "1. The kingdom of Christ. 10. Kings are exhorted to accept it." The forty-fifth is headed, "1. The majesty and grace of Christ's kingdom. 10. The duty of the church and the benefits thereof." The forty-seventh, "The nations are exhorted cheerfully to entertain the kingdom of Christ;" and in the same way are the Prophets interpreted almost throughout. They are assumed to have been "rapt into future times,"

in the most literal manner, so that their words must have been entirely without meaning to the men of their own days. But, on the contrary, the tendency of modern criticism has been wholly in the opposite direction. It has been believed that when New-Testament writers speak of the fulfilment of promises and types, it has been rather because familiar words have been found able to hold greater meanings than of old, than because there was in them originally a consciousness of the interpretation they might bear. Even the most conservative critics have given up many passages as directly Messianic, directly predictive; while others not less orthodox, though less bound by tradition, fully believe that there is no passage whatever in the Old-Testament Scriptures which had reference in the mind of the writer to any time but that in which he wrote, or that age which he then saw dawning upon him. The traditional interpretation on which the Church of England has set its seal commends to the study of all, under guise of reading of Christ, the Song of Solomon, a love poem, or a drama as it seems to more modern thought, in which the coarse sensualities of the harem are brought into contrast with the simpler but no less plainly described amours of the village. We believe that the headings thus affixed to the chapters of the Authorized Version do more to perpetuate a false interpretation of Scripture and check the spread of sound criticism, than any number of theological prosecutions or encyclical letters; for they meet the eye at times when the spirit is devotional rather than critical; they are associated with earliest thoughts of the Bible, have become to the English reader a part of the Bible itself. Yet there are passages in which the translators have refrained from doctrinal notes we might have well expected, and this self-control would imply that all they did was done honestly and in good faith. For instance, there is no reference in the heading of the fifth chapter of St. John's First Epistle to the 7th and 8th verses, which are those about the heavenly and earthly witnesses. They were retained in the text because in the copies from which translations were made; but the translators would not, even so far as they could, bind the Church to accept them and their interpretation as sustaining the doctrine of the Trinity. The framers of the Liturgy were less critical or less merciful. The passage occurs in the Epistle selected

for Trinity Sunday, in which connection it cannot be regarded as many another error of translation, interpolation or false reading. It must be taken as the deliberate opinion of the theologians of the day, that that text was authentic, and did support the dogma commemorated on that day.

Here, in the selection of Scripture passages is the link between the Authorized Version and that other great document of the Church of England, of which we must briefly speak. Of this our readers will not expect the undiscriminating praise wont to be lavished on it by many who use it. We do not speak of "our incomparable Liturgy," for we consider it very deficient, and, even as far as it goes, it has many blemishes. But, drawn up as a compromise in an age of warfare, it has great and singular merits. Its services adapt themselves to very varied ritual; of the majesty and beauty of its prayers, taken separately, there can be but one opinion. The common judgment of Englishmen has been passed by this fact, that wherever any sect outside the Church of England has made a Liturgy for itself, that form has in the main been adapted from the sources of the Prayer-book; and it may therefore at first be considered that there can be no definite theology in a book which admits such varieties of teaching avowedly based on it. But surely there is definite theology in the Bible; yet of it has been said, with far more truth than can ever hold good of the Prayer-book,

> Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

The fact really seems to be, that no mind can hold more than a certain portion of infinite truth; that of this there is a larger share in any good book than man or party can contain; and, holding what it can, each mind lets all the rest slip by,—as some pitcher planted in a running stream, full itself to the brim, is unaffected though other vessels are also dipped and filled in the same abounding water. But to one looking on from outside the Church, or, as we ourselves are, inside the phenomena we attempt to describe, yet striving, with however imperfect success, to set aside for a while all preconceived opinions, it seems that there are certain definite theological marks stamped on the Liturgy as a whole, even though they are not all held by all persons who bring to it a general consent, allowance or agreement.

Like the great majority of religious bodies, the Church of England is distinctly Trinitarian. No doubt there are those ministering within it, of almost unquestioned orthodoxy, whose inmost opinions, could they be reduced to words, would ill square with those of Bishop Bull or Dr. Waterland, whose teaching makes little mention of this mystery, who consider that the three Persons are rather three modes of speaking of the One great Being, whether regarded as the Creator, as the Example and Guide of the human race, or as the Divine Spirit dwelling in each individual soul. And such would probably in feeling tread rather apart from the more rigid dogmatists of their own communion, and approach those whose views are more or less represented by this Review. Yet they must perforce, if the plain necessity come before them, be able to reconcile their convictions and faith with subscription to and use of words like these: "In unity of the Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" (Art. 1); or these: "O holy, blessed and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon us;" or the involved and difficult definition contained in the Athanasian Creed.

There are two points of very deep theology connected with the second Person of this Trinity, on which many men in these days would feel thankful to be silent, and wait for the kindly hand of time to dissipate their difficulties. We need hardly say that these are the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ. It is not that they object to them as miracles, for so they fall under that great whole of supernaturalism which pervades all the record of God's dealings with man. And possibly such persons might feel no hesitation in admitting that He does and must work in ways which we can understand but imperfectly, which necessarily appear to run counter to those of His laws of which they have a fuller though very inadequate conception. Nor is it that among miracles these are the most strange; for it is not easy to judge of proportion when we come into the dim world which lies beyond the nature we know; we cannot compare the magnitude of those things of which the most important side is hidden from us. But to these two exist moral objections of a very grave nature, which press with increasing force on the minds of thoughtful men.

On the subject of marriage and virginity, the whole tone of modern thought is different from that which prevailed in the middle ages, was adopted then from the East, through some early Christian teachers, has never ceased to hold its own in some countries and some minds, and is that in favour still in the Roman Church. What, for convenience sake, we may term mediæval thought, held that the virgin state was in itself the purer and the holier; marriage was a concession to human frailty on the one hand, a mere means for continuing the species on the other; it was a sort of divine indulgence to commit what is in itself impure, as a dispensation allowing to eat flesh in Lent was an ecclesiastical indulgence permitting the possessor to choose a less perfect way. The mind of moderns, on the contrary, would seem to be, that though for individuals either state, the virgin or the married, is lawful, and that none has a right to dictate to or fetter another in this matter, yet that the ideal perfection of the sexes can only be attained when each is supplemented by the other. And admitting fully that in such union the physical part of it cannot be forgotten, it appears to modern thought that any one who implies or asserts the necessary impurity of such physical and animal part of matrimony is, as Professor Kingsley has forcibly said, "nibbling ignorantly at the very root of household purity." But the whole idea of a virgin birth puts a certain slight on marriage. The child so born is considered and spoken of as more especially the child of God than one born in wedlock; there is a strange departure from the Jewish opinions that the offspring of natural connection was "an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord," from the way in which such children as Isaac and Samson are spoken of in the Old Testament, or even St. John the Baptist in the New. It is obvious to all that the miraculous conception of Jesus (we do not name it by the usual term, immaculate, for we will not call one birth in itself more stained than another) is never again spoken of in the New Testament, that Joseph and Mary are called his parents, and several people his brothers and sisters, while all attempts to explain these into cousins, and get rid of the force of the words "first-born son," and "knew her not until," seem mere evasions. Therefore there is a large and increasing number of persons who would wish to think, with S. T. Coleridge and other devout

minds, that the early history of Jesus in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels must be rejected, not only on critical, but also on ethical grounds. And there is another difficulty in the ordinary account of the Incarnation, which applies also to that of the Resurrection. The holy person who is their subject is presented to us as the pattern and example of all; in his life and death made like us, that we like him might overcome; and that because he rose again, we have a pledge of our rising and living after the grave. But, given these histories, we have a right to reply that he was *not* like us. If he were indeed holier for lack of that physical begetting through which we have come to be, how do we know that in him the divine did not so overpower the human as to make him no example? Can we not imagine a poor frail creature tempted by sin and bidden to look to that pattern, saying, "You point out one who was free from half that sinful nature which is the cause of my fall; you lead me to one in whom there is this enormous difference from all others, and bid me resemble him. Were I like him in the conditions of my birth, I might possibly find no difficulty, but it cannot be so now." Again, one might ask how the resurrection of a being so exceptional can be any proof of our own; how the resuscitation of a body after one full day's burial in substances which preserved it from corruption, can be the same as that of those which return to their dust? And these questions would have their force quite independently of our acceptance or rejection of miracle as such.

Our views on these points determine our whole aspect towards what is termed "historical Christianity." This is no mere belief in the existence of Jesus, but the reception of *all* that is written in the Gospels concerning him, as having been immediately, or almost immediately, delivered by "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," and laying most stress on these very points, to one of which those who came nearest to him hardly, if at all, allude, while on the other they place most often a spiritual and mystical interpretation. But as with the doctrine of the Trinity, so is it with historical Christianity. However little any may dwell on the bald facts, however inclined he may be to spiritualize them, there can be no doubt that the Church of England accepts the Incarnation and Resurrection, formally, literally, absolutely,

not only explicitly in the 2nd and 4th Articles, but implicitly in the selection of lessons and gospels for the great festivals, and in the arrangement of the Christian year according to the traditional order of the life of Christ, deliberately retained, as in the Roman and Greek Churches, though tacitly dropped by many Protestant bodies.

It is plain that in most minds a reverence for the Sacraments and belief in their high value will be co-existent with and dependent on historical Christianity. The Church of England notoriously contains men of every shade of opinion on these subjects, and we may be thankful it is so; but few calm and unprejudiced persons doubt for a moment that those holding high dogmatic and Catholic views have less difficulty than others in squaring them with the letter of the Baptismal and Eucharistic services and the spirit which animates them. It is only by a subtle, though perfectly legitimate, construction of public documents, in which, as Mr. Wilson has well said, "the legal obligation must be the measure of the moral,"—it is only by an unaccustomed, though not "non-natural" use of words, that such views on Baptism as Mr. Robertson's, or Zwinglian opinions on the Eucharist, can be held by clerical members of the Church of England. It must be remembered that we are speaking of "influence," not of force. We believe, as we have said before in these pages, that there is no opinion, in any sense Christian, no teaching which can at all be reconciled with the Apostles' Creed, untenable in the Church of England; but we cannot fairly deny, nor do we wish to deny, that the tendency of the two books of which we have spoken is strongly dogmatic, Catholic, traditional, mediæval, on all the points we have touched. In that the Reformation dissolved the connection of the Church of England with the Roman obedience, room was given for those holding any views, however Protestant, to come in, subject only to the law of their own consciences; but they came into a territory bounded by the old landmarks, and where the old language was spoken still. And in many things the influence of the Church has been directly counter to that of modern opinion, even when its own ministers have been most willingly, most avowedly swayed by the new sciences which seem to contradict the old. We do not here speak of some other points, such as those of Church authority and the relation of the

Scriptures to the Church, of inspiration, future punishment and reward, because, though the Church of England has not been without its bearing on these subjects, its formularies are here so vague, that no bias has been given by them. We must pass on from these old books to those who use and interpret them.

From the time, about the middle of the last century, when the last angry words of the Bangorian controversy had ceased to echo, theological questions had little interest for England, till a time almost within our own memories. About the days of the dying down of that strife there died also several other subjects of controversy which had vexed and wearied the popular mind. The Hanoverian succession was irrevocably settled, and with it the Church difficulties stirred by the Revolution. The Catholic reaction of Laud, continued through the non-jurors, was well over, and tired minds were fain to rest alike from politics and theology. But with rest there came stagnation. Controversy, with all its evils, is often a sign of life and earnestness; and when many dispute, some at least must care for the subjects of their quarrel. When the first waking came to the Church of England, the feelings were stirred before the intellect. The need of personal religion was experienced rather than that of dogma, and any theological system would seem to come between the soul and its Maker. And partly for this reason it has been that the Evangelical party in the Church, as it has gradually grown hard and most dogmatic, has yet confined itself to few and simple formulas, while the extreme Calvinists have seemed to hold a still less elaborate system. And therefore, if theology be indeed the science of things divine, there is difficulty in defining the influence on it of that party which is and always has been eminently unscientific. Moreover, few as are the formulas employed by its members, they are comprehensive and trenchant, so as to render next to impossible all real literary work in any book written from an Evangelical or Calvinistic point of view. We look in vain for any one man of mark who, standing once at or near the head of this party, continues to influence it; we search in vain for any Low-church preacher who sways more than a local or congregational party. Books that once were valued have lost their value. Who in these days would quote Scott's Commentary as authority on any

conceivable critical question? Yet, while it is difficult to fix and limit, no one will doubt or deny that the tone and colour of the popular religious literature is Evangelical; that phrases of this school run glibly off the lips of our pious poor, even while they assent to and love the teaching of men of quite another stamp; that while a High-church or rationalistic sentence in a sermon may set a whole parish by the ears, few indeed in any congregation would be stirred to wrath by Low-church utterances, however dull they might consider them. Yet it may be reasonably doubted if this tone is the result of any teaching within the Church of England. Rather it may be said that a section of its clergy has adopted and made its own a certain bastard Protestantism, which is carried out with greater logical consistency by Presbyterians in Scotland, and by various Nonconformist sects in England. For it is plain that the question of church government is here a very minor one, while churches under so various forms of it agree in their fundamental doctrines. These are, we venture to think, first, an exaggerated estimate of the Bible; second, a too sharp contrast drawn between saints and sinners; third, an over-confidence of knowledge concerning the Devil and the whole darker side of the spiritual world. We leave on one side purposely all those distinctive doctrines connected with personal religion which make the larger part of Evangelical teaching; for these, properly speaking, are not theology; and though we are not unaware of the sharp contrast that exists, in their own estimation, between high Calvinists and Evangelicals, we must class them together, as in these matters at least they agree; nor can the limits of their differences be easily distinguished by one who is of neither party. On these three points we must say a few words, because a section in the Church of England lends them considerable weight.

First, to an exaggerated estimate of the value of the Bible. Assuming it to be "the Word of God," this party seems to consider that any passage, however severed from its context, whatever its original meaning, can refer only to God's purposes in Christ, and with regard to His people now. We do not forget that the Fathers used texts quite as recklessly, or that the writers of the New Testament put a sense which we most certainly should not have discovered for ourselves on passages in the Old. But, as Professor Jowett

says, "such tessellated work was after the manner of the age," and in either case well-known expressions were rather used, because so much depended on memory when books were few, and the familiar words in a new collocation would rather impress themselves on the mind, than as any true appeal to an authority which they did not possess. Moreover, the written Scripture then had a slighter value than we are wont to consider,—for the Apostles, because their Master had given them so new a teaching; for the Fathers, because they spoke with those whose memories went back to apostolic days, and whose traditions were more worth than any book. They quoted Scripture because it was their whole literature, and their minds were steeped in its abounding fulness; they quoted it, as Bishop Taylor, out of his stores of classical learning, quotes in two pages (we open his sermons at random) Menander, Juvenal, Persius, Herodotus, Euripides and Plutarch, now in illustration, now as authorities to a greater or less extent, as his readers may take them. The same practice continued in the Church, and with more distinct sense of an appeal to the authority of an inspired utterance; but the Church had not, and has not to this hour, defined Inspiration; and so long as the thought that the Church was the supreme authority, and not the Bible,—that the Bible was through the Church,—lasted, there was no room for an overweening estimate of its greatness. And though the High-church party have those among their ranks who claim for the Bible an absolute infallibility in "metaphor, science, history, moral teaching, legislation, language, and statement about God," with them the force of these views is necessarily diluted by those they hold touching the Church and the Sacraments within it, as paramount "means of grace." With Low-churchmen there is nothing to modify, nothing to soften, the crushing force of every word of the Bible. For if all its statements about God, if all its views of man, if all the theological opinions of all its writers, are of equal value, its weight would be indeed intolerable, and its yoke more than a sane man could bear, if he faced, as none really do face, all the difficulties connected with the subject. "I dare not," says Mr. West, of Winchelsea, one of the ablest and most eloquent preachers of the extreme Calvinist party,—"I dare not elevate one portion of the one book above another, for it is all God's

own holy word. I dare not exalt the Psalms above even the Pentateuch." And this identical teaching comes out in half the sermons we hear, where texts are flung about most recklessly, as if, forsooth, each one proved the point at issue, "because it is in the Bible." The same, indeed, is asserted by men as different to Mr. West and each other as Dr. Baylee, of Birkenhead, and Mr. Burgon, of Oriel; but the strength of the dogma is in the party of which we have spoken.

Nor can any one who is familiar with the expressions used in conversation by its members, fail to admit the wide difference drawn between classes of persons, not because the one indulge in, and the others are free from, vice and crime, but according as they accept or disregard certain shibboleths. For instance, most of us consider that a Christian is one who holds to the faith of Christ, or at least one who has been baptized into His name, as distinguished from a Heathen or a Jew. But "a Christian man" is far from meaning this in the mouths of some who use the phrase; it means one who thinks as they do, who is not an Unitarian, or a Papist, or a High-churchman, one who does not live in the world, who does not go into society, with a hundred other "nots," each qualifying that grand name which most of us believe is broad and free as is the Love of God. These are the saints, and beyond them the whole world lieth in darkness!

And, again, it is from this party that there comes that seemingly intimate acquaintance with the Devil, and his power over the human heart, that mapping and planning, as it were, of the spirit-world, especially the dark side of it, which obtains in our modern theology. We do not, indeed, forget Dr. Pusey's recent sermon, or that the mediæval preachers were full of passages in which the torments of the damned were set forth in boundless fertility of invention. But Dr. Pusey has in this case departed from his usual teaching. Whatever may be thought of his theology, no one will deny that his life has shewn a deep zeal for souls; that as "The Thought of the Love of Jesus" is the title of his most beautiful sermon, so it has been at the root of his whole life. Nor can we remember one single sermon but this from the clergy of the High-church school—and among them has the life of the writer of this paper been for the most part spent—which has brought into any prominence the doctrine of a personal devil, or that of an eternal hell. In the Me-

diæval Church, as in the Roman now, the horrible dogma was mitigated by that of a purgatorial discipline, and even the sternest dogmatists have said that Judas Iscariot is "the only man of whose damnation we are quite certain." It has been reserved for Evangelical teaching alone to put forward in all their naked enormity the doctrines of never-ending torment for many souls which God has made and Christ redeemed, and to insist on a personal devil in such a manner as to present him as a sort of bad God. Extreme Calvinists of course would say that Christ has *not* redeemed all men whom God has made; but, in truth, to us this statement seems little less enormous than the other; it is a doctrine which we repudiate with absolute and utter indignation. But it is not our part here to be angry or controversial, but simply to point out tendencies and influences.

"That Satan exists, is as clear as that God exists," says Mr. Parks, the Rector of Openshaw, near Manchester; nor do we doubt the great majority of orthodox preachers would agree with him; and the same gentleman says of the place in which he thinks this Satan dwells, "Oh! if you could but feel the smoke of hell-fire in your throat for half an hour, or stand before a river of fire and brimstone broader than the earth, and think of being bound hand and foot, and cast into the midst of it alive! and then hear God locking the prison door, never again to be opened for all eternity, —how your conscience would shake, if it had any life in it!" *Our* conscience simply recoils in abhorrence and revolt against such an one as is here presented to us as our Father which is in heaven. Of the Devil we will quote Dr. Rowland Williams' words, from a pamphlet published at Swansea, and containing the pith of his volume entitled Rational Godliness. "Personality is a metaphysical term rather than a scriptural term, and may convey to some minds a grosser or more material conception, but to others a more delicate one. If good persons think that by intensifying such an idea in reference to the Spirit of Evil, they are enabled to fight, as it were, more vividly against the hosts of darkness, I say nothing to disturb them. But if any one, without authority, imposes upon me a metaphysical term, he must first define it clearly, and then prove his definition. *Some theories on this point have been broached savouring more of Zoroaster than of Christ.*"

To restore much of Catholic teaching which had been lost in the storms of the Reformation and Revolution,—to set up again before the eyes of men the Church as a great confederation,—to claim for the branch of it established in England a participation in all its essential notes,—to revive a belief in the high worth of sacraments and sacramental rites, visible and local channels through which "grace" streamed to men from God, invisible and untrammeled by locality, the fountain of all grace, was the avowed object of the writings of the High-church party. In this they had a vast advantage. Could it once be proved, or assumed as proved, that the "Elizabethan compromise" had any coherence with the unreformed Church, and that union with the Roman See was not indeed a difference of the Mediæval Church, but simply an accident, then much else in their teaching had all antiquity to back it, and there are few minds without a deep, even if unconscious, reverence for the sanctity which years can give. They brought also to their task great talent and great research. One and all, the writers of the Tracts for the Times were men of mark in a time when Oxford, under its then reformed examinations, was sending out, as new systems so often do, first-rate men. They were fortunate in having among them a poet of no mean order, the author of the Christian Year, who wrote, as it were, the songs, while his companions, helped indeed by him, framed the laws of the new movement. With all the beauty of many of these poems, there is a great haziness of expression, enabling many to accept under the devotional language much which would have startled them in clearer and more formal words. The way was paved for the exaltation of Church authority by the manner in which it was personified and spoken of as "she" and "our mother," for the increased reverence for Sacraments by an underlying current of sacramental thought, in which all nature was used as a sign of the spiritual life and kingdom. Then came the Tracts, and Dr. Newman's and Dr. Manning's Sermons, the Plain Sermons, and many others, all tuned in the same key, all exercising the same influence. How great this has been we all know. It has indirectly revolutionized our Church services, has insinuated itself into our novels: the young lady with Romeward tendencies was for some time as common as is now the young lady that has committed bigamy with the best inten-

tions. But it has done a higher work than this, in that it has deepened personal devotion, and given to many a steady basis of fact and authority to fix and guide religious feeling, so apt to become erratic and unreal.

And believing fully, as we do, that by a happy accident—or, if there be no accidents, then by the good providence of God—all Christian opinions may be held within Church-of-England limits, we yet hold that the High-church party most represents the spirit of the services, is historically most true to the mind and intent of those who framed them. They are loyal to their fathers in the faith; if there be inconsequence in such services within a Reformed Church, the want of logic was in the framers, and not in those who use them. We do not think the reaction begun by High-churchmen can stop; for they have, as it seems to us, no true logical stand-point; those may stay there who can accept a compromise; who cannot, must go back to Rome, or onwards with the Liberals wherever the winds and currents of God may bear them.

It may be difficult to express in simple formulas the main points in the teaching of the Liberal school, and the more so as its members are no doubt more disunited, less of a party, than Evangelicals or High-churchmen. And they who have felt the crushing bondage of creeds which are disappearing, or at least from which they are shaking themselves free, are careful not to bind themselves or others under any but large words which will include many and divers minds.

Yet we think two doctrines do indeed stand out, which have never been so set forth as in our own days and by members of the Church of England,—which will exercise vast influence over the theology of the future, gaining larger acceptance day by day,—one concerned with the position of the Bible, the other with the direct relation of each soul to the Great Father of all. The close study of the Scriptures which is so marked a feature of our own time, not only in this country but in France and Germany, has led and is leading to a very different conception of Him to that which has prevailed at any previous time. And men have had a certain uneasy feeling that they have done something wrong when they have broken loose from traditional interpretations, whether these have been Patristic, Mediæval or early Protestant.

But in the change from one of these conceptions of Scripture to the other, there was, underlying all possible change, the assumption that the Bible was God's own record of His dealings with man, and so to be received as a very voice from heaven. Far other is the growing opinion, frankly accepted as a fact by unprejudiced scholars, that the books of the Bible are, as Dr. R. Williams has said, "an expression of the writers both of historical and personal experience, and also of truths taught them through their feelings by the Holy Spirit of God. Hence Biblical language exhibits all the peculiarities of each writer's country, age and character. Just as the same water may be diversely fashioned and tinted in vessels of every shape and colour, so our water is Truth, and heavenly, but our vessels are men, and earthly." And it will follow on the acceptance of such teaching, that the Bible will be valued, not as an infallible and final revelation of the truth of God, nor because it is delivered to us by a church or society of men, but for the consonance it presents with the deepest instincts and beliefs of humanity, and because the spirit in it is responsive to the spirit that is in us,—because, in a word, it is the record of the development of man's belief about God. The former notions concerning it impeded criticism, and hence in part—in fact, also because criticism is a growth of modern times—the Bible has been less really known than it should have been; it has been studied under the shadow of preconceived opinions. But now, when we ask what is the true sense and the meaning of Scripture, there are those who would reply, Not this sense or that, as it has been known or is now known, and as though it were final, but whatever it shall be discovered to be under the best light which may be thrown on it. And here we must take leave to quote a passage from Mr. Wilson's Bampton Lectures, as expressing our meaning in far better words than we could possibly employ: "In appealing to Scripture sense, I mean not necessarily as the Scripture has been interpreted in some times and places, even by the then authorized interpreters, who may nevertheless have been not only the authorized, but also the best interpreters of their day; but the sense of Scripture, as it shall be interpreted under the best lights of the present and future times. Wherein I must be understood as expressing no conviction either way as to whether in given cases, or in

the main, such present and future interpretation will coincide with that heretofore generally received. But the position here contended for is, that the appeal lies to the common consent of those to whom the Scripture shall come: and there seems to me no more difficulty in thus appealing to a common consent, not of the past exclusively, in this subject of Scripture and religion, than in any other in which men are universally interested, and universally capable in different measures of forming a judgment." . . . "And if the judgment of our own present should differ from that of men of other ages which once were present to them, we do not presume to say they were not right for their time and according to their lights; while we are conscious, where we differ from them, of being right in our time, and according to ours." It is only right to add, that a wider application of this principle or rule beyond what occurs as probable at its first enunciation may ensue, upon the defining of what has not as yet been defined, namely, what is meant by the Inspiration of Scripture; a definition which must itself be referred to the common consent of those to whom the Scripture shall come."*

Such true and brave words as these, and the spirit of them, held by many whom they have not reached, will do much to break down that timid fear of investigation, that blindfold adherence to old tradition, that fear of doing something sinful when we are really carrying out principles assumed and acted on at the Reformation, which are hindrances to many souls in their search after Truth, and tempt them to do violence to the yearnings and convictions which God has given them.

To this party also in the Church we attribute an increasing feeling, that how useful soever are Churches, Creeds, Sacraments, Bibles, Dogmas, they are in themselves to us, so long as we need them, signs of imperfection. For that the soul of man should commune directly with the soul of God, is that which man ought to desire, nor believe impossible. It is this party which, more than any other section of men within or without the Church of England, holds (again we quote the words of Mr. Wilson)—that "Jesus Christ has not revealed his religion as a theology of the

* Lecture I. pp. 29—31.

intellect, nor as an historical faith; and it is a stifling of the true Christian life both in the individual and the Church to require of many men an unanimity in speculative doctrine which is unattainable, and an uniformity of historical belief which can never exist."* In the thoughts of such men as these it is not true that "the individual withers, and the world is more and more," nor the Church either.

Thus, most inadequately, and with little satisfaction to ourselves in the treatment of this subject, we have endeavoured to trace the influence on our modern theology of the Church of England, considered as a whole, and of its great parties. We have left untouched some of the questions of deepest interest, but we have done so deliberately. On many the Church of England is absolutely silent, and therefore its clergy are free; and the opinions of members of each of the great parties are so various, that the influence they exercise is personal, and not that of Churchmen and clergymen. Other questions, again, are more ethical and practical, and do not fall under the province of theology, to which we have confined ourselves. Nor have we spoken of some of our greatest men, who have caught the spirit of the age, and who again re-act upon it—of Deans Milman and Stanley—of Professor Jowett or Mr. Maurice. This paper must be taken as a supplement to that on the Church of England on Society; and it has not, we freely confess, run in the groove we intended when we begun to write. The subject is so large, that we have perforce treated a very small part of it.

But in re-reading what we have written, very solemn questions occur, which a clergyman of the Church of England, holding the views we do, is imperatively bound to answer for himself, and for those he has led thus far with him, either in agreement or in friendly argument. They are such as these: What will be, so far as we can see, the future of this system to which we adhere, and by our adherence in part uphold—what its influence, not only on theology now, but on the acceptance or rejection of the very truths of God as men learn them better? Is not the Church of England, as a whole, stationary, or even reactionary, however liberal may be some of those who remain in

* Essays and Reviews, first ed., pp. 204, 205.

it? And in asking these questions, we trust we are not over-vain in saying that in part we uphold the Church by our adherence. For we cannot but think that if now, as of old, there were but the two great traditional parties, banded together though they are in the cords of a rotten alliance, one or the other, in gaining the mastery, would destroy the weaker; and the Church of England, if it existed at all, would become the exponent and the creature of a minority. The very fact of a third party, striving not to be partizan, trained in either school, and clinging still not to the theology of that school, but to the true, earnest instincts of it, is a great preventive of violence and destruction.

There are very few men indeed who can stand alone,—Christians unattached,—nor are there many more who would be satisfied with an absolutely creedless Church subsisting only on sentiment. There is a sense of power and security, a fixed stand-point whereon and wherefrom to work, in the belonging to a definite corporation with a soul and life of its own. Every such corporation is hard to move, and it is rightly so. It could not hold long together if it were stirred by every blast of doctrine, every fitful gust of popular opinion. Much that now stirs in the minds of thinkers, and which may be proved true some day, is not yet proved. We are losing our faith in miraculous events one by one; it is not certain that we understand the records in which they are related. He would be a bold man who would deny miracles *per se*. We look more and more at the moral aspects of Christianity; yet historical Christianity is far from losing its hold on men's minds, and even M. Renan has deepened in some hearts their faith in the person of its Founder. We say that man may, and does at times, hold direct communion with God, yet that worshiper is dull and prosaic whose devotion is never quickened by united worship, who has not felt in the great Sacrament that there is with him a presence which he meets chiefly there. And that Church acts wisely and well which retains old forms and creeds as long as it is possible to hold them in any sense whatever. It acts wisely also in relaxing any subscriptions, requiring only the tacit allowance of use; and therefore, at least for the present, we would cling to most of her ceremonies and prayers, and let her fetters go. But even within these there is greater freedom than in other fetters, and they are binding

more in appearance than in reality. To such assertion let this paper be a testimony. We regard, indeed, the position of a Liberal within the Church of England to be much the same as that of a Bright or a Gladstone in the House of Commons or the Ministry. Their political principles may be widely in advance of their surroundings; they may see dawning a future which has little likeness with the present; but they would not deny that the present and future are alike the children of the past, nor seek to undo the constitution which now is, before the full ripe time shall come. When that time shall come for the Church also, then all that is not of God will fall and wither of itself. Our friends outside the Church should not feel harshly towards it if in some things it, in a reverent spirit, is somewhat too retentive, remembering that only they who retain *something* possess a nucleus round which new accretions may cling. And if they do not go with us in our hope for the future, and our belief in the latent power of expansion which the Church of England possesses, they will at least pardon our weakness in thinking that the Church which holds so much of truth now is yet capable of containing more.

Nor will they blame us for dreaming in our loyalty, that as years roll on, and the bells of many churches chime out in the changing years, the tall, weather-beaten steeple of the Church of England may lead the peal which

> "Rings out the darkness of the land,
> Rings in the Christ that is to be."

C. K. P.

IV.—DONALDSON ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND DOCTRINE.

A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. By James Donaldson, M.A. Vol. I. The Apostolical Fathers. London: Macmillan and Co. 1864.

THE history of early Christian literature is a most interesting and important subject. It is one which requires for its adequate treatment qualifications of a peculiar kind.

The time has nearly gone by for making the Patristic writings the battle-field of controversy; and he who wishes to act as a guide to these writings on behalf of the present generation of readers, must approach them in a purely critical spirit, and without any pre-conceived ideas of what he is to find there. He must have no theory to support. He must write in the interests of no school. He must have the power of throwing himself into the spirit of an age differing very widely from his own; and, leaving behind the feelings and opinions of the present, he must prepare himself to ask what it is that actually meets the eye and the mind in those interesting relics of the first Christian age. We need not add, that he must have a pretty thorough acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and that if he is able to present the results of his studies in a clear and agreeable style, it is so much the better both for himself and his readers.

Mr. Donaldson possesses these qualifications in a very eminent degree. His reading has evidently been careful and laborious. His style is clear and simple, and he has complete command of his materials. In estimating evidence he is cautious and discriminating. But that for which he is most deserving of praise is the impartial spirit in which he has done his work. One would suppose it was easy enough to take up an ancient book, and give a strictly accurate and impartial statement of its contents. And so it would be, did not passion and prejudice lend their colouring to even the plainest words. Wherever theological interests are supposed to be involved, the difficulty of arriving at the genuine sense of any work increases in proportion to the value set upon it as an authority; and the only way, perhaps, to perform this judicial function satisfactorily, is to dispossess oneself entirely of the idea that any interest depends upon the decision. The critic of the Fathers must try to think that if they do not support Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, or Calvinism, or Trinitarianism, or Unitarianism, or whatever be his particular leaning—why, it is so much the worse for the Fathers; but he must not insist upon finding in their works, which were written without any thought of the controversies involved in these words, an exact reflection of his own mind. On this point Mr. Donaldson well says:

"The two great temptations in the treatment of doctrines are, to forget the effects of the lapse of time, and to seek merely one's own opinions in the statements of the early writers.

"In the first case we are apt to forget how totally different the age of the early Christians was from ours, how different the modes of thinking that prevailed among them, and how various were the agencies around them that were influencing their modes of thought and expression.

"In the second case we go to the Christian writers with the hope of finding confirmation of our own opinions. We look upon these opinions as the only true ones. We trust that the early Christians also held them, and wherever we see the slightest resemblance to them we pronounce an identity of beliefs." *

Mr. Donaldson, we think, has avoided the errors here indicated. He has given a full and perfectly fair statement of the evidence for and against the genuineness of the writings of the apostolical Fathers, and in analyzing their contents he has shewn himself to be biassed by the prejudices of no sect or party. If doctrines usually considered essential to Christianity are either not found at all in these writings, or found in very imperfect forms, he does not feel himself responsible for their absence. It is his business to state, and he does state, exactly what he finds, leaving it to the reader to determine whether he will think the Fathers deep in error, or re-consider his own views in the light which they supply. He does not shrink, however, from expressing his own opinion upon this point; for in his Introduction—which in some respects is the most interesting portion of the present volume—he says, in language which many, no doubt, would think too bold,—

"If the early writers were heterodox on the Trinity; if they knew nothing of a satisfaction of Divine justice, but spoke only in a vague way of this matter; if they wavered in regard to original sin, some denying it entirely and others expressing themselves with great uncertainty; if their testimony to the inspiration of the New Testament is unsatisfactory and inconclusive—where was Christianity in those days? Did it really sleep for three long centuries? Are we to suppose that there were Christians in those days, but that they never wrote books? Or how is the chasm to be bridged? Or may not the Evangelical school be wrong in asserting that it is necessary for a man to believe in

* P. 47.

original sin, the Trinity, the atonement, and similar dogmas, before he can be a Christian?

"Besides this, are not those very men who are thus accused, the very evidence which we have for the power and truth of Christianity? Was not Christ's power marvellously shewn forth in them? And does not he who attempts to expel them from the Christian Church aim a deadly blow at the brotherhood of Christ's Church?" *

These are questions well worth pondering, and we commit them to the consideration of our readers. That the Fathers are very defective as regards the doctrines referred to above, can hardly be considered a matter of opinion. Explain it as we may, the fact remains, and must be boldly faced.

We have not many faults to find with Mr. Donaldson, but we think that in dealing with the writers of the Tübingen school, he has, with every desire to be impartial, scarcely done justice to the element of truth contained in their sometimes audacious speculations. That school has, undoubtedly, been rash in many of its assumptions—though Mr. Donaldson is surely not justified in counting Bruno Bauer, the most negative of all the German theologians, among its members—and has, perhaps, paid too little regard to evidence in its eagerness to bring the early Christian writings into accordance with the demands of its theory. But it has left a mark upon theology which will not easily be effaced. In truth, the fundamental principle of the Tübingen school, that there was a deep-rooted opposition between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, is no assumption, but a plain statement of the New Testament; and if this opposition existed, it is only natural that it should have been reflected to a greater or less extent in the writings of the early Church. We may agree or disagree with F. C. Baur and his followers as to the period during which this opposition lasted, as to the manner in which it disappeared, and as to the extent to which it was represented in the persons of the apostles themselves; but that there were for some time after the apostolic age two parties, of which one affirmed that "except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses ye cannot be saved," † while the other maintained the doctrine of salvation through Christ only,

* Pp. 64, 65. † Acts xv. 1.

and that the Catholic Church grew out of these two parties, must henceforth be regarded as fundamental facts in the life of the early Church, which it is not safe for either the critic or the historian to neglect. This theory, however, in Baur's hands, requires that the letters of Barnabas, of Polycarp, and of the Roman Clement, as well as the Shepherd of Hermas, and some other writings in which the two tendencies seem to be reconciled, should be carried down at least to the middle of the second century, and therefore that they should be regarded as spurious. If, then, Mr. Donaldson can shew that this view has been permitted to override trustworthy evidence, he has a good case. But, in the first place, the theory may be true in the main without the reconciliation being deferred to so late a period; secondly, what evidence there is, is, on Mr. Donaldson's own showing, of such a doubtful nature that it can be thought no great scepticism to reject it altogether. That in relation to the epistle of *Clemens Romanus* is perhaps the least questionable, except the testimony to Polycarp's letter; and yet it is so questionable that Mr. Donaldson admits that we cannot be certain. It seems hardly consistent that he should immediately afterwards attack Baur for expressing a doubt upon the subject. Baur, he tells us, was inclined to think the letter might be genuine, but added, "The point cannot be regarded as absolutely settled, since so many other writings were ascribed to the same Clemens with the greatest injustice," and this he calls an "astounding reason."

"Because many writings which were not genuine were ascribed to Clemens, or rather bore his name, this one also is likely not to be genuine, though antiquity was unanimous in regarding the one epistle as genuine, and in early times equally unanimous in rejecting the other [others?] as forged."*

Yet in the very next paragraph, speaking of ancient quotations from Clemens, which may have belonged to a lost portion of this letter (there is a part wanting), he says, "we have no means of ascertaining whether these passages were taken from this letter or from the spurious writings of Clemens." He asserts, therefore, that the spurious writings of Clemens were universally known to be so; and immediately afterwards admits that they were quoted as

* P. 101.

genuine. Mr. Donaldson's reasoning seems to us in this instance much more astounding than Baur's; and he is generally so accurate, that we confess to a certain feeling of triumph in having tripped him.

In regard to the other writings ascribed to the apostolical Fathers, Mr. Donaldson does not differ from what may be considered as the received view. Polycarp's letter to the Philippians he believes, on the authority of Irenæus, to be genuine, though he refers it to a later date than is commonly assigned to it, and admits the presence of an interpolated passage. The allusions to heresies and heretics have been made a ground of objection to the letter; but they are sufficiently accounted for if it be supposed that it was written after Polycarp's visit to Rome. Of this letter Mr. Donaldson remarks, that "those who suppose different schools of early Christianity, are as usual divided in their opinions as to which Polycarp should belong." But Baur, the great advocate of this theory, and at the same time the most moderate of the Tübingen writers, makes a very similar remark in reference to the apostolical Fathers generally; only instead of inferring from this division of opinions that there were not different schools of early Christianity, he supposes that the original differences were passing away when the writings in question were composed. "As the result," he says, "is always the same, whether these writings be looked at from the one point of view or the other (*i.e.* as Pauline or Jewish Christian), there can be no clearer proof that they possess generally an indifferent, neutral, mediating character."* The fact that Polycarp's letter is of this character, is, however, no sufficient reason for doubting its genuineness. The reconciliation between Jewish and Pauline Christianity can have taken place at no fixed date. Some minds would be far in advance of others. And at all events Polycarp lived beyond the middle of the second century, and may have written his letter at a time when it had become possible and customary, according to the Tübingen theory, to glorify Paul without assailing or depreciating the Old Testament.

Of the epistle of Barnabas there can hardly be two opinions. The external evidence, indeed, such as it is, is in

* Das Christenthum und die Christliche Kirche, p. 117.

its favour: but there is no external evidence earlier than Clemens Alexandrinus. The internal evidence is decisive against it. Its ignorance of Jewish customs and bitter hostility to them, its mistakes about other matters with which a Jew would have been acquainted, its mystical interpretations of Scripture, one of which supposes that the Old Testament was written in Greek, all shew that this letter was never written by that Levite named Barnabas who accompanied Paul during a portion of his missionary labours. The writer of this letter, however, though he declares that the observance of the Jewish law is positively sinful, shews no disrespect to Judaism in its essence. On the contrary, Christianity was, in his view, nothing more than Judaism properly understood, and stripped of the rites and forms which were really no part of it. Moses had received the true religion from God, but broke the tables containing the covenant on account of the idolatry of the people. The Jews were led into their errors by the devices of an evil spirit, and we, as their heirs, receive the covenant of Jesus, who was appointed to redeem us from darkness. As to the time when this Epistle was written, Mr. Donaldson discusses with much judgment the various dates to which it has been referred, and succeeds, we think, in shewing that upon this point there are no grounds for any definite conclusion.

Of Hermas and Papias, the two remaining writers discussed in the volume before us, our notice shall be brief. The strange religious romance entitled The Shepherd, was ascribed in the first centuries to that Hermas to whom St. Paul sends a salutation in his Epistle to the Romans, and moreover was regarded by some of the early Fathers as inspired scripture. Whether the name of its author was Hermas, and whether that Hermas was saluted by St. Paul, are perhaps not very important questions. They are important at least only as affecting the date of the work and our views of the development of Christian doctrine. In this work, according to Baur, Jewish Christianity has reached a catholic character, and hence it must be referred to a somewhat later period than that immediately succeeding the apostolic age. Mr. Donaldson inclines, upon other grounds, to place it far down in the second century; and few probably will dissent from his conclusion that the work is fictitious (in no unworthy sense, however), not less in its assumed

authorship than in its narrative. Papias, claimed by the Tübingen school as a decidedly Jewish Christian, Mr. Donaldson admits may have been such, though he maintains that there is not the slightest proof of it. Certainly there is a lack of positive proof, but as far as negative evidence can go, the fact may be considered pretty certain. What we know is simply that Papias mentioned by name several of the apostles, and gave an account of the manner in which the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were composed; and that Eusebius, to whom we are indebted for all we know of this Father, though evidently anxious to record his most valuable statements, has adduced no passage from him making mention of St. Paul or St. Luke. Should the work of Papias be recovered, as Mr. Donaldson thinks possible, it will throw an important light upon many questions connected with the early history of Christianity.

Thus, it will be seen that great uncertainty hangs about the authorship of these writings, and even when the authorship is granted, the date still remains uncertain. All that we claim for the Tübingen writers is, that they have propounded a theory (by no means entirely visionary) which aids in reducing to a certain order a number of works which would otherwise remain without any fixed relation to the development of Christian thought. That theory, as we have already admitted, has been pushed to extremes; but when applied with moderation and caution, we are convinced it may prove serviceable. The real objection to it in most minds is, no doubt, that it is applied to the Christian books within, as well as to those without, the New-Testament canon. But the truth is the New Testament will never be understood until it is regarded as *part of a literature*. This view is the offence of the school of Baur, and indeed more or less of the great majority of the German critics; but by and by it will be acknowledged as their service. But on this topic we must not enter. We say again, that Mr. Donaldson deserves the thanks of all the students of Christian literature, for having so faithfully and impartially discharged his duty in regard to that portion of it which he has discussed. R.

V.—THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

The Fatherhood of God, being the First Course of the Cunningham Lectures, delivered before the New College, Edinburgh, in March 1864. By Rev. R. S. Candlish, D.D., Principal of the New College, and Minister of Free St. George's Church. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1865.

DR. CANDLISH is a strange specimen of the genus Theologus. We contemplate his form, his movements, and his habits, as we do those of some paleontological animal. Our feeling toward him is much the same as that which we express when we say of such an animal—It is very curious, and it may have been exceedingly dangerous. Here is a book by him on the subject of *The Fatherhood of God.* It ought to be an exposition of Christian doctrine; but though written in an intensely pulpit style, its substance might indicate that the writer did not even breathe the atmosphere of Christianity. Nevertheless, it comes out under circumstances which testify that its author is a man of great distinction in his Church. It comprises *The First Course of the Cunningham Lectures.* The foundation of these Lectures is intended to rival, in Scotland, the famous English Theological Lectureships. A higher honour could scarcely be conferred upon Dr. Candlish than that of being appointed to commence the series. When we ask ourselves to what it is that he owes this distinction, we hesitate to reply that it is any special sympathy with his opinions; for we do not believe that such a sympathy can, to a great extent, exist. However, there is a general and just persuasion of the man's strength. He is a fighting man, with a large capacity for warfare. As such, he is put forward and backed by a people who love what is strong in their religion, as well as in their potations. Thus it comes to pass that we have before us a book, strong enough in all conscience, but utterly worthless for any purpose beyond that of a gladiatorial exhibition. We have had experience of this same thing before. Some years ago, we heard, in Edinburgh, on the same day, both Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie preach. They were, then, the two most celebrated preachers in the Free Church of Scotland. In listening to Dr. Candlish, it seemed as if the world was completely shut out from our view, and the Calvinistic system

of theology put in the place of its facts. We wondered at the possibility of a man addressing his fellow-men with such an entire forgetfulness and renunciation of all that was presented to them in the common circumstances of nature and life. Dr. Guthrie's sermon acknowledged the same system of theology, but applied it to a directly opposite result. Whatever harmony could be established between his doctrines and the existing conditions of humanity was freely and earnestly insisted upon. We wondered that positions, which we thought to be intrinsically unsustainable, could be brought into such close contact with the realities of experience; and though we saw clearly enough that Dr. Candlish's method had a logical consistency which Dr. Guthrie's could not pretend to, we rejoiced that, in the latter case, Calvinism was made the vehicle of so much important truth. As to the former case, it simply excited feelings of unmingled aversion. We have been strongly reminded of what then happened, by reading this book on *The Fatherhood of God.* It is always matter of gratification to us to recognize any expositions of the Divine character and proceedings which vindicate the moral perfection of the Deity, though we may dissent from some parts of the philosophy with which they may be connected. But when theories are propounded in the declared interest of religion, which are destructive of the very idea of such perfection, we cannot but meet them with an indignant protest. It is in the spirit of such a protest that we regard Dr. Candlish's volume. It sets at naught all the just conclusions of reason and Scripture on the subject to which it is devoted, in deference to the demands of a rigid scheme of divinity purely sectarian in its origin; and, even as to principles of investigation, it assumes by way of postulate the necessities of that scheme, to the neglect of all legitimate inquiry into the subjects on hand. Nature might have had no existence, for any real use which is made of its manifestations, and Revelation might be dumb, for any obedient attention which is paid to its voice. The work accomplished could not have been more completely done, had the questions for discussion actually been—as to Nature,—How may I avoid its testimony?—and as to Revelation,—How may I pervert its declarations?

The theory advocated in these Lectures is simply as follows: That God is not the Father of mankind in any natural

sense of the term; that his Fatherhood was constituted originally by the eternal Sonship of Christ; and that his Fatherly relation to men extends only to those selected persons who are admitted into the spiritual family of which Christ is the head.

We will endeavour to follow the development of this monstrous theory with all the patience we can summon to our aid.

1. We are told, at the commencement of the discussion, that

"It may be proper, as preliminary to the scriptural investigation of the subject, to look at it for a little in the light of natural religion; to see how far among the elements, whether intuitional or experimental, out of which the system of rational Theism must be constructed, there is any valid or sufficient warrant for conceiving of God as a Father."*

The argument conducted on this part of the case may be thus expressed—God is the Creator of mankind: By virtue of his creative right he exercises over men a sovereign government: This kind of government excludes the idea of Fatherhood.

To this train of thought we oppose another—God created man in his own likeness, and is therefore the Father of mankind: His conduct toward men is expressive of a disposition answering to this relation: It is in consistency with his Fatherly designs that his supreme sovereignty is exercised.

These two contrary processes of reasoning are to be tested by fact. The one that accords with fact as Nature exhibits it to us, is true: the one that lacks the support of such fact, is false.

Now it is worthy of emphatic notice, that in drawing out his argument Dr. Candlish never, in the least degree, appeals to the evidence of fact. He assumes that God is a Creator. He deduces his sovereignty from his creative power. He then contrasts that sovereignty with Fatherhood on abstract grounds. The whole course of procedure is, with him, matter of theory as distinguished from fact. By its very plan, it is intended to express what Dr. Candlish thinks God ought to be, not what he is. There is no attempt at all to ascertain what the "elements, whether intuitional or experimental," with which he ought to deal, actually are.

* P. 7.

Along this *à-priori* road we refuse to be dragged. We determine to go in the beaten track of natural manifestation. We cannot take Dr. Candlish with us in our expedition. But we can shew where our real road diverges from his imaginary one.

God, we say, *has created man in his own likeness, and therefore is the Father of mankind.* This idea could not be entirely passed over by Dr. Candlish, and he thus alludes to it.

"What is it, as regards the relation between God and them (the higher intelligences), that their being thus created 'in his image and after his likeness' necessarily involves? It can scarcely be proved to involve any more than this: that they are capable of understanding his will, feeling their free responsibility under it, and receiving reward or punishment in terms of it."*

"It cannot, in my judgment, be too strongly asserted, that among the primary and original elements of our relational conception of God, there is absolutely no trace of anything peculiar in the constitution and condition of his rational, as distinct from his other creatures, beyond the bare fact of intelligent responsibility."†

This "bare fact of intelligent responsibility" is not the "primary and original element" of the case in hand at all. That element is the possession of a spiritual—an intellectual and moral—nature by which man resembles God, and "responsibility," more and other than "intelligent," is the result of such a nature. So far does the spiritual nature of man resemble that of God, that we have no power of conceiving what God is but from the facts of our own constitution. We defy Dr. Candlish to point out any other ground but this for our apprehension of the existence and character of the Deity. The notion of "intelligent responsibility" *alone*, is necessary to Dr. Candlish's theory of God's arbitrary sovereignty as the source of all his action, and therefore it is adopted by him as the cardinal principle of judgment; but it is so adopted in neglect of, not in obedience to, the facts which set forth man's likeness to God. Those facts establish the same spiritual identity between God and man, as exists between one man and another.

We pass to the next point of our exposition—*God's conduct toward mankind is expressive of a disposition answering to his Fatherly relation.* Dr. Candlish thus distinguishes

* P. 25. † P. 26.

his view of the Divine conduct from the one we have just announced.

"The Creator must, of very necessity, be a ruler and governor: unless his own creation is to be independent of himself. And as regards his intelligent creatures, his rule or government must be, in the proper forensic sense, legal and judicial, if it is to be adapted to the constitution and relative position of the persons who are to be governed. Only thus can he rule them as really persons. For the same reason also it is a matter of necessity, as regards himself, that the Creator's rule or government shall be absolute and sovereign. This is a capital point in the argument from creation to government, which must be clearly apprehended and steadily kept in view. If it is as Creator that he rules and governs—if it is as his own creatures that he rules and governs all things, all animals, all persons in the universe—by whatever sort of law, by whatever sort of judgment accommodated to their several natures—it is not possible to conceive otherwise of his dominion than that it is of the most thoroughly royal, imperial, autocratic kind."* "The notion of the Creator's government of the very highest of his intelligent creatures being anything else, in its principle and ideal, than simply and strictly legal and judicial, is, as it respects the radical and essential relation of Creator and creature, an inconsistency; an intolerable anomaly; a suicidal self-contradiction. Were it admitted it must break down,—so far as it is admitted it does tend to break down,—the vast, infinite distance that should ever be felt to subsist between the Creator and the creature. It is fatal to the real recognition of absolute sovereignty on the one hand, and absolute dependence and subjection on the other. It introduces necessarily the idea of some sort of intermediate relative position, modifying and qualifying the Creator's sovereignty and the creature's subjection; as if the Creator owed something to the creature beyond strict legal justice; and as if the creature had some right or claim, irrespective of mere legal justice, which he might assert, if not against, yet at least upon, the Creator. A paternal government, in any fair and full sense of the term, imagined to spring out of the mere fact of creation, or to be implied in it, must be fatal to the prerogative of God the Creator; and therefore also fatal to the true happiness, because fatal to the right position of his intelligent creatures. It could only be realised by their being as gods themselves."†

We certainly should not have put this case on either side in the language in which it is here put; but taking the twofold representation as it is made, we say—Look on that

* P. 20. † P. 26.

picture and on this, and ask which of them best agrees with the facts of nature. In accordance with those facts, God is shewn to owe mercy to his creatures, as clearly as he can be shewn to have "owed" to them "strict legal justice;" and, in the course of nature, the "right or claim" to "mere legal justice" is no more truly exhibited than is the claim to divine compassion. God forbears, and saves, and pardons, upon the fulfilment of the conditions of his grace, as certainly as he inflicts punishment under opposite conditions. I am as sure of a favourable alteration in my moral circumstances as the result of a change in my conduct from wrong to right, as I am of the evil consequences of my continuance in a course of sin. The proof I have in the one case is not only as valid, but identically the same as that which I have in the other. God can no more depart from the manifestation of Fatherly kindness toward me which his government embraces, than he can renounce the supreme sovereignty which he exercises over me by virtue of his creation.

We object, however, as we have intimated, to the whole tenor of the language in which the question as between God's sovereignty and the nature of a paternal government is here stated. There is, indeed, an important sense in which the dominion of the Creator is "of the most thoroughly royal, imperial, autocratic kind;" but it would be a violation of all observation and experience on our part, to distinguish that dominion as Dr. Candlish does from the rule of a Father. We know that it is the rule of a Father. Whatever Fatherly affection can establish and provide for, is displayed under it. It is devised in Love and conducted by Love. Love presides over all its appointments and all its intentions. The Love thus exhibited is of the purest, fullest, tenderest, and most disinterested kind. Such Love can only be truly indicated to us, in any earthly comparison, by what prevails in the paternal relation. If the terms "royal, imperial, autocratic," were inconsistent with the manifestations of Fatherhood, they must be discarded from our vocabulary on this subject, because the manifestations of Fatherhood are the foundation truths to which all other things relating to the subject should be conformed. But no such inconsistency as this exists. What we are here told about "breaking down the vast infinite distance that should ever be felt to subsist between the Creator and the creature," and "introducing the idea of some sort of intermediate relative position modi-

fying and qualifying the Creator's sovereignty and the creature's subjection,"—and much more of the same kind,—is a mere case of vain words. Neither Dr. Candlish nor any one else would be able to shew that Fatherhood, if it be clothed with the perfections of Deity,—which is necessarily assumed,—was any more liable to the deterioration thus expressed than sovereignty was. It is just nonsense to affirm, that a "paternal government could only be realised by" God's intelligent creatures "being as gods themselves." It is fully realised by their simply remaining *the children of men* they were originally created to be.

We are thus brought to the last step of our statement. *It is in consistency with God's Fatherly designs that his supreme sovereignty is exercised.*

"Let there," says Dr. Candlish—"Let there be no confounding of things separate and distinct. Government by law and judgment is one thing; fatherhood is something altogether different."* "I contend earnestly for the distinction of the two relations. Neither must be suffered to override the other. Neither must be merged or sunk in the other. It is one thing for me to have God as my ruler, lawgiver, judge. It is another, and altogether different thing for me to have him as my Father."†

This difference is especially endeavoured to be exhibited in relation to the infliction of punishment.

"It is not the function of a father, as such, to try, or put upon probation. It is not his function to inflict a penal or retributive doom. But these are functions of that rule or government by law and judgment which God the Creator exercises and must ever exercise. . . . Let God be a Father, and nothing else. Let all the acts of his universal administration be held to be done by him as the Father of his creatures. Then this dilemma immediately presents itself. Either, on the one hand, you must include among the actings of a Father in his paternal character, the imposing of an arbitrary or discretionary conditional test and the inflicting of penal judgment; in which case you make Fatherhood little more than a name; descriptive perhaps, and suggestive of the general benevolence which may be supposed to temper the severity of strict rule; but not otherwise significant of any special affection, or any special mode of treatment. Or else, on the other hand, giving to Fatherhood its full and true meaning, and maintaining it to be wholly and exclusively a relation of pure

* P. 28. † P. 33.

and simple fatherly love, you deny, and consistently deny, that one who sustains that relation and no other, can test for the mere sake of testing, or punish for the mere sake of punishing. Probation and especially retribution in the true and proper sense become thus simply impossible."*

Now we ask our readers to mark carefully Dr. Candlish's description of what he here calls probation and retribution. It is "the imposing of an *arbitrary* or discretionary conditional test, and the inflicting of penal judgment." It is "testing *for the mere sake of testing*, or punishing *for the mere sake of punishing*." Certainly a paternal government can admit nothing of this kind. But God's "government by law and judgment" can admit nothing of this kind either. Dr. Candlish may, if he pleases, frame for himself the conception of an irresponsible Tyrant whose proceedings are arbitrary, and who tests for the sake of testing, and punishes for the sake of punishing: and call him God. But this is not the God who reveals himself in nature and providence. It is the glory of the true God, that his proceedings are *not* arbitrary; and that he *never* tests for the sake of testing, and punishes for the sake of punishing. We are not disposed to accept Dr. Candlish's God in the place of the present Object of our worship. It is a false God, which we disown with indignation. "To us there is but one God, the Father;" and whatever, in the nature of probation and retribution, is reconcilable with his moral perfections as God, is equally reconcilable with his affectionate impulses as the Father. The separation thus attempted to be made is as shameful as it is untrue, violating as it does the rectitude of the Divine character, no less than the necessities of the Divine person.

In the further exposition of this wretched but fearful theology, Dr. Candlish proceeds to draw a parallel between the government of a civil magistrate and the government of a Father, as prevailing among men, which he applies respectively to the Sovereignty and the Fatherhood of God. It is evident from this parallel that he has actually formed his notion of what God is and does from what mankind are and do. This is indeed the cardinal vice of his whole book. He seems incapable of regarding the Deity as freed from the

* P. 34.

passions and infirmities of his creatures, and he does not scruple to attribute to him principles of action by which, among those creatures, despotic rule is upheld at the expense of both righteousness and goodness.

"How, in its application to facts, is the theory of the ruler in the state, ruling as a father, apt, and almost sure to work? It will turn out for the most part to err, both by excess and by defect. It errs by excess; for it is apt to become too paternal in the administration of law and justice. It substitutes discipline for punishment; the rod for the sword. It errs by defect; for after all it falls far short of what a fatherly discipline would really require. It does not and cannot wield the rod with the discrimination and discretion which the use of it as a fatherly instrument requires; and which only the intimate familiarity of minute home inspection, and constant home fellowship, can enable a parent to exercise." *

This double error is committed simply because the person who attempts the functions of a ruler of the state and a ruler of a family is human. The limitation of his human faculty makes it necessary that the law which he enforces in the one case should not be interfered with by the love which he obeys in the other. A Divine ruler is freed, by his omniscient wisdom, from all such necessities. He is liable neither to excess nor defect in the conduct of his administration. He is able, both as Father and Sovereign, to preserve the moral requirements of each individual case with which he has to deal, while he equally upholds the moral integrity of his government as a whole. Even Dr. Candlish appears to have a dim sense of this truth, when he says:

"He (the magistrate) cannot safely or usefully unite in himself the relation of ruler, and that of father. To do so is pre-eminently the glory of God." †

But the dimness becomes darkness when he adds:

"It is his glory in his Son Jesus Christ. It is his having it in his power, if one may so say, to manifest and reveal a relation of fatherhood altogether distinct from the relation constituted by creation,—though closely connected with it,—that solves the difficulty and explains the mystery." ‡

We beg to say that the mystery is not, and cannot be, explained by any such method. A fatherhood *distinct from*

* P. 41. † P. 42. ‡ P. 42.

the relation constituted by creation, is just that which originates all the supposed difficulty of the case. To regard the Fatherhood of God as one with his Sovereignty, is to make all plain and easy. What man cannot "safely or usefully" do, because he is but man, God, because he is God, can infallibly effect. Unless some moral opposition between the principles and purposes of sovereignty and fatherhood can be shewn,—which is absurd,—the infinite perfection that fulfils the one is, at the same time, sufficient for the other.

We certainly think ourselves justified, after this survey, in representing Dr. Candlish as having ignored the facts of nature in his very act of claiming the support of her name for the theory he advances. We can scarcely conceive of a greater contrast than that presented by his merely speculative argumentation, and any practical acquaintance with the occurrences of the world around us.

2. We have said that one of the cardinal principles of Dr. Candlish's theory is, that the Fatherhood of God was constituted originally by the eternal Sonship of Christ. He affirms:

"I consider this eternal relation of fatherhood and sonship in the Godhead to be the real origin, root, and ground, as well as the archetype, prototype, and model of the relation of fatherhood and sonship between God and any of his creatures." *

We naturally expect that some evidence of "this eternal relation in the Godhead" would be produced; and that an attempt would be made to shew that this evidence answered in its clearness to the importance of the conclusion on which it was brought to bear. This expectation is not, however, in any sense realised. Of the eternal Sonship of Christ no evidence at all is offered.

"It is not my purpose," we are told, "to enter at any length into the proof of the eternal sonship of the Second Person in the Trinity,—involving, as it necessarily does, the eternal fatherhood of the First. I rather assume the fact or doctrine, as plainly taught in Scripture." †

The cool assurance of this assumption is very remarkable and characteristic. "The eternal sonship of the Second Person in the Trinity" is *not* "plainly taught in Scripture." It is not taught in Scripture in any way; but to say that it is

* P. 67. † P. 66.

plainly taught there, is to misrepresent the character of the proof on which in this case orthodoxy relies. If Dr. Candlish could make it appear that the doctrine were "plainly taught," judging from his method of acting on other occasions, he would not "rather assume" it. His language, on this occasion, intimates his persuasion that plain teaching was necessary to his argument; but it intimates also that such teaching was not within the reach of his hand. The phrase "at any length," in the quotation given above, is worthy of note. "It is not my purpose to enter *at any length.*" This implies that a short proof would certainly be vouchsafed. But the reader is doomed to disappointment even as to this small hope. It was unnecessary for anything to be said about length, because no proof or pretence of proof, however distinguished by shortness, was really forthcoming. Scriptural phrases, such as, "The Son who is in the bosom of the Father," and, "The Father loveth the Son," are used; but they are not brought forward in the form of proof, and are simply dovetailed into an exposition which derives all its applicability from expressions which are not scriptural. In this process of dovetailing, the creeds figure much more conspicuously than the Scriptures do. For instance:

"The Son is eternally begotten of the Father; 'begotten, not made;' of the same substance; participating in the same nature; 'God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.'"*

This would look something like proof, if it were not taken from the wrong place. The fact is, that the whole foundation of Dr. Candlish's scheme is, in a deeper sense than he wishes it to be understood, *assumed.* The eternal Sonship of Christ is to be conceded to him on his mere assertion of it. That is all. The rest will follow of course. Now we refuse to make this concession. We refuse, most emphatically, to accept this authority. We are persuaded that the doctrine in favour of which that authority is so complacently offered to us, is altogether unsustainable, scripturally or otherwise.

We may here observe that Dr. Candlish has a most amusing method of parading his pretended knowledge of the nature and connections of the Deity for the benefit of his more ignorant fellow-creatures. He evidently antici-

* P. 69.

pates that he will be accepted, by all true believers, as in some inexplicable way specially acquainted with the secret things that belong to the Lord. Thus he informs us:

"The one living and true God is revealed, not as God absolute, but as God related, or as God subsisting from the beginning with certain internal relations; in a way admitting, in some sense, of mutual action and reaction: of a certain reciprocity of loving and being loved."*

We hardly think it fair to put the word "revealed" in this sentence, as it may be supposed to refer to the scriptural revelation. If "revealed" indeed mean, revealed to Dr. Candlish, the statement might pass for all that it is worth. Then again:

"It is chiefly in virtue of that relation that God is revealed as consciously, if I may so say, and energetically, love. From everlasting the Son is in the bosom of the Father. And the infinite, ineffable complacency subsisting between the Father and the Son in the Holy Ghost, is the primary exercise of that love which God is: that love which is the essence of his nature."†

Still further:

"Especially in the Second Person, and in the real and intimate relation of fatherhood and sonship between the First Person and the Second, the deep disinterestedness of the divine love is proved. The Father loveth the Son. The Spirit glorifieth the Son. For it is in the Son, as the Son, that the fatherly love of God flows forth in full stream."‡

Once more:

"In this eternal relation between the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit is eternally and intimately concerned. Being one with the Father and the Son in the undivided essence of Deity, he is—if one may venture to use such language on such a subject—from all eternity, a conscious, consenting party to the relation. It is in the Holy Spirit that this wondrous relation of divine fatherhood and sonship, with all its inconceivable endearments, is realised from all eternity."§

We might feel grateful to Dr. Candlish for thus professing to enlighten us on the subject of the eternal counsels of heaven, if it were not for two circumstances. The first is, that what is thus oracularly delivered looks very much like nonsense. The second is, that, pressed to its legitimate and inevitable conclusion, it amounts to Tritheism. We are not

* P. 67. † P. 68. ‡ P. 69. § P. 69.

quite sure, indeed, whether positive heresy does not lurk under the appearance of profundity here put forth, for we are afterwards asked to believe in

"—a certain mysterious distinction in virtue of which the Second Person in the Godhead has from everlasting been in some sense subordinate to the First, as the Third has been to the First and the Second."*

The manner in which Dr. Candlish makes use of his doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ for the purpose of establishing a Fatherhood of God in relation to mankind, may be described as *a series of fictions.* After describing this eternal Son as incarnated, he proceeds to consider "the several points which the incarnation brings out."

"The incarnation, as a great fact discovers the communicableness, if I may use such a word, of the relation of fatherhood and sonship, as it exists in the Godhead. It proves that it is a relation which may be communicated to a creature, and shared in by a creature."†

This is fiction number one. The creature is not, in truth and reality, the child of God; but a filial relation is assigned to it, on the ground of a sonship, which belongs only to the divine nature, being, in the person of Christ, reckoned to human nature also.

Fiction number two is exactly of the same quality.

"Not only does the fact of the incarnation establish the communicableness of this divine relation of sonship to God the Father; it discovers also its entire consistency, when communicated, with another relation;—that of subjectship, if I may be allowed to use the term, to God the ruler, to God the king. In the person of Christ, the two relations, while continuing distinct from one another, are yet found combined."‡

That is—Man is, naturally, not a son, but a subject: Christ is, naturally, not a subject, but a Son: Christ becomes a subject by combining a contrary nature with his own: Man may, therefore, in a similar sense of natural contrariety, become a son. In both cases, the essential opposition of nature reduces the process to a mere pretence.

The third fiction is, if possible, of a more unsustainable kind.

* P. 215. † P. 74. ‡ P. 85.

"The incarnation not only brings the eternal Son into the relation of a subject and a servant, but brings him into that relation after it has sustained a great shock—a fatal jar as it might seem—after it has become thoroughly disordered and deranged."* "The incarnation of the Son of God is his entering into our relation to God, as a relation involving guilt to be answered for, and the wrath and curse of God to be endured."†

Dr. Candlish maintains that Christ was in himself perfectly pure and holy, and the subject of divine favour and affection alone; and therefore the guilt and wrath and curse which his entering into our relation to God is said to involve must be entirely matters of imputation. They did not actually belong to him. So, on the other hand, the freedom from guilt and wrath and curse attributed to man through what Christ endured, is equally feigned. It does not answer, in any veracious sense, to the facts of the human character and condition.

There is a fourth fiction yet to be noticed.

"Not only does the incarnation bring the Son into the relation of a subject, under the inevitable condition of criminality and condemnation now attaching to that relation in our case; it proves that the relation itself, apart from that condition, may be one in spirit with that of sonship; and it secures that, as regards all who are in Christ, it shall ultimately be so, and that for ever."‡

This is a somewhat dark utterance, but it is afterwards explained thus:

"I simply refer to his (Christ's) obedience and death as satisfying the claims of outraged authority and violated law. That being over, there is no more criminality, no more condemnation, to mar this relation assumed by him, as it thenceforth co-exists in him with his own natural and divine relation of sonship."§

Thus Christ is represented, not as adapting his work of redemption to things as they are, but as producing an ideal arrangement in which the circumstances existing between man and God are regarded as they are not. Criminality and condemnation are no more, because, on account of what Christ has done, the Sonship of Man is treated as though it were identical with the Sonship of Christ, mankind being credited with a perfection that does not really belong to them.

* P. 92. † P. 95. ‡ P. 97. § P. 98.

We would call especial attention to this series of fictions. They are all subservient to the one great fiction on which Dr. Candlish's system of salvation ultimately rests, viz., that God satisfied his sense of justice in the case of human transgression by accepting the obedience and sufferings of another in the place of the transgressors. As it is here put—

"He (Christ) sists himself and takes his place beside them; not to plead in extenuation of their crime, or for mitigation of their punishment; for indulgence; for impunity; but as their substitute, to answer for them; to take upon his own head their guilt and doom, that a righteous sentence of legal and judicial acquittal may, by the Father's grace, be freely theirs."*

No sentence passed on such a ground can be "righteous." No "acquittal" thus arranged can be "legal and judicial." The ground is false. The arrangement is a violation of the facts of the case. All justice is thus set at naught. The Being who should act in the manner here stated, would forfeit all title to righteous dealing, either as it respects the principles of his own character, or the relations sustained toward him by the subjects of his grace.

It is truly astonishing that any one should presume to attribute this fictitious conduct to the great and blessed God—should represent him as willing thus to deceive himself, and as laying the foundation of human hope in this complication of deceits. We reject the whole system as immoral. As such, it is incredible on any judgment of piety. The natural sincerity of every honest man rises up against it. Besides this, the quirks and quibbles, and artifices and make-believes, by which it is supported, fitly indicate its intellectual character. Nay, the very uncertainty of the language in which alone it can be expressed, stamps it as untrue. "If I may use such a word;" "if I may be allowed to use the term;" "as it might seem"—these doubtful phrases shew that the insufferable confidence with which, in the instance before us, the theory is propounded, is not so much the result of strong conviction as of professional arrogance.

3. It is with the statements of Scripture that Dr. Candlish has mainly to do when he attempts to shew that the Fatherly relation between God and man is limited to those

* P. 44.

persons who are admitted into the spiritual family of which Christ is the head.

We have carefully traced his method of dealing with Scripture in establishment of this conclusion, and we are prepared deliberately to say, that no principles of scriptural criticism are discoverable throughout it. It is purely arbitrary. What passages do not suit his purpose are put aside by any explanation which may serve the present turn; and no violence is shrunk from by which passages may be forced to assume the appearance of such suitability.

With the Old Testament, as might be expected, very wild work indeed is made. It does not suit his purpose to regard such an expression as, "Thou, O Lord, art our Father," applied by Isaiah (lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8) to the Jewish people, as indicative of proper sonship, and therefore we are told that what it speaks of "is a figurative paternity."* It does, on the other hand, suit his purpose to regard the expression, "Thou art my Father," applied to David in the Psalms (lxxxix. 26), as relating to the sonship of Christ, and therefore we are told that what is here spoken of is "beyond all question not figurative, but true sonship."† Our attention is even directed "to the precision of the language which the Holy Spirit takes care shall be used"‡ in the latter case as distinguished from the former, whereas the language in both cases is as nearly as possible the same, the difference between the cases being, that, in the latter, the language is diverted from its original use. It does not suit his purpose to regard the words in Proverbs (iii. 11, 12), "My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of his correction; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth"—as relating to proper Fatherhood and Sonship, because they are spoken of man as such. It does, on the other hand, suit his purpose to regard the quotation of these same words in Hebrews (xii. 5, 6) as bearing the relation before denied to them, because they are applied to Christian believers. Thus we are unblushingly told, "Fatherhood is in the text as Paul (?) was inspired to give it. But it is not in the text as it stands in the Old Testament. All that is there is a similitude;—a 'like as,' or 'so as,' or 'even as.'"§ Now

* P. 131. † P. 133. ‡ P. 134. § P. 152.

it happens that in Hebrews the words are less, not more, emphatic on the point of Fatherhood than they are in Proverbs; and what is stranger still, they are burdened with the very "as," the avoidance of which is paraded with such marked importance. "Ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you *as* unto children. My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you *as* with sons." It is difficult to keep one's temper in the face of this evasive proceeding. We feel, in following it, as if we were watching the tricks of a conjuror. That comparison holds, too, in the fact, that, in this instance, the performer often overreaches himself by the very ingenuity of his devices.

A marvellously bold front is put on by our author when he proceeds to press the New Testament into the service of his theory. Thus we are informed concerning the teaching of Christ:

"I do not know that there is one instance recorded of his using the title of Father with reference to the world at large, or to man generally; or, indeed, with reference to any but those whom he was pleased to regard as his disciples, and to address and treat accordingly."*

And again:

"He reveals God as sustaining this relation to his disciples, and to them alone. God is their Father, not the Father of mankind generally. I find no trace whatever, in all our Lord's teaching, of anything like a universal fatherhood."†

Really, such a blast, at the first, takes away one's breath! When, after a moment, we recover ourselves, perhaps the question which most involuntarily suggests itself is, What becomes of the parable of the Prodigal Son? Now we can enable our readers to see how strange a perversion of that parable Dr. Candlish's false idea of our Lord's teaching compels him to adopt. His exposition, which lies before us, will afford, as might be expected, a kind of *experimentum crucis* on the question under notice.

"Some, indeed, are disposed to found an argument on that parable in support of their favourite opinion that men, even in

* P. 164. † P. 196.

their unconverted state, may look on God as already their Father; and that in reality what they need, and all that they need, is not to become sons of God, but only to become alive to the fact that they are his sons already, and have always been so. But,—not to speak of the danger of drawing doctrinal conclusions from the minute and incidental details of illustrative narrations or stories, —I cannot help thinking that those who would make such a use of this most beautiful of all the parables grievously pervert its meaning, and altogether miss its spirit and scope. I hold them to be guilty of bad taste as well as of bad criticism and bad theology. Let it be conceded that the prodigal represents sinners generally, the sinners with whom our Lord was accused of being too familiar. The parable is his defence against that accusation, and nothing more. And what is his defence? Virtually it is this:—He is the elder brother in the Father's house. He puts it to his accusers to say whether he best sustains the character and does the part of the elder brother, by acting as he is wont to act, in the way that seems to them so objectionable, or by behaving, as they would have him behave, like the elder brother in the parable. In doing this, the Lord, as the Son, necessarily appeals to his Father's character, and wonderfully opens up to all the human family his Father's heart . . . Surely that is the point of the parable, viewed in the light of its occasion. And that is really its only meaning. It turns wholly on the love with which God regards lost sinners, and his willingness to have them reconciled to himself. It does not turn at all on the precise nature, either of their present relation to him or of any previous relation in which they may have stood to him. Thus viewed, the parable is very precious. It warrants the widest and most unrestricted proclamation of the fatherhood of God as now, in his Son, brought within the reach of all."*

If such be the true interpretation of this story, all we can say is, that instead of being "the most beautiful of the parables," it is one of the most bungling contrivances for its purpose that ever was projected. The interpretation indeed just contrives to throw dust over the parable as it stands, and nothing more. If ever there were a glaring instance "of the danger of drawing doctrinal conclusions from the minute and incidental details of illustrative narrations," this is one. No one need to be deceived by this warning against what was about to be done by its author, or can mistake the true intention of such valiant words as "nothing more," and "its only meaning."

* P. 197.

Dr. Candlish's parable,—if he had it to make and not to mar,—would read thus. A certain man had two sons: a kind and a selfish one. The kind son took a poor wretch to his Father's house, and the Father adopted him into the family. But the selfish son resented these manifestations of mercy as being a violation of his filial rights. We do not put this forward as a positively objectionable story. As things go, Dr. Candlish need not be ashamed of anything but its inherent weakness. We are only concerned to observe that it is not the parable of the Prodigal Son, and never can stand in the place of it.

In that parable: the poor wretch who was received to the father's house after his wanderings is described as the Son of the Father, *before* as well as after he went astray: There is no intimation of the intervention of any elder son who proclaims a fatherhood of which others may partake with himself: The selfish brother is contrasted with his penitent brother as to the positions in which they placed themselves toward their common Father: And the one great and ruling subject introduced and dwelt upon is the distinctly paternal love of the Father toward his children—the sinful and the obedient child standing to him in just the same relation. It is not true that Christ's defence against the accusation of his being too familiar with sinners has anything to do in the parable with his being "the elder brother in the Father's house." His defence is, that God, as the Father of sinners, treats them as he treated them. It is not true that the parable "does not turn at all on the precise nature either of the present relation of sinners to God, or of any previous relation in which they have stood to him." The whole representation is based upon the plainest acknowledgment of both these relations in a Fatherly form. It is not true that the parable "warrants the widest and most unrestricted proclamation of the Fatherhood of God as now, in his Son, brought within the reach of all." Its proclamation is, that the Fatherhood of God is an actual possession of mankind in a sense so wide and unrestrictive as to assure the vilest sinners of divine mercy on its ground alone.

Dr. Candlish is particularly unfortunate in the instances he gives of what he calls the "very marked distinction" between our Saviour's teaching as addressed to his disciples and as addressed to men in general.

"It occurs," says he, "in the twelfth chapter of Luke's gospel. 'One of the company'—the crowd literally—asks Jesus to assume the office of judge between him and his brother in the matter of the family inheritance (v. 13). After declining that position (v. 14), the Lord takes the opportunity of warning the company, or crowd, against the sin of covetousness. 'He said unto them' —'he spake a parable unto them' (v. 15—21). In thus addressing them, he uses simply the term 'God' (v. 20). But suddenly he turns from the multitude to his disciples. The incident suggests a lesson for them also;—a lesson against care, answering to his warning to the company against covetousness. Immediately his tone changes from something approaching to severity or sternness to the utmost tenderness and affection. And after appealing to God's creative power and providential bounty, as reasons for trusting him and having no anxiety, he tells them, as a stronger reason still, of 'their Father knowing what they need,' and of its being 'their Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom' (v. 30, 32)."*

Now it happens that, immediately after this address of Christ to his disciples, the very question mooted by Dr. Candlish was put by one of the apostles. "Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable to us, or even to all?" (Luke vii. 41). What was Christ's reply? That he did in this instance, as insisted upon by our author, confine his teaching to his disciples? Nothing of the kind. He proceeded to give to his doctrine that universality of application which brought it to bear upon men, not as divided into classes, but as distinguished by their moral qualifications alone; and he wound up what he said, in answer to the question, with the all-comprehensive sentence, "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will seek the more" (v. 47, 48). A more palpable mistake than that which is involved in the production of this "very marked distinction," for the purpose intended, could scarcely have been committed.

We suppose it would be impossible for Dr. Candlish to

* P. 165.

discuss any point of theology without introducing the element of fiction which we have before noticed as entering so deeply into his system. One of these fictions is therefore to be met with here. It is very clear that among those who were addressed as disciples by Christ, there must have been some who were not entitled to the privileges of the Christian character. One would imagine that this fact was sufficient to prove that the general terms he employed were not to be interpreted in any exclusive relation to those privileges. Not so, however, according to our authority.—But he shall speak for himself.

"There must have been among those whom he chose to count as his disciples not a few who were not his disciples in reality, as among the apostles there was one traitor. The fact is admitted. But it does not touch the point of my present observation. For the same principle must be applied here which explains Scripture usage elsewhere; as when the visible churches to whom the apostolic letters are written are addressed as if all their members were true believers. Men are, and must, be treated according to their calling and profession. On that principle, his disciples are regarded by our Lord as having God to be their Father; and, so far as I can see, they alone."*

Thus, after all, it turns out, that those favoured individuals who, in distinction from the rest of mankind, are considered to be sons of God, are not, in many cases, members of his family at all. They are "regarded as" such, contrary to the fact. That is—because Dr. Candlish is not able accurately to distinguish between the sheep and the goats in his flock, he thinks that Christ accommodated himself to his infirmity, yielding to the pretence he has set up, that, as before and toward God, "men are and must be treated," not according to their real character, but "according to their calling or profession."

Whether Christ did or did not teach the doctrine of God's universal Fatherhood, will be decided by us as we conceive of the application of his gospel. If that gospel was intended only for the elect, then Dr. Candlish is right. All the manifestations of Divine goodness it contains are, of course, to be limited to the party to which Dr. Candlish belongs. But the principle of this limitation has not been so far conceded

* P. 166.

as to justify him in speaking about it so very boldly as he does. It may be with him a rule of theological judgment, but it has not quite fixed itself as a rule of scriptural interpretation. On the other hand, if the gospel was intended for all mankind, then Dr. Candlish is not only wrong, but fundamentally and wholly wrong. It will not be denied that the revelation of God's Fatherhood was, in one sense or another, the great purpose of the mission of Christ. It is so in Dr. Candlish's confined application of the doctrine. And if the Christian doctrine can be shewn to have a universal application, to deny it in that sense is to misunderstand and pervert the essential truth of Christianity.

We reason thus. God is equally the God of all mankind. A revelation of his grace of mercy must, therefore, from the very nature of the case, relate to man as such, without any respect of persons. Christ came to save the world, not any particular part of the human race only, and what he said in the exposition of his salvation must therefore be always understood in consistency with the most comprehensive designs. The distinction in our Lord's teaching, as addressed to the multitude or his disciples, which Dr. Candlish relies upon as the all in all of his explanation of that teaching, has really nothing to do with the question before us. It may explain some things, but it will not explain the character of his gospel. That remained the same, and was spoken of always as the same, to whomsoever he addressed himself.

Let us take up the Sermon on the Mount. Whether we regard it as addressed by Christ to the multitude or to his disciples only, the question of the reference of its declarations concerning the Fatherhood of God will remain the same. Those declarations are very frequent indeed. One of them is as follows: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (Matthew v. 44, 45). These latter words seem purposely constructed to convey the idea of universality of procedure, and the declaration is not only pointless, but deceptive, if such procedure is not to be attributed to God as a Father. We come in

the course of this sermon to the Lord's Prayer, commencing with the address, "Our Father," and connected with ascriptions of Fatherly recognition and Fatherly forgiveness. If any one chooses to say that this prayer was not intended for universal use, he must do so at the expense of all religious feeling and common sense. Then, toward the conclusion of the sermon, we meet with the questions, "What man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?" (vii. 9, 10). These questions are asked to bring out the character of common parental affection in order thereby to illustrate the parental affection of God. "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" (v. 11). Can any one think that the phrase, "your Father," does not contemplate the same persons as "your children" does? and if so, the Fatherly relation of God extends to men as men, to all men who, "being evil, know how to give good gifts unto their children." We cannot but marvel how far a man must have wandered from all just apprehension of Christian truth, who, with such a production before him as this sermon, could yet say, "I find no trace whatever in all our Lord's teaching of anything like a universal Fatherhood."

As we have read Dr. Candlish's expositions of the teachings of Christ and his apostles, we have all along been struck with the wide and irreconcilable difference between the character of the New Testament and of his comments upon it. There is no similarity in spirit and purpose between the two. The one could not, under any possible circumstances, be representative of the other. They belong to two entirely distinct departments of thought and feeling. As the facts of nature are shut out from view in the pretended estimate of nature which is given in this book, so, in the estimate of Christianity, the whole tone and tenor of the gospel are equally shut out from view. It is as though the original records of the faith had no existence at all, for any legitimate use that is made of them. The Westminster Confession, not the Scriptures, is indeed the true Bible here made use of. The Bible is invariably caricatured to force it into some false resemblance to the sectarian model.

In that part of the book of which we have taken no special notice, there are two Lectures,—one on Adoption, and the other on the Privileges and Obligations of Sonship,—in which the contrariety between the teaching of the New Testament and the teaching of our Scotch divine is most glaringly apparent. The scheme of Adoption is fitted to the narrowest conception of mere human methods of procedure, God being regarded as bound down to economical and expedient measures which can have no existence except in connection with man's limitation of nature and station. The Privileges and Obligations of Sonship are treated in an arbitrary, as distinguished from a moral form, God's decrees being insisted upon in place of that practical fidelity to his will which can alone secure his blessing.

The volume ends with a long Appendix, consisting, in fact, of notes of sermons, which we can commend to perusal as the finest specimens we are acquainted with of that mode of scriptural interpretation which laboriously puts aside the original and proper meaning of the passages on which it discourses, in deference to the requirements of a pre-adopted theory of purely human device.

We close the work, repeating to ourselves the enunciation of old: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord?"

T.

VI.—SHARPE'S HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

The Hebrew Scriptures, translated by Samuel Sharpe, being a Revision of the Authorized English Old Testament. In Three Volumes. London: Whitfield, Green & Son. 1865. (Vol I., Gen.—1 Sam.)

It is not usually an advantage to be the last in the field; but there are cases in which it doubtless is so. One of these may fairly be said to be that of a Reviser of either the Old Testament or the New,—one who comes in his due time, and profits, as he ought to do, by the labours and the example, good or bad, the merits or the demerits, of his predecessors in the same field. What they have done well,

may be expected to help him to do the same or a similar work still better; while even their omissions and faults, what they have either done ill or left undone, may be almost equally serviceable to him, by way of suggestion or warning.

This fortunate position is very much that of Mr. Sharpe. As a reviser of the English New Testament, he has had innumerable predecessors, while yet he has been sufficiently self-contained and independent to judge for himself, and to make a good use of the aid, of one kind and another, which they have placed at his command. He now comes before us in the perhaps more difficult character of a reviser of the Old Testament. In this, too, he has done his work with skill and care; and if he has not had so many English predecessors as in the other case, yet he has evidently profited fairly by such aid as they afford. The result is a very useful form of the English text of the Old Testament, with one or two marked features, giving it on the whole, we think, a decided advantage, for the general reader, over previous works of the kind.

What the reviser has mainly aimed at will be seen by his own prefatory statement, from which we quote the following sentences:

"The aim of the Translator has been to shew in the Text, by greater exactness, those peculiarities which others have been content to point out in Notes and Commentaries.

* * * * * *

"He has seldom ventured upon any great change of words, except when his own judgment was supported by that of the scholars who have gone before him in Biblical studies. His excuse for his undertaking must be, that those who are better qualified have not had the same aim; and he hopes that it may be an encouragement to those who possess greater knowledge of the niceties of the Hebrew language to follow in the same path.

* * * * * *

"Those portions which are quoted from earlier Books are printed in Italics, as in Numbers xiv. 18 and 2 Kings xxii. 17.

"The speeches are marked out with inverted commas.

* * * * * *

"Words in capital letters mark the beginning of new matter, as in Genesis ii. 4; and sometimes they mark the subject, although not at the beginning of a sentence, as the several kinds of offerings in the Book of Leviticus, vi. vii. viii.

* * * * * *

"Square brackets include those few words which are added to the text by way of explanation."

The explanatory words referred to in the last sentence are (1) a second translation, (2) the value of weights and measures, (3) the chapter and verse of a former book referred to in the text, and (4) the dates.

It will be at once seen that these latter additions constitute the most distinctive feature of the work; and, as we have said, they give it a decided advantage for the general reader over ordinary translations of the Old Testament. These short explanatory notes, or various renderings (as they may also be termed), are inserted, not as foot-notes, but in the text itself,—we may even say as a part of the text. Of course, there will be great difference of opinion as to the propriety of thus mixing up with the words of Scripture what is usually only an explanation or amplification of the translator's; of mixing up, as some might say, man's words with God's. For ourselves, we are free to confess, we have little sympathy with the objection. The Bible lies before us to be read and understood, and any device of translation or annotation which really aids us in this is surely to be welcomed as an improvement.

One caution, however, does appear to be necessary in employing the form of rendering now referred to. It is not, we think, allowable to introduce into the text in the form of a short note, or various rendering, anything about which the great majority of authorities are not absolutely *agreed*. It seems to be intolerable that a reviser should obtrude on his readers, by placing in the text, matter for which he has scarcely any authority, except only his own opinion. We do not mean to imply that Mr. Sharpe fails in this way to any serious extent; but only to point out that this *is* the danger to be guarded against. As we proceed, we shall have the opportunity of seeing how far our reviser has effectually guarded against it.

We are not so clear that Mr. Sharpe has done equally well, in his rather liberal use of capital letters and quotation marks. Capitals often give an emphasis, and, at all events, challenge the reader's attention as to that which is to be made in some degree prominent. But can we be sure that this is rightly done, in very many of the cases in which the device is introduced in the present text? As a rule, of

course we may say, it is not allowable to a translator thus to enforce his author's meaning, unless there be good reason to think that the latter intended to be so read. That is to say, we ought not, without reason apparent, to attribute to him emphatic meanings. The use of capitals, as exemplified in this revised version, is, indeed, a great convenience to the modern reader, and it may be urged the Hebrew author would have employed them, if he had had them. This may be so; but it is, nevertheless, better, as we think, to exhibit what he has written as he has left it, free from these modern inventions, so far as we can conveniently so present it. We need scarcely say that the Hebrew manuscripts have neither quotation marks nor capitals; and we do not think that these can be legitimately introduced, wherever they give, or seem to give, an emphasis, or even a distinctness, which may never have been intended by the old Hebrew writer. Better to take him in all his simplicity, and perhaps obscurity, as he has been handed down to us: better so, than by modern artificial distinctions to introduce into his text even the clearness, the smartness, or perhaps the antithesis, with various other usual features, of modern style.

Mr. Sharpe will perhaps only smile at these remarks, as though we were finding fault with him for making his originals too clear, their meaning too full and emphatic. This is not our design. We speak rather of general principles, obviously applicable to all translations, as much as to the work immediately before us. The latter being, however, our text, we must add, we do not think our present reviser has always been judicious or moderate in his introduction of the changes we are speaking of.

But let us open the volume, and take the first passage that offers itself, as an illustration of our remarks. Exodus xxiv. 12, 13, reads thus: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, 'Come up to me on to the Mountain, and be there; and I will give thee TABLES OF STONE, and a Law, and Commandments, which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.' And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua; and Moses went up on to the Mountain of God." The main difference here from the authorized version is in the use of the capital letters, which give a distinctness to Mr. Sharpe's version, and some degree of emphasis too to the words written with capitals, which the common version evidently does not pos-

sess. The question is, Is this required, or even justifiable? No doubt it makes the new version easier reading and more distinct in the sense conveyed. But are even these qualities, under the circumstances of the case, to be desired? And ought not an ancient writer to be left more as he is? If he be a little obscure, or wanting in life, or colour, that is not our fault, and no modern reviser has been authorized to retouch the picture, to add to it a brightness, a warmth, a vigour, which it does not itself possess.

What we have said on the use of capitals will apply also to that of inverted commas, or quotation marks. These are frequently a mere disfigurement of the text. They seem to be altogether alien to the genius of the Hebrew, and we cannot but think that our common English Bible has done well to omit them entirely. It is very rarely indeed that any difficulty arises from their omission. Is there, in fact, any important example of such difficulty? If not, their insertion is doubly unnecessary. It is certain that their constant and consistent use would give rise to much occasional awkwardness or obscurity. Let any one try to apply them strictly to such chapters as Jeremiah ii., and their worse than uselessness will soon be apparent. The same may be said of many chapters in Job, and elsewhere.

In reference to both capital letters and inverted commas, we would, in short, submit, that the same feeling which has led Mr. Sharpe, in common with almost all modern translators of the Bible, to give up the old division into verses, —that is, to restore the text to the form of longer paragraphs, and confine the verse numbers to the margin—the same feeling, it seems to us, should have led him very much to avoid other artificial devices which he has introduced so freely, and which are by no means necessary to a due rendering of the original. Ancient writings, like those of the Hebrew Bible, cannot be modernized in that way, to advantage. In proportion as we so change, we simply destroy the genuine old spirit and flavour of the original;—although, it may be granted, we may make it somewhat easier reading, and somewhat more grateful to the altered, and not always healthier, taste of our own times.

In the next place, let us notice some of the actual results of Mr. Sharpe's revision—taking a few passages in order, as they have occurred to us in reading.

Gen. i. 2: "And the breath of God moved upon the face of the waters." We doubt the improvement here, and, indeed, what is the sense of the expression? Has it any intelligible meaning, to say "the breath of God moved upon the face of the waters"? Usually, so far as we have noticed, when the word רוּחַ means *breath*, it is joined to some other word which determines it to this signification, as *lip*, *mouth*, *nostril*; or there is something in the context which has the same force. But the word has often in Scripture a higher and nobler sense. It denotes the all-animating power of God, by which the world is sustained. It is the efficient cause of growth, movement, beauty, throughout the visible universe, as well as of the life and intelligence of man and all other creatures. Surely, that is the meaning of the term in this instance, in which the author is speaking of the exercise of the Divine creative power, and the wonderful phenomena to which it gave origin. It is the same conception here, in short, which we have in such passages as Ps. cxxxix. 7; Is. xl. 13; Job xxvi. 13.

Gen. i. 16: Here we come to a passage which may serve further to illustrate what we have said respecting the use of capitals. They cannot be uniformly or equally applied, without what we should consider great disfigurement of the text,—even if it were on other grounds allowable to introduce them so freely. Mr. Sharpe renders, "And God made the two Great Lights; the greater Light to rule the day, and the lesser Light to rule the night. He made the stars also." Are not the *stars* worthy of a capital letter, or the *firmament*, to say nothing of the "signs and seasons" of a preceding verse?

Gen. iv. 16: "And dwelt in the land of Wandering," instead of the "land of Nod." We have noticed the same deviation from the common rendering in other instances; that is to say, the substitution of a translation for the name itself. But this is surely no improvement, nor even allowable on any ground that we can see. All the Hebrew proper names are significant; but no translator would think that he must therefore give them in a translated form. Nor does Mr. Sharpe usually do so. Why in this, and some other instances, we cannot imagine. The same observation applies to the rendering of iv. 26, "He called his name Enos [or Man]." Unless some *application* be made of the

meaning of a name in the text itself, it seems altogether unnecessary to translate it; or rather it tends only to misunderstanding to do so.

Gen. vi. 3: "My spirit shall not always strive with man for his sins, for that he also is flesh; and his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." Here there seems to be some oversight. The word בְּשַׁגַּם is rendered, "for his sins;" as it has been explained by Gesenius and many others. But our reviser adds immediately, "for that," which phrase is only another rendering, adopted by some authorities, of the same Hebrew word. We may have the one or the other; but we cannot properly have the two in one version, however easy or suitable this may seem to make the sense. So again, "he also is flesh:" there is no *also* in the Hebrew. The rendering should, therefore, be, either—"my spirit shall not always strive with man for his sins; he is flesh;" or—"my spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he is flesh." But better, we think, thus—"my spirit shall not always remain in man"—i.e. as it has hitherto done, enabling him to live five hundred years or more, as stated in the preceding chapter; "for that he is flesh"—a mortal being; "and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years" only. The verse is obscure, but it appears to record the Divine determination that the life of man shall henceforth be shorter than it has been. If this be very imperfectly expressed, we must ascribe the fact either to the shortcoming of the language, or to the imperfect way in which alone the ancient writer could here employ it. Such imperfections and obscurities of expression are natural defects of a very ancient language, as also they may sometimes be attributed to writers who have expressed themselves without any thought of the grammatical precision of modern style. Examples to the same effect may be seen in some of the old Greek authors, as well as in Hebrew, adding, in the former case, to the difficulties of a Herodotus and an Æschylus, as well as, in the latter, to those of a Job and an Isaiah;—difficulties, we must say, which have often appeared greater than they are, even because interpreters will persist in reading their texts so constantly according to the strict grammatical rules of later times.

Gen. vi. 4: "giants [or Fallen ones]." The original word is of doubtful signification, and it would therefore have

been better not, in this case, to have appended the various rendering, especially as it seems to countenance an idea, familiar enough to the readers of Paradise Lost, but hardly found in the Old Testament—the idea of fallen angels. We do not know whether our reviser thinks the word has this reference here; but if not, what does the rendering "Fallen ones" refer to? In fact, the word may be explained in any one of three different ways; and the last of the three we hold to be by far the most probable:—(1) as here, "Fallen ones;" (2) with some ancient versions, "those who fall upon," or attack others, *violent men;* (3) those who are *remarkable*, distinguished from others; for *size* it would seem in this instance, and hence the rendering "giants," which is supported by Numb. xiii. 33. But, after all, is not the word really a proper name, and therefore to be retained as it is, without translation, "Nephilim"?

Gen. x. 6: "And the SONS OF HAM; Cush [or Ethiopia], and Mizraim [or Lower Egypt], and Phut [or North Africa], and Canaan."—This mode of inserting the later, or modern name, is obviously an advantage to the reader. At least, it saves him some trouble; but then everything depends on the correctness of the interpretation. Some of the cases in this chapter are uncertain; and would for that reason have been better left out of the text and put into a note at the foot. In this number we must place the rendering of Mizraim by "Lower Egypt." In the great majority of places in which the word occurs in the Old Testament, it is most probable that the writer intended simply to designate Egypt in general, without having in his mind any thought of the division of that country into two or more parts. And this remark may be made, even in the face of v. 14, "Pathrusim [or Upper Egypt]." Can it be shewn that the writer conceived of *Pathros* as one division of the same country of which *Mizraim* was another and the lower? The later name was in all probability the only proper Hebrew name of the country which we now call Egypt; Pathros being a different region, external to it, although adjoining. So that it is only misleading, to render so constantly as Mr. Sharpe does by "Lower Egypt;" as though the Hebrew author really conceived of two divisions of the one country, and was careful everywhere to distinguish the one from the other—a piece of geographical accuracy hardly to be attri-

buted to a writer (or compiler) who conceived of the Garden of Eden as the source of the four great rivers mentioned in Genesis ii. 10—14. Yet Mr. Sharpe himself does not adhere to the one rendering, but sometimes has simply "Egypt"—Gen. xiii. 1, xlv. 23. So also the people of the country (the Mizrim) are termed by him "Egyptians," simply. Why not "Lower Egyptians"?

Gen. x. 22, 24: "The CHILDREN OF SHEM; Elam [or Western Persia], and Asshur [or the Assyrians]..... And Salah begat Eber [or the Hebrews]." This mode of rendering we again consider misleading. Asshur does not here mean the Assyrians, nor Elam Western Persia, nor Eber the Hebrews. Each name denoted in the writer's conception a *person*, the progenitor of the people who dwelt in certain regions. *Eber* is never, we believe, found in the Old Testament as the name of a country or people. A similar remark evidently applies to Asshur (compare Gen. x. 11)—as well as to Elam, and various others in the list.

Numb. xvi. 22: "And they fell upon their faces, and said, 'O El [or God], thou God of the spirits of all flesh.'" Similarly in Gen. xxxiii. 20, xlvi. 3; but *not* in Josh. xxii. 22. We cannot but ask, which is right? or, why a difference? or is *El* taken to be a proper name, something like Jehovah? We cannot suppose that our reviser so considers it; for, indeed, its use in the places where it occurs is idiomatic. It is the form commonly used with an adjective, or with another name of God, or with the name of a person or place (Gen. xlvi. 3). The word ought clearly to be introduced untranslated only where this is necessary to explain some other term, as Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 7).

We have marked for notice various other passages similar to the foregoing, and we could extend the list almost indefinitely. But our space is exhausted; and moreover we should be sorry to leave the impression that we had only fault to find with Mr. Sharpe's very praiseworthy labours in Bible revision. On the contrary, we highly appreciate both the learning and the spirit displayed in the publication of this revised text. If it be not free from imperfections, this is only what must be expected in every such work. And probably no single individual would, in these days, be found equal to the task of revising all the books of the Old Testament, with that full and varied knowledge of modern

commentaries, and other literature bearing on the subject, which alone could yield the most satisfactory results. Mr. Sharpe's revised translation has several excellent features. It is moderate in price, neat and compact in form, and contains a text which, if not by any means without errors, is yet very instructive and suggestive, even where (as we have pointed out) it may be in fault; while it undoubtedly contains much to interest, and make the perusal of the Hebrew Scriptures more of a pleasure and less of a labour than it often is, from the simple want of the requisite knowledge on the part of a reader.

The foregoing remarks refer to the first volume of the work only, containing the historical books, as far as 1 Sam. We shall be ready to welcome the remaining volumes, and hope the able and learned reviser will have every reasonable satisfaction in the publication of his work.

V.

VII.—BISHOP COLENSO ON THE PENTATEUCH: PART FIFTH.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, critically examined. By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part V. London: Longmans. 1865.

THE Fifth Part of Bishop Colenso's still unfinished work on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua (of which we can now offer to our readers only the briefest possible account), is divided into two main portions. In the first he continues his general argument: the second is occupied by a minute critical analysis of the Book of Genesis, which he examines, chapter by chapter and verse by verse, with a view to the elucidation and support of his theories as to its authorship. Into the minute questions of historical and philological criticism raised in this part of Dr. Colenso's work, we are unable to enter: the appeal here deliberately and carefully made, is to the judgment of the scholar only; while all that it is necessary to report for the information of the general reader, are the results at which he arrives. These will be found in the first part. There, in the first place,

Dr. Colenso endeavours to shew, "that a very large portion of the Book of Joshua is due to the same hand that wrote the Book of Deuteronomy," drawing the necessary inference, that if this is so, the latter book, at all events, cannot be the work of Moses. He then passes to the consideration of the Elohistic document, or kernel of the Book of Genesis, shewing that in the discrimination of this document, Hupfeld and Boehmer, two critics who have paid the greatest attention to the subject, are mainly in accord with himself; tabulating the linguistic peculiarities of this part of Genesis, and pointing out its discrepancies with the rest of the book; and finally printing it by itself, in an amended version. To the mere English reader, unable to follow the subject through the minutiæ of Hebrew criticism, no argument in favour of the documentary theory could be so powerful as the fact, of which he can now assure himself without trouble, that the original nucleus, round which the Pentateuch has grown, can be extracted from the superincumbent mass, and exhibited as a complete and self-consistent history. And if the same process cannot be so satisfactorily performed for the later accretions, the reason is plain upon a moment's reflection. Subsequent editors would be to some extent confined to the work of filling up and rounding off the outline given by the Elohist, and their work, from the very necessity of the case, would be less susceptible than his of separate exhibition. We should expect to find them less reverent of each other's labours, than of the venerable document which lay at the base of all; while the important work of minute revision and correction is one which cannot be detached from the material on which it is performed, and affords the greatest opportunity for difference of critical opinion. It need not therefore surprise us that Hebrew scholars should be less in harmony with one another in regard to the latter additions to the Pentateuch, than to its original kernel. Nor is the existence of those differences any argument, as is sometimes absurdly supposed, against the general theory of the composite character of the Pentateuch. Because the subtle polish of age has half obliterated the lines of juncture of the separate stones in a Mosaic table, do we on that account, with the parti-coloured marble before our eyes, conclude that it must be made of a single slab?

Bishop Colenso supposes that, in addition to the Elohist (so called from his use of the name Elohim for the Supreme Being), a large part of the Pentateuch is due to a second author, called, for a similar reason, the Jehovist. But, again, he finds distinct traces of a second Elohist and a second Jehovist, while the Book of Deuteronomy, with certain interpolated passages in the earlier books, is assigned to another writer, distinguished as the Deuteronomist. The number of authors thus concerned in the work of successively revising and adding to the Pentateuch, until it appears in the form in which we now have it, is five; unless, indeed, we adopt a conjecture thrown out by Dr. Colenso, that the Jehovist and the second Elohist are the same man, writing at different periods of his life. The parts of the Book of Genesis supposed to have been added to the original Elohistic narrative by their various writers, are also separately printed.

Who were these successive writers or editors, and what is the date of their work? The Elohist, thinks Dr. Colenso, in accordance with some continental critics, must have lived at the commencement of the Hebrew monarchy, and in all probability was the prophet Samuel. The Jehovist, who is supposed to be identical with the second Elohist, is assigned to the reign of David, and cannot, if the validity of Dr. Colenso's reasoning be admitted, be placed later than the beginning of the reign of Solomon. The second Jehovist (whose work in the Pentateuch is confined to Genesis xiv.) is supposed to have written between the 16th and 18th year of David's reign. In connection with these two last-named writers, Dr. Colenso mentions, somewhat doubtfully, the names of Nathan and of Gad. The Deuteronomist he has already, in a previous part of his work, identified with the prophet Jeremiah. At the same time, he considers it possible that when the other books of the Pentateuch have been subjected to the same searching analysis as Hupfeld, Boehmer, and now himself, have applied to Genesis, traces of other authors than these may possibly be discovered.

In the course of inquiry which leads to the above result, Dr. Colenso has been induced to examine into the origin of the levitical office in Israel, which so far from having existed from the time of the Exodus, with full national recognition and in a state of complete development, he

believes to have gradually grown up from the time of the establishment of the tabernacle in Zion under David. A second interesting *excursus* relates to the origin of the name Jehovah, which in Dr. Colenso's opinion the Israelites learned, after their entrance into Canaan, from the Syro-Phœnicians, with whom IAŌ was a mystic name of their chief deity, the Sun. An appendix contains a translated and abridged extract from Movers' Phœnicia, "on the name IAŌ," in which, however, the learned author argues that Iao and Jehovah are *not* different forms of one word. A still more interesting addendum to Dr. Colenso's work is an abstract of a treatise by Prof. Dozy, of Leyden, in which he connects the sanctuary at Mecca and the worship there practised, before the time of Mohammed, with a supposed emigration from Palestine of the tribe of Simeon, which certainly disappears from Biblical history in a somewhat mysterious way.

The bulky volume, of the contents of which we have given the above brief synopsis, has the merits and the defects of those which have preceded it. The defects are, we think, due, to a large extent, to the peculiar circumstances under which Dr. Colenso's work has been composed. Its incompleteness, its disorder, its want of symmetry, would all have been more or less obviated, had the Bishop of Natal consciously set himself to the composition of a great critical work, and postponed its publication until the position and relation of all its parts had been clear, at least in his own mind. But the work might well have lost in freshness what it gained in proportion. As it now stands, it has almost the charm of a narrative of discovery. Its author is no impersonal scientific machine, acting with more or less accuracy in obedience to critical laws, but a man filled with the firmest faith in truth, who, wakened from his sleep by a ray of unlooked-for light, goes "sounding on his dim and perilous way" by many rocks and shallows, to deep waters where his bark may safely ride. Yet if, to students of continental theology, Dr. Colenso's researches present little novelty; if, as must almost necessarily be the case in critical investigations, his positive are far less trustworthy than his negative conclusions; if his chief merit, from the strictly scientific point of view, is to have made widely known facts and arguments which it would otherwise have been very

difficult to present to ordinary English readers,—his work would still have the highest moral value, as a model of what theological investigation and controversy should be. So much nonsense, and something worse, has been written on this subject, by men who pretend that their bitter hostility to the Bishop of Natal arises, not from the matter of his speculations, but from the manner in which he has brought them before the world, that we desire to speak emphatically upon this point. It cannot be too clearly understood that no method in which Dr. Colenso could have made known his unwelcome conclusions would have been acceptable to his critics. If, indeed, in obedience to the request of prelates, the strangest peculiarity of whose ignorance is that they do not appear ashamed of it, he had altogether suppressed what he believed to be important truth, he might have been allowed to retain his station in the Church, suspected indeed, but unassailed. As it is, he has been attacked with every weapon upon which an unscrupulous fanaticism could lay its hand. We desire to put on record our deliberate conviction, that, under circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his patience and his meekness have been marvellous. We can recall no single instance in which he has suffered resentment to hurry him into misrepresentation, or has returned railing for railing. He has won over his opponents a moral, even more signal than his intellectual victory. If he have against him a consensus of Bishops, five-sixths of the Lower House of Convocation, and nearly all the clerical prejudice and ignorance of the land, it may be safely declared, that no impartial critic, unbiassed by theological fear and hatred, has examined the controversy without coming to the conclusion, that the Christian virtues are on the side of the so-called sceptic, the passions and weaknesses of the world with the complacent defenders of orthodoxy.

The recent events of the Colenso controversy, though probably known to many of our readers, may be briefly put on record in this place. The Bishop of Capetown has made an application to the Home Government (which we hardly know how to qualify if not as impudent) to be repaid the expenses of Dr. Colenso's trial. It is pleasant to be able to add that his request was promptly and decisively refused. On the other hand, Convocation, with the fatal perversity

which is rapidly destroying its chance of national influence, occupied its expiring moments in passing a vote of sympathy and thanks to Dr. Gray. The Bishop of Natal is about to return to his diocese after having received from his English friends a gift of more than £3000, and has taken leave of them in a speech which all lay critics declare to have been full of good feeling and good sense. What is to be his line of action in Natal, we are quite unable to foresee. A large number of his clergy have signed a paper in which they record their refusal to receive him as their Bishop. After the recent decision of the Privy Council, it must be considered at least doubtful whether Dr. Colenso, though indisputably a Bishop of the English Church, is more the Bishop of Natal than of any other part of Her Majesty's dominions. Will he bring his recalcitrant clergy before the civil courts of the colony? The attempt to enforce ecclesiastical obedience by such means will not only be unedifying in itself, but will transfer the prestige of martyrdom to the other side; while, upon a matter of so much interest to the English Church at large, the decision of no colonial judicature can possibly be satisfactory. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that Dr. Colenso feels himself bound, to the Court which has sustained his ecclesiastical position, to the friends who have supported him by purse and sympathy, and to the general interests of liberty within the Church of England, to attempt to re-occupy the place of dignity and usefulness from which it has been sought to expel him. We wish him well in the attempt, believing that so long as the cause of religious truth and freedom is in the hands of so honest and devout a servant of Christ as the Bishop of Natal, the issue, however unexpected, cannot be unwelcome.

C.

THE

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I.—TYPES OF NONCONFORMITY.

The Fortieth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, Wednesday, June 7, 1865.

IF we may trust the evidence of public opinion, unconsciously let drop rather than consciously revealed in newspapers and magazines, there exist heights of sublime contemplation from which the various and fertile region of Nonconformist life is seen as one dead level of hideous barrenness. From some eminences of Anglican feeling, Dissenters are discerned only as perverse and all but irreclaimable enemies of the Church. They are things that trouble parishes, according to some mysterious dispensation of Providence, as the fly gets into the turnips, or the wireworm into the corn. They never enter the church, except to beard the parson and the squire at vestry meetings. They won't pay church-rates, and would rather be distrained upon than not. They vote for the Radical candidate at an election; and if any local controversy divides the Church, inflame the sore by sending to London for a deputation from the Liberation Society. They go through some schismatical form of baptism and marriage among themselves (unhappily tolerated by the law), and consistently finish a course of ecclesiastical aggravation by compelling the vicar to bury them. Their teachers are not to be gratified with the self-assumed title of "Reverend;" their meetings for worship are "conventicles." All the while they have not only no sufficient justification, but absolutely no ground, for separation from the Church: she is still the Bride of Christ without blemish and without spot; and their only

method of return to her is by the gate of abject repentance and entire submission. Whatever in their position cannot be excused on the ground of ignorance, must be held to take its origin in conceit: a little instruction on the part of qualified teachers, if they would only receive it, would bring them to recant their heresies, a truer self-knowledge lead them humbly to the church porch. After all, the great difficulty lies in the fact that Dissent is moral rather than intellectual. It is the rebellion of a proud heart and a perverse will against duly ordained authority. So Satan fell at first; and, except in the humane but carnal heart of Burns, there is no hope of Satan's conversion.

There is also a height of social superciliousness, from which a somewhat similar landscape may be descried,—a height upon which the conductors of one or two well-known weekly newspapers sit serene. With them it is a maxim that all Nonconformists are necessarily ignorant and vulgar men. Their preachers have indeed had a smattering of education which enables them to simulate (though with little success) the tone and manner of scholarship. But they cannot write many lines without betraying their innate lack of refinement, if not their ignorance of English grammar. With such critics, every Nonconformist chapel is a Salem or a Bethel, every Nonconformist minister a Chadband or a Stiggins. There is nothing distinctively theological in their contempt: heresy does not alarm them in the least, if it clothes itself in the recognized academical disguise; and they look upon all questions of religious life with the same impartial indifference. Their one objection to Dissent is, that it is "low." There are social strata in which Dissent is rarely found, or, if met with, is condoned as an inexplicable eccentricity. And below these strata they wish it to be believed that their personal knowledge does not penetrate.

We will not pause to inquire what grains of truth may lie imbedded in this great mass of misconception. From any other point of view than that of ecclesiastical or social self-sufficiency, the forms into which the religious life of almost half the nation voluntarily throws itself must be a phenomenon worth an effort to understand. We do not desire to over-estimate the national weight of Nonconformity, as, we think, some Nonconformists are apt to do: the

relation to the State of the Established Church, her social position, her wealth, her learning, her hold at once upon the higher classes and upon the agricultural poor, combine to give her a predominance which nothing short of an ecclesiastical revolution would avail to shake. But taking the influence of the Church at the highest, that of the various forms of Nonconformity at the lowest estimate, it still remains a sufficiently remarkable fact that so many millions of English men and women (no matter of what class or what degree of education) cannot find the supply of their religious wants within the limits of so wide and comprehensive a communion as the Church of England. That there are many errors in the ecclesiastical and social judgments of Nonconformity, of which we have given a rude outline, our Nonconformist readers need not to be told. But the error to which we now desire to draw attention is one into which even Nonconformist readers may possibly fall. It is, to suppose that Dissent is necessarily a homogeneous thing; that all Dissent can be accurately described by the use of the same epithets; that there is no difference between Dissenter and Dissenter; that the policy and expectations justifiable in one are justifiable in all. The single attribute which all Dissenters alike possess, their position outside the Church of England, is common to them with Roman Catholics. We must look much deeper than this for the mainsprings of Nonconformist life and activity.

Setting aside minor differences, and putting out of the account, as only in a verbal sense Nonconformist, the remnant of the ancient Church, we distinguish three main types of Nonconformity. To attempt to label each of these with a distinctive epithet, would be to narrow and confuse the full meaning of the facts. It will be a more accurate, if also a more tedious, process to try to describe them.

We shall mention first, for the sake of making subsequent comparison and contrast more clear, the latest in point of historical origin. It would be difficult to fix the precise date at which Methodism became Nonconformist. It did not begin in conscious Dissent; and had the English Church of the last century used its opportunity, as the Church of Rome has again and again used similar opportunities, Methodists might not have been Dissenters now. It is almost needless to repeat, that John and Charles

Wesley were episcopally ordained priests; that their object was a revival of religion not so much without as within the Church of England; that they preached in parish churches whenever they could, and that such parish priests as Fletcher of Madely, Perronet of Shoreham, and Grimshaw of Haworth, were among their most effectual helpers; that service in the Methodist chapels (when at last these were built) was forbidden to be held at the same hours as in the parish church; that none but clergymen were allowed to administer the Lord's Supper; and that up to the time of Mr. Wesley's death, and perhaps afterwards, the Anglican Liturgy was regularly used in some Methodist chapels. We can easily understand how, as the vast system of Methodist organization grew up, perpetually revolving round the person of its founder, and almost dependent upon his autocratic will, a feeling of separation, if not of alienation, from the Established Church would gradually arise in the minds both of Mr. Wesley and his preachers. He was more than a Bishop of any single diocese: he was a Patriarch, the limits of whose jurisdiction extended into Ireland, Scotland, the Western world: how hard for him to resign the authority which God had laid in his hands, and to become a simple priest of a Church which had looked upon his work with hostile, or at best with careless eyes! But if Mr. Wesley had an ecclesiastical position, however unsatisfactory, to which he might return, his preachers had none: the reconciliation with the Church which meant self-abnegation for the master, was social suicide for the disciples. It was, we think, far less any vulgar lust of power, the prompting of any hierarchical ambition, than the necessary pressure of circumstance, the impossibility of abandoning the work of his life, the entire indifference of the Church as to compromise or comprehension, which at last induced Mr. Wesley to stamp the character of Nonconformity upon Methodism. This he first did, in 1784, by ordaining Whatcoat and Vasey presbyters, and Dr. Coke superintendent for the American churches; and more decisively still by the deed of settlement, executed in the same year, by which the government of the Methodist body, after the death of himself and his brother, was vested in one hundred ministers, renewing their number in a prescribed fashion, and still known as the "Conference."

The causes which produced, have perpetuated Methodist Nonconformity. The Wesleys, who both lived to a great age, were almost the last of the clerical Methodists who made a link between the Conference and the Church: after their death Methodist chapels and Methodist ministers came to occupy more and more the ordinary Nonconformist position. But if Dissenters in the eye of the law and of society, Methodists, in more ways than one, shew that they do not belie their origin. Although Mr. Wesley's Sermons now form their standard of orthodoxy, their theological system is undoubtedly covered by the formularies of the Church; and when, as is not unfrequently the case, a Methodist minister receives episcopal orders, he is felt to have changed his views, not so much of Christian doctrine as of church discipline. In all political struggles between the Church and Dissent, Methodists, as a rule, take the side of the Church. They are understood not to object to church-rates. They do not support the Liberation Society. Even under the old restrictive system, there was nothing to prevent any Methodist who wished it from receiving his education at Oxford or Cambridge. At a general election, they frequently vote for Conservative candidates. Though unacknowledged by the Church, perhaps in part unconscious of his own relation to it, a Methodist preacher is a kind of lay brother, whose ministrations reach and touch a class inaccessible to the ordinary parish priest. The Church of England has always refused to organize and officer her irregular forces; here, under Mr. Wesley's stern discipline, they have been arrayed into a host, which is never more than half hostile to the army of which, under other auspices, it might have formed a part. In a word, Methodists are far less alien to the Church than the Church to them. Perhaps the reason of the clerical dislike which they certainly incur is, that Methodism, and that in its rudest forms, disturbs, more frequently than any other phase of Dissent, the autocracy of the Church in country parishes. That the doctrine taught in the brick meeting-house and the stately church is substantially the same, is probably only an aggravation of the vicar's disgust that the village blacksmith should set up as a rival preacher of the gospel.

But if Methodists are distinguished from other Nonconformists in their relation to the Church, they differ from

them still more in the complexity and the stringency of their ecclesiastical discipline. Nothing can be a stronger testimony to Mr. Wesley's power of organization, than the fact that the various communions into which Methodism has split up have all framed their church government upon one model. Whatever he may have originally designed it to be, it is now a centralized despotism—the very opposite of the loose congregationalism characteristic of other English Nonconformists. In the Wesleyan Methodist body, properly so called, the governing assembly is composed exclusively of ministers; while into the conferences of the minor communions the principle of lay representation has been introduced. But to the hands of Conference everything is entrusted: the stations, the rate of remuneration, the payment of ministers; the management of places of education; the administration of home and foreign missions; the publication of books and tracts; the trial and ordination of candidates for the ministry; the cognizance and punishment of heresy. Nor has there, at any period of Methodist history, been any want of promptitude in the use of the spiritual arm. As in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, secession from Methodism has taken place on the ground of discipline rather than of doctrine; from the theological point of view there is but one Methodism, as Scotch Presbyterianism is also one. But whenever any offence has been committed against the theological standards or the arbitrary authority of Conference, the offender has been quickly and sternly cut off from communion: better the almost indefinite multiplication of Methodist organizations, than to tolerate the slightest deviation from uniformity, the faintest derogation from obedience within the church! The system of Wesleyan Methodism is almost as hostile to individuality of thought and method as that of a monastic order; it is in the highest degree successful in calling out and bringing into play a certain class of religious faculties, but it insists that their action shall be confined within fixed limits. It keeps itself alive by perpetual extension downwards, in search of the class over which it won its first triumphs, and which it is still fittest to conquer. Perhaps in this respect the body which still bears Wesley's name is hardly so true a representation of his spirit and work as those which have seceded from it. Extending upwards,

Methodism comes into fatal comparison with the Church of England, to which educated ministers and laymen, having no doctrinal prepossessions to overcome, will always be strongly tempted to conform. Its work is essentially that of a pioneer; by the law of its nature it must continually push forward into fresh wastes of human ignorance and sin; and when these are converted into smiling meadows and happy corn-fields, its place knows it no more.

But the main stream of Nonconformity parts from the great current of English religious life in 1662. It cannot be necessary to recapitulate the facts of the separation which was necessitated by the Act of Uniformity, and finally recognized, after an intervening period of struggle and persecution, by the Act of Toleration. The chief facts which at present claim our attention are that Dissent was even then not homogeneous, and that the three great Nonconformist parties—the Presbyterians, the Independents and the Baptists—stood from the first in a different relation of feeling to the Church of England and to their own Nonconformity. This difference of feeling may be briefly described by saying that the Presbyterians desired *comprehension;* the Independents and Baptists were satisfied with *toleration.*

There were many reasons why, in 1662, the Independents and Baptists (who, as far as our present purpose is concerned, may be considered together) should have been content, if only they could obtain so great a boon, with permission to preach and worship as they would, outside the pale of the Established Church. From the operation of different causes they were both beyond the reach of orthodox religious sympathies, and knew that they could expect no better than a half-contemptuous and unwilling toleration. It may now be difficult to see why the doctrine of adult baptism, which to those who profess to be guided by the letter of Scripture has so much to say for itself, should, in the seventeenth century, have been looked upon as a heresy of the deepest dye, against which the severest methods of repression might lawfully be used. But for Baptist read Anabaptist, and the secret is in part revealed. To constituted authorities in Church and State during the century and a half which followed the Reformation, all the revolutionary tendencies which are developed at a period of great religious excitement were summed up in that one

word. As, now, a politician who impugns the temporal authority of the Pope is at once condemned in some quarters as a republican and socialist of the reddest hue,—so, then, to be a Baptist was to be a follower of John of Leyden and a sympathizer with the atrocities of Münster. The Independents, too, had, in the eyes of the triumphant party, their political crimes to expiate. Cromwell, who had slain the Royal Martyr, and Milton, who had defended the murder, were Independents. The milder offences of the Presbyterians against Church and State were half forgotten in the bolder crimes of their fellow-sectaries. *Their* theories, however derogatory to the true dignity of the kingdom and the Church, were not incompatible with restricted monarchy and modified episcopacy; but Independency (who that recollected the events of the last fifteen years could doubt it?) was the implacable enemy of kings and bishops in every shape. So upon Independents and Baptists tolerated Nonconformity was forced by the very necessities of the case. It was the very best they could hope for; and before they could obtain even this, they had to pass through thirty years of endurance and struggle. Even had the Independents wished it, the solemn tragedy which they had triumphantly enacted at Whitehall was a perpetual barrier between themselves and reconciliation with the Church.

But it would be an injustice both to the Independents of the Restoration and to their successors, to suppose that they have ever wished it. With them, Nonconformity is not an accident, but the essence of their ecclesiastical position; not an attitude into which they have been temporarily forced by circumstances, but one in which they are content, and more than content, to remain. The congregational polity has been sometimes called the republicanism of the Church. But even this comparison does not convey the full idea: every congregation is a democracy, like that of Athens, in which the vote of each citizen has a direct influence upon the common weal, and which is connected with other democracies like itself by none but the feeblest federal bond. A church is made up of individual believers, and there is no higher ecclesiastical unit than the single congregation. Whatever union is desirable or possible among congregations, must provide for the complete independence and autonomy of each. Such churches can be drawn into a

collective unity only by participation in the common objects which leave untouched the congregational life,—the education of ministers, the administration of missions, the provision of mutual help and counsel. Above all, these churches must be as independent of the State as of each other; Christ is the sole Head of his church, and the idea of a national organization of religion is under every modification inadmissible. What, then, is the bond which binds Independent and Baptist churches into an Independent and a Baptist "body"? What the attribute, the possession of which marks them as different from other Nonconformist churches adopting the congregational polity? Undoubtedly, the profession of a common theology. The trust-deeds of Independent chapels and colleges contain doctrinal clauses which tie down the property for all future generations to Calvinistic uses. A full verbal statement of belief is exacted of every minister as he enters upon his office, in the execution of which he is compelled to move within the limits prescribed by the trust-deed of his chapel. A similar statement is necessary on the part of a lay member before he can pass from the outer court of the "congregation" to the sanctuary of the "church," and be admitted to the privileges of full communion. In addition to all this, the Baptist body justifies its separate existence by the practice of its peculiar rite. And a jealous public opinion watches over the maintenance of these written and unwritten standards with such excellent effect, that orthodoxy is nowhere more self-confident, heresy nowhere speaks with such hesitating voice, as in these so-called free churches.

It is very important to note the precise character of their freedom. They recite no creed in their public worship; they compel their ministers to subscribe no articles. But the vigilance of public opinion is more effective in producing uniformity than the repetition of a creed; and while the Thirty-nine Articles bind only the generation which is willing to be bound by them, and being imposed by Act of Parliament can at any moment be abrogated by the same authority, a doctrinal trust-deed claims the perpetual protection of the law, and imposes the dogmas of to-day upon all coming generations. The liberty of Congregational Nonconformists is, as it appears to us, not religious at all, but simply ecclesiastical. It consists of two elements: first,

entire liberation from the control or influence of the State; and, second, the liberty of the individual church to organize itself on its own terms. This double privilege, we are bound to say, Congregationalists are willing to give, as well as anxious to take. Nothing is to them intolerable but an Established Church. As far as the ecclesiastical side of the matter is concerned, they are quite willing that the severe discipline of the Methodist Conference, or the still looser congregationalism of the Unitarian churches, should exist side by side with their own polity. But the liberty of churches is *ecclesiastical* liberty: *religious* liberty concerns the rights and privileges of the individual:—what of it? Like must consort with like: it is no offence against freedom to expel or shut out a misbeliever from the church, so long as he is left the power of association with other misbelievers of his own sort. The theological agreement which is the only basis on which men can be united into a church, must be specified and defined, before it can be used as a test; and without a test it is impossible to discern who are the believers, of whom alone the church can be built up. So that on this theory religious liberty really resolves itself into the right of every church to choose and put on its own bonds.

For reasons which it is not now necessary to specify, this type of Nonconformity finds great favour among the middle classes, chiefly of the large towns. Especially in the distinctively Congregational form, it prospers with a great prosperity, which sometimes tempts less flourishing churches, whose principles of association and action are fundamentally different, to make futile attempts to imitate its methods, and so to win its success. But, alike in its prosperity and in the character of its Nonconformity, it is hateful to the clergy of the Established Church. In its ranks are chiefly to be found the "political" Dissenters, who fight the battle of church-rates, who support the Liberation Society, who agitate for the complete separation of Church and State. Whether the Liberation Society may not have done more to consolidate than to weaken the ramparts which it assails,—whether those who cry for the separation of Church and State quite know on what principles they would deal with either, were they separated,—are questions which cannot be discussed here. It is quite certain that

the bitter enmity which almost universally prevails between the clergy and the so-called orthodox Dissenters, is one of the saddest and least hopeful features of our English church life. Even the alliance which has been formed between the Evangelical clergy and the Nonconformist ministers, whose view of doctrinal truth is almost identical with their own, is in perpetual danger of being broken by ecclesiastical difference. "There is only a doctrine or two between you and me," said a clergyman once to the writer of these pages, "but between us and the orthodox Dissenters an infinite gulf." But however these enmities may be reconciled or fought out, we cannot be wrong in the inference, that were the bond between Church and State once severed, and the Establishment reduced to the position of a great sect (or even split by doctrinal differences into more sects than one), Nonconformists of the Congregational type would be satisfied with the result. They desire no other church unity than is implied in the fact of identity in dogmatic belief. The idea of a national organization of religion, under any modification whatever, meets with no more favour from them than that of a State Church as it now exists. Having obtained for themselves, being willing to give to others, the fullest liberty of separation, they do not seem to understand or care for the nobler freedom which is the condition of true and lasting union.

In one important element of their conception of the Church, Methodist and Congregational Nonconformity agree in differing from the Church of England. With them (to adopt a somewhat awkward phraseology), the Church is based upon the principle of individualism, as opposed to that of multitudinism. In other words, into a multitudinist church a man is born; into an individualist church he is born again. All Englishmen (certainly all baptized Englishmen) are in virtue of their birth members of the Church of England; and if the lately propounded theory be true, "that Dissenters are members of the Church of England indulged with freedom of worship," we can, none of us, divest ourselves of the mystic inheritance. But a Congregational, a Methodist church consists only of believers; a Baptist church, only of baptized believers. Outside the church gathers itself the congregation, the members of which may exercise various degrees of indirect influence

upon the administration of their own ecclesiastical affairs; but the functions of direct government are reserved for church members alone. Were it our present object to trace the various types of Nonconformity in their relation to religious and social life, this peculiarity might be found fruitful in practical result. We will now only point out that the lay member of the Church of England enjoys in some important respects a larger personal liberty than if he belonged to either of these churches. His inability to vote for the election of a minister is shared with him by the Methodist. If he is bound down to the use of the Liturgy, he has some compensation in his freedom from responsibility for the utterances of the minister's extemporaneous devotion. But he can at no time be subjected to a searching examination into his personal orthodoxy. When the Church has inserted the creeds in her daily service, she has done all: she does not, before she administers her sacraments, make rigid inquiry as to the communicant's belief in them. We are far from wishing to imply that communion with the Church of England is really open to every Christian, or that men of a sensitive conscience ought not to shrink from habitual participation in a worship with which they are only partially in accord. But that no questions should be asked as to a man's conscientious churchmanship, is a great gain: if Christ be indeed the sole Head of the church, let it be enough that every disciple should stand or fall to his Divine Master, apart from any human interpretation of the conditions of his service.

We return to 1662. The great majority of those who were then unwilling that the Church of Andrewes, of Hooker and of Laud, should be re-established without modification or restriction, were Presbyterians. The Restoration was in part their work. Some of their more distinguished ministers went over to Holland to pay their duty to the king, and accompanied him in his triumphant return to England. One of his first acts was to enrol the names of ten of them in the list of Royal Chaplains. The Episcopal and Presbyterian parties stood over against each other as almost equal forces in the State, negotiating terms of union and compromise: it seemed at first as if nothing were so impossible as a return to the ecclesiastical *status quo*. Episcopacy was to be modified in a Presbyterian sense; the Liturgy to be

revised; this and that ceremony made optional; godly and learned men not to be disturbed in their benefices. On these proposed terms of accommodation, three bishoprics and as many deaneries were offered to Presbyterian divines, and the bishopric of Norwich actually accepted by Dr. Reynolds. It was only gradually that Charles, and a Parliament drunk with foolish loyalty, woke to the perception that the Presbyterians were absolutely at their mercy, and that it was superfluous to make terms with an enemy whom they could compel to unconditional surrender. Then the solemn farce of the Savoy Conference was suffered to lapse into the tragedy of the Act of Uniformity, and the Church wilfully expelled from her pale men whom a slight measure of justice and charity would have made into the most devoted of her children.

We have recapitulated these well-known facts in order to shew that at the very outset Presbyterian, was an *unwilling* Nonconformity. The great majority of the ejected Two Thousand did not voluntarily quit the Church, but were forcibly driven out of it. They were so far from objecting to a national organization of religion, as actually to have attempted it, in their own way, some fourteen years earlier. If the Episcopal party had been willing to bate something of their high claims, the Presbyterians would have met them, for the sake of union among Christ's flock, more than half way. So when all hope of compromise was gone, and it was necessary, in spite of persecution, to assume some supervision of the people whom God had committed to their charge, the Presbyterian ministers attempted no separate ecclesiastical organization, but preferred to wait, a broken and scattered remnant, the advent of a brighter day. When Richard Baxter, the man who embodies above all others the true Presbyterian spirit, "took out a licence to preach after the indulgence of 1672, it was not under the title of Independent or Presbyterian, or any other party, but simply as a Nonconformist; one shut out from the Church by conscience, but still hoping for comprehension."* Even when the Toleration Act of 1689 dashed their hopes, the Presbyterians, in assuming the Nonconformist position into which they were forced, did not abandon their characteristic attitude towards the general

* Tayler: Retrospect of the Religious Life of England, p. 150.

religious life of the nation. They were unwilling Dissenters. Their schism was not their own act; they had not cut themselves off, but had been rudely severed from the parent stem. Their isolation was so far from being their own choice, that they still fondly looked upon themselves as living members of the Church Catholic. To prove these assertions many citations might be made; let the following noble words suffice, extracted from the sermon preached by Matthew Henry at the opening of the Presbyterian chapel at Chester, August 8, 1700:

"We are far from engrossing religion and the Church to ourselves and those of our own way, or thinking that we are the only elect people of God; from our hearts we abhor and renounce all such narrow principles as are contrary to Catholic Christianity, and undermine and straiten its sure and large foundations. We do hereby solemnly profess, and shall take all occasions to repeat it, that we celebrate our religious assemblies *in communion with all that in every place call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours.*" * * *

"In those few and small things wherein our apprehensions differ (whilst in the most and greatest things of all we cordially agree), we desire faithfully and conscientiously to walk according to the light that God has given us, charitably believing that others do so too, whom we hope to meet in the general assembly of the first-born, though now we are divided." * * *

"And now may we not claim it as our right to be owned and looked upon as members of the Catholic Church, though a weak and small part of it, yet a part of it, and I trust not a corrupt part; and being united with our brethren of the other tribes under one civil government, and being (abundantly to our satisfaction) within the same allegiance, and even in our religious intents taken into the same protection, we see not why we should not be looked upon as belonging to that part of the Catholic Church which God's own right hand hath planted in these kingdoms."

The Presbyterianism of 1662 and of 1689 has given rise to a third type of Nonconformity, now existing side by side with the other two, and exercising an influence upon public opinion disproportionate, if we may trust the testimony of both friend and foe, to its numerical force. Its distinctive character is owing to two facts: first, that the Presbyterians of the generation succeeding the Ejectment introduced, as a rule, no doctrinal restrictions into the trust-deeds of their

chapels; and, second, that, excluded from the national universities, they encouraged to the utmost the institution of a learned ministry. The offspring of this auspicious marriage between learning and liberty has been, as it ever must be, a progressive theology. Little by little the old landmarks were lost sight of, till at the beginning of the present century the Presbyterian churches, still able to trace their ancestry back to the Act of Toleration, had adopted antitrinitarian views. It is hardly necessary to point out the phases through which the theology of these churches, and others which have been affiliated to them, have since passed; the fact that changes have taken, and are still taking place, is proof enough that to them the conditions, are more characteristic and essential, than the results of theological investigation. For the rest, their external appearance is easily described. They are multitudinist; that is, unlike other Nonconformists, they make no distinction between the church and the congregation, and exact no conditions of communion. They insert no doctrinal clauses in their trust-deeds; they record or recite no creed; they require from a minister no precise statement of belief. They admit the necessity of a certain amount of dogmatic agreement among those who are to worship together: the believer in the sole Deity of the Father cannot join in petitions to the second person of the Trinity, nor the denier of a vicarious atonement deprecate an infinite anger, which, in his view, never moves the mind of God. But Nonconformists of this type believe that this needful agreement (and here is the key of their position) is best left undefined; alleging, as the result of a long experience, that this absolute indefiniteness is the best guarantee for the maintenance of a right relation on the part of minister and people to one another and to theological truth. The absence of a creed is not incompatible with the fullest expression of conscientious conviction on the part of the minister, with the firmest adherence to fixed principles of belief on that of the people. They think, indeed, that the creeds and articles in which other churches record the fact and define the limits of their agreement, are so far from promoting unity, as actually to introduce dissension by the perpetual presence of a standard to which differences may be brought for trial; and that in any case a hollow uniformity is the best result that creeds can be ex-

pected to produce. The ties which hold these churches together are as elastic as the bonds subsisting between the members of each congregation; their polity is the loosest possible congregationalism: every church is independent of every other, and there exists no association or institution which can accurately be said to represent them all. They are still true to the Presbyterian conception of the worth of a learned ministry, to which they clung at a time when all other Dissenters believed that there was a sacred charm in ignorance, and that an empty mind was almost a necessary condition of the Spirit's presence and help. To say that the leaven of orthodoxy is entirely removed from the midst of them—that old prejudices are always abandoned without a struggle, new truth always welcomed with unanimous acclaim—would be to assert that the hindrances which are among the necessary accompaniments of intellectual progress have here been abrogated. But it is not too much to say that no other church is more open to the reception of fresh light, from whatever side it may dawn, none more free from the prepossessions and misconceptions which commonly attend upon difference in theological belief.

It is a remarkable thing that the Nonconformist churches which are least alien to the National Church in social and ecclesiastical feeling, should stand at the greatest theological distance from it. Methodism differs from the Armenianism of the Establishment far less in doctrine than in the manner of its practical application; while the Calvinism of the Evangelical clergy is hardly distinguishable from that of Congregational Dissenters. But we cannot even give the free Nonconformist churches the name by which they are commonly known, without recording the fact of their irreclaimable heterodoxy. That their theology is, in some shape or other, Unitarian, is a fact that cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed; while it may fairly be left to their numerous adversaries to explain why it is that churches which are at once active in theological investigation and free to accept its results, should so often gravitate towards this Nadir of belief. But the name Unitarian, while it describes, as accurately as a single epithet can do, the theology of these churches at the present moment, and while it marks the fact of their similarity of belief with other anti-trinitarian churches of the Continent and of

America, cannot be admitted to cover their past history, and ought not to be allowed to restrict their future development. A church which has existed for many generations, bears within it the law of its own change and growth, which can be detected only by a careful examination of its whole history. Suppose that the process of theological change which we have noticed had gone on in our churches with unequal rapidity, so that Arian and Unitarian congregations existed side by side in something like the same numbers, would dogmatic difference be held to be a bar to complete communion? Were a number of Independent congregations, retaining the main outlines of their belief, but expunging their doctrinal clauses from their trust-deeds, and in all things trusting themselves, as we do, to the free development of religious thought and life, to claim communion with us, should we allow the claim in virtue of our inherited ecclesiastical character, or reject it on the ground of our Unitarian theology? If, as we believe, such a claim would be almost unanimously admitted, it must be accepted as a fact, that the essential element of our Nonconformity is not theological, but ecclesiastical. We hold that between members of the same worshiping congregation there must be an undefined dogmatic agreement, of the nature and extent of which each worshiper is his own best judge. But between congregation and congregation no such tie is necessary. Only a sufficient measure of mutual esteem and charity is needful to unite a Trinitarian and a Unitarian, a Baptist and an Independent congregation, into one communion. It may even be doubted whether, according to the true idea of the Church, there ought to be any union of congregations at all less wide than a national organization of religion. The highest ideal is twofold: first, the worshiping congregation of believers drawn together by mutual affinities, which are best respected by being left undefined; and then the union in one sublime bond of faith, of hope, of charity, of all who speak the same tongue and obey the same laws.

Within a church of so various and changeful a religious life, there would be room for the existence, side by side, of many associations for the propagation of particular forms of dogmatic truth. To deny the abstract right of individuals to associate for such purposes would be absurd; to unite to spread theological, is as lawful as to take joint

action for the furtherance of medical, of social, of political truth; while, as it seems to us, the looseness or strictness with which the terms of such association are defined, is a matter not of principle but of expediency alone. We see nothing incongruous in the simultaneous existence in the same free church of a Unitarian and a Trinitarian Association—as now the Church of England represents divergent doctrinal tendencies in the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The one necessary thing, in such a case, would be to make it perfectly clear that the conditions of this association for theological purposes were not at the same time the conditions of religious and ecclesiastical communion. To attain an intellectual end, men unite upon the surface of intellectual agreement; but when they desire to mount towards the throne of God upon the wings of a concordant aspiration, and to be thrilled with the sympathy of common religious affections, they are compelled, consciously or unconsciously, to lay the foundations of their church upon the living rock of universal trusts and needs. That mystic body of Christ, of which all believing men are "members in particular," is a far wider and deeper thing than any mere theological association can be.

The free Nonconformist churches of which we have been speaking are therefore exclusively Unitarian, not because Unitarianism is a permanent condition of their existence and mutual relations, but because, at the present moment, no other churches of a different type of theology adopt their ecclesiastical theory, and ask for communion with them on the broad ground of a common Christianity. Whenever such a demand is made, we venture to hope that it will meet with prompt and glad response. For we would fain believe that something of the original unwillingness of Presbyterian Nonconformity hangs about us yet. We do not wish to dwell upon half-impossible schemes of comprehension, or to discuss the abstract justification for the theory of a National Church. We may clearly discern the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Established Church as it is, and yet look forward to some national organization of religious life, now hidden in the far future, which, without infringing upon the rights of any sincere believer, may yet adequately represent the whole Christianity of England.

The choice which now presses is not between Conformity or Nonconformity; it is touched by no temporary debate as to the existence of a State Church; upon us, at the present moment, Dissent is as much forced as upon the Presbyterians of 1662. It is simply between an open and a closed Church. Did our forefathers boldly go out into the desert, hardly knowing whither they went, that in some rocky fastness we might shut ourselves out from friend and foe, or that upon the open plain, and under the quiet sky, we might be touched with a sense of the all-embracing love of God, and be recalled to a recollection of our kindred with all His sons? Shall we execute the promise of the dogmatic name which has fastened itself upon us, and, organizing and disciplining our strength like other sects, lower ourselves to sectarian methods, and be content with a sectarian triumph? Or shall we be satisfied to remain in our tents, undefined and undefended though our borders seem to be, until the time of crisis comes round once more, and we be re-admitted, not into the Church which cast us out, but into that new City of God which we yet look for in a nobler England?

But our choice is not between alternatives, each of which is right and lawful. In almost every church are circumstances which point to the relaxation of dogmatic restrictions, and the gradual growth of a more liberal spirit. The results of scientific investigation, in every department of human thought, since the revival of letters, are being brought to bear with irresistible force upon theology, and the effect, though slow, is sure and lasting. Heresy is now of no single church; it is no longer a dead branch that can be severed from the tree of orthodoxy, but a poison creeping in the sap and infecting every leaf with a fatal languor. Every day the exclusive associations fastened by churches as they are, are less and less regarded; every day men are learning to fall back more and more upon the natural affinities of the religious life. The belief of thoughtful men hangs upon the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," as the central reality, even if differently discerned by varying human insight; and the zeal that wrangles about the petty diversities of creeds, even if felt to be honest, is felt to be "without knowledge." To what centre of union these converging

hopes and aspirations tend, what will be the outward form and constitution of the future Church, whether any now existing church can bear the storm of religious renovation without disorganizing shock, and so become the germ of new and nobler growth, He alone knows who holds in His hand the hearts of men. But if there were a Christian communion which, with some necessary shortcomings, was yet true to the highest ideal of freedom,—still more, if its conception of liberty were not the achievement of one generation, but had been handed down, a priceless heirloom, from faithful fathers to faithful sons for nearly two centuries,—could there be any doubt on which side lay its duty, and whitherward the plain leading of Providence? If ever a clear word of warning and guidance came to any church, it comes now to the free Nonconforming churches of England. It is their enviable privilege to be able to prove that all who love God and follow Christ need no other bond to unite them into a church of the noblest aspiration, the purest holiness, the widest human sympathy. It is no light task to bend to the conscious labour of rebuilding the true Catholic Church; a far easier work, cheered with brighter gleams, fanned by happier breezes of prompt success, to add one more prosperous sect to the long roll of Christian divisions! But the time will come when there shall be but "one fold and one Shepherd," and it is better to wait for God's rewards, than to snatch a swiftly fading crown of human praise. C.

II.—THE MORAL CRITICISM OF THE GOSPELS.

MUCH of the present controversy which agitates theological circles can never lead to any satisfactory issue, simply because the disputants pursue such opposite and contradictory methods of inquiry, that the result is only a wider divergence from each other, instead of the discovery of some way of reconciling existing differences. No satisfactory amount of agreement can possibly be attained unless some common ground be recognized as a starting-point by both sides, and both are agreed as to the "method" by which truth should be sought. If in the estimation of one party the last test of truth is some external authority—of priest, or church,

or book—while the other regards the human soul as the final ground of appeal, agreement is simply impossible, and disputation but a waste of time. Remembering these things, we can hope in what follows to secure the sympathy only of those whose point of departure and method of inquiry are common with our own.

It is incident to the nature of all reasoning that something has to be taken for granted; and even if it were not so, we could not always commence at the very beginning. In considering the value of the four Gospels as a record of the life and work of Jesus, we shall assume that, for purposes of critical investigation, they occupy the common ground of all other literature; that they are amenable to fair and searching criticism; that they possess no prescriptive exemption from it, and must stand or fall by it.

To approach the Gospels committed to any theory of special supernatural inspiration and infallibility, not only summarily settles the whole question at issue, but at once forbids criticism by making it impertinent and irreverent; and suggests a host of doubts, which surround the assumed infallibility with irreconcilable inconsistencies. Even if we grant that the Gospels may be so infallibly inspired, this is a quality which a rigid critical investigation ought to make apparent, not one which should be taken for granted to begin with, and made the determining element of the whole method of inquiry. Surely we most honour these or any other writings, and pay the most reverential compliment to their authors, when we faithfully test them by the faculties which God has given us; regarding them as appealing for their reception to our reason and judgment, rather than as overruling our individuality and claiming merely the unreasoning obedience of slaves.

Maintaining this ground, we are often met by such questions as these. "What then have you left us? If certitude be impossible upon the ground of an assumed infallible inspiration, where shall we seek for it? If there be much in the Old and New Testaments—even in the Gospels—which a just and searching criticism sets aside, how shall we know what to retain? Is it possible to assure ourselves of what Christ really did say? and, if so, are we justified in investing each distinct utterance of his with the sanction of divine authority?" It is these questions we propose to

answer, as clearly and briefly as possible, from our point of view. And if we demand from our readers that they set aside pre-conceived opinions and foregone conclusions, it is not that we would weaken the authority of Christ in them, but strengthen it. It is not that we love Christ less, but truth more.

The four Gospels present themselves to us as four histories, more or less distinct, of the same person. But a close investigation into details reveals the fact, that while in all the broad outline-features of person, character, and work, they agree with each other sufficiently well; yet in many matters, and those not always of minor importance, they contain numerous discrepancies and contradictions which can neither be reconciled nor explained away. Supposing the books to have been written, each by some one person, we are therefore compelled to conclude either that the authors must have been untruthful or mistaken, or unable from lapse of memory to distinguish always between the words of Christ and their own thoughts, or the glosses of cotemporary tradition; in any of which cases they could not have been infallibly inspired. There is, indeed, another supposition, sometimes resorted to by men who fail to see that its daring blasphemy is a fatal objection to its truth; namely this, "that these very discrepancies and contradictions were allowed by the Holy Ghost to occur in the Gospels for the purpose of trying our faith,"—their notion of faith being, that it is a faculty that

> "Laughs at impossibilities,
> And cries, 'It shall be done!'"

If such a monstrous theory as this could for a moment be regarded as even probable, it would sacrifice the infallibility it seeks to save; for contradictions could not be infallible even on the authority of the Holy Ghost. But it is by no means certain that the Gospels were each composed by single and independent authors whose names they bear, or by any other distinct persons. In the absence of definite evidence on the subject, two other theories at least offer themselves for our consideration. Some have thought the three first Gospels to be independent translations and amplifications of some one original Gospel, possibly written in Hebrew by Matthew. Others contend that they are simply slow, separate crystallizations of floating traditions respecting Christ, each

bearing the local colouring of the place and circumstances in which it arose. The fourth Gospel is left to be accounted for separately as of manifestly later origin, and bearing marks of having been written for other than purely historical purposes.

Here, then, are three possible theories of the origin of these books. Under the first, it is difficult to account for their great similarity, not of subject-matter merely, but descending to words and phrases to an extent that is fatal to the idea of distinct authorship. In the second, this sameness is easily accounted for; it is natural if they have a common origin; but what of the differences and contradictions? Do not these explode the theory at once? The third seems the more probable account of the way in which the Gospels originated; for we find that very early, distinct parties in the church accepted some Gospels whilst they rejected others. The Ebionites clung especially to the Gospel of Matthew; the Marcionites to that of Luke. In Cilicia there was a Gospel of Peter; in Alexandria, a Gospel of the Egyptians. Many early traditions aver that Peter was responsible for the Gospel of Mark, and Paul for that of Luke. There were also many other Gospels which arose in different places, embodying more or less of accurate tradition respecting Jesus, as is evident from the prologue to the Gospel of Luke, and from the existence of many so-called "apocryphal Gospels." Some of these are lost, and others remain to this day, containing, amid much absurdity, many things common to our New-Testament Gospels, and some sayings attributed to Christ, and not found elsewhere, which have great internal evidence in favour of their genuineness. If the Gospels were formed in this way, all is clear. We can understand why verbal likenesses, difference of conception, contradiction in the statement of facts, indications of personal prejudice, and want of chronological sequence, should all be found surrounding and modifying the story of the one wondrous and heroic life. Seeing all this, not only as something that exists, but is perfectly natural and to be expected under the circumstances, with no theory of inspiration to patronize and protect, we have no longer to strive to reconcile the Holy Spirit with itself, but simply to sift the divine truth, by such verifying faculty as is at our command, from all the temporal, human, and local

material with which we find it mixed. But let all this be as it may, of this fact there can be no doubt, that questions of theology and Christian ethics can no longer be settled by appealing to the authority of verbally-inspired records. It only remains for us, if Christ is to be any longer our Master and Lord, to exercise our unbiassed critical judgment as to what he said and did. But in many cases this cannot be determined with certainty, at least at present, by the ordinary processes of literary criticism; and if it could, the processes and method of such a criticism are not always appreciable to common minds. What is needed for such is, that they should be able to see that sufficient certitude for practical Christian faith and life can be reached by applying their own strong common sense and moral consciousness to the analysis of the records; and that, without committing themselves to the absurdity and treachery of a professed belief in theories which are at once contrary to the spirit of the age, and paralyzing to the highest faculties of the soul.

The existence of Jesus, at the time and place indicated in the Gospels, is now considered, even by the most sceptical critics, to be beyond doubt, and for our present purpose may be taken for granted without incurring any charge of undue assumption. And although there are still grave differences respecting his person and his relation to the human race that are not likely to be definitely settled at present, still, on all hands, it is felt that at the least he must have been exceptionally high and noble in character and life. For although the peculiar juncture at which he lived, and the state of the world at his time,—so much needing the inspiration of a new faith, and so specially adapted, politically speaking, for its dissemination,—may go a long way to account for his influence upon all succeeding ages, yet that influence could not have originated except in a pure and heroic soul, which touched at many points both the Infinite and the heart of man.

But we must also assume, what will not so readily be granted by many, that his nature was essentially and purely human; that he was a man, and not a God; that he was strictly within the limits of the possibly human in this mundane sphere. We know that there is much to be said on the other side, and we have listened to it with care and

reverence, giving to it all the weight which its logic and evidence seemed imperatively to demand; but with this result, that for us Christ is nought if he be not our human brother, "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;" and that nothing of divine revealing or of human strength, of divine pity or of human salvation, seems to be gained by lifting Jesus out of the measures of our humanity, or putting us so far away from God as to need the sacrifice of a divine personage before we can behold His face and live. But this is not the place to give reasons for the hope that is in us, and it would not have been thus far referred to, but that to leave the converse supposition for a moment allowable, would be to stamp presumption and irreverence upon all we have to say.

All our references, arguments, and suppositions, will be based upon the existing "Authorized Version" of the Gospels; which, whatever its faults, still represents the original with sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, as we have no wish to introduce anything into the discussion of our subject which will not be understood by readers of ordinary intelligence and culture.

Before we enter upon the more detailed treatment of our question, we must premise a few general principles which will tend to make what follows clearer of apprehension.

No human character is at all points perfectly consistent with itself. It may be a great character; may stand out quite exceptionally from the mass; may indeed be relatively perfect; and yet not always quite consistent with itself. We have no right to expect perfect consistency; perhaps no right to demand it. Human nature involves limitation, not in power only, but also in knowledge and experience; and such limitation implies more or less of inconsistency. But in applying this to Jesus of Nazareth as portrayed in the Gospels, we must not forget that, in the case of a character which has become historical, and which is known to us only by sources of limited and perhaps doubtful information, and that information given by men who were manifestly less than their hero, and only partially understood many of his words which they reported, this inconsistency may have been much less than it seems to us now. We have often only the words, but seldom the circumstances, and never the looks and tones which gave to those words more than

half their significancy. On the whole, the character of Jesus was doubtless greater than the record paints it—higher, diviner, more spiritual. That which his followers would understand and appreciate least of all would be the most spiritual side, both of his character and teaching; and this also would present the fewest salient points likely to be conserved by oral tradition; and thus, as it respects the more spiritual part of Christ's teaching and work, the record will tend to defectiveness or to the materialization of spiritual ideas. But as it respects the more external parts of Christ's life and the more material elements of his character, the contrary effect would ensue. These the disciples would readily grasp, as appealing most powerfully to their own unspiritual state of mind, and these would be the points upon which tradition would seize with the greatest avidity; so that on this side the record will tend to excess and exaggeration; and therefore, after all, it is but a very inadequate portrait of Jesus which the Gospels present to us.

Every great teacher and reformer must work within certain well-defined conditions. Whilst working mainly for the absolute and the future, he is unavoidably modified by his relations to the past and the present; often, indeed most so, by what is merely relative and transient therein, or purely belonging to time and place and nation. When these have all passed away, and his words and deeds are judged by the spirit of another age, the customs of another people, and the genius of another civilization, they are not easily understood. Many of the relations in which he saw things can no longer be traced. In fact, the relative has lost its significance; and instead of being a help, as once it was, has become a hindrance; the absolute alone remains clear; and we ought not to mourn if we can no longer make the living soul animate the dead body of ages ago. Those who contend for the absolute Deity of Christ, will of course think his words and deeds to be exempt from these common laws; but we, who gladly call him Saviour and brother, and look to him, not as an object of worship, but as friend and example, do not think so; and certainly the records, standing as they do to-day, the centre-point of so much angry controversy, and conflicting and irreconcilable interpretation, are witnesses on our side. We hesitate not, then, to affirm, that Jesus was subject to those human limitations within

which all hero-souls must work for God and their brethren; and in the study of his character and teachings we must be prepared to find that he owed much to the past, as all true and wise reformers must. To ignore the past in our efforts to benefit our kind, is not reform, but revolution; and Jesus was no revolutionist. He continually pointed out his connection with the past, and took every advantage of the combined wisdom, thought and experience of humanity, as far as they came in his way. He quoted from old writers, and applied their declarations unhesitatingly to himself. He acknowledged fealty to old laws, and made continual use of the proverbial wisdom of his nation. Nor did he rudely sever himself from his own age and time. This would have been to cut off his only chance of moral influence and leadership. He began his public life by an acknowledged connection with John the Baptist; receiving baptism at his hands, and taking John's cry, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," as the starting-point for his own teaching respecting the "kingdom of God." And not seldom do we find him using phrases and ideas which can be traced to the current beliefs and literature of his time. But he owed most—certainly what was finest and purest in him—to his own spiritual insight, to his personal intuitions of truth, and his individual experience of communion with God. Here lay his great strength, the true secret of his power over others, and of his permanent influence in the world. In this he stands alone. The world has not been without heroes, and true, far-seeing souls; but at the name of Jesus all these must bow, for it is above every name as the synonym for whatever is truly human in thought and feeling, and for the realization of "how high the tides of Divine Life can rise in the soul of man."

If we attempt to analyze the teachings of Christ—not to aim at too great precision—we may say roundly that to the past he owed his Starting-point and his Method. He accepted for himself Judaism and its teachings of Monotheism. He appealed to the Jewish Scriptures, and quoted them as authorities and as his justification of his position and claims. He regarded his mission to be the fulfilment of Judaism, not certainly in any material sense, but as leading to the true theocracy, the kingdom of God not of this world, of which Judaism had been so long, and was now so inade-

quately, the material type. To his own time he owed the Form and Body of his teaching. He started from the ideas of John, and with his baptism as the initiative rite into the "kingdom of God." He largely accepted current ideas of demonology, of a personal Satan, of possession and exorcism. He used the current words respecting a divine judgment-day, with pomp and form and ceremony, at the end of the world. His teachings had the sententious, aphoristic, proverbial, and parabolic forms of his age; and not improbably he used the ordinary language of his time to express his ideas respecting his coming kingdom and the end of the Jewish dispensation and the world; if, indeed, a just and high moral criticism should compel us in the end to credit him, rather than the evangelists, with these sayings. It is not at all unlikely that could we become better acquainted with the manners, customs, modes of thought and speech, and know with more exactness the prevalent religious opinions of his time, very much clearer light would be thrown upon the whole of this subject. Some indication of what might be expected in this direction is seen in the fact, that not a little of the body and form of the teachings of Jesus is traceable to the book of Daniel and the book of Enoch; both of which were apocalyptic compositions current and popular in his age and country. And although there is no reason for supposing that Jesus saw either Philo or his works, yet as they belong to the same period, in as far as they present points of contact with the words of Christ, they serve to shew that he used the common phrases, illustrations, and conceptions of his time for the embodiment of his thoughts. Long ere Christ appeared, the Jews had begun to cherish hopes of the Messiah; and this Messianic idea had, years before the birth of Christ, taken consistency and definite form to such an extent that it had become a faith rather than a hope; a faith, with its own especial phraseology, which had all the force of technicalities, and would not readily be accommodated to other subjects. When Jesus once became possessed with the conviction that he was the Messiah, he would naturally and appropriately, in speaking of himself and his work, adopt the terminology which had become consecrated by the nation's longing and hope; although doubtless at the same time he would breathe into it a higher spirit, and give it a wider significancy than before. With-

out at all derogating from the real dignity and greatness of Jesus, we may say that he owed thus much, at least, to the past and to his own time.

But it is to his own spiritual insight and personal experience of communion with God, the fount of all truth, that we are to trace the essential Spirit and Life of his words and character; those things that were far in advance of what Judaism had ever realized or even indicated; those great religious ideas and ethical principles which he affirmed with so much clearness and so little admixture of the particular conceptions of historic Judaism or the prejudices of his own age; those steadily shining lights of a deep inspiration which burned through all his utterances, and glorified all his life. He gathered up all the precious truths of the past and unfolded new stores for the future; connecting them all with the living God and Father of men; shewing their relations to the brotherhood of man; making them all wide as humanity in their application and authority; and giving them, as their ultimate ground of certitude, the imperishable needs and instincts of the human soul. This it was that constituted him, not simply a reformer, or even a new declarer of ethical laws and ethical sanctions, but an inspired religious teacher, a prophet and high-priest among his brethren, a Son of God, a Saviour of men.

And now, having premised so much, we may turn intelligently to the question, "What is the organon or test by which, for all practical purposes, we may sufficiently assure ourselves what are the words of Christ?" or, what is of more importance, "What was the essence of those teachings which fell from his lips,—clothed sometimes perhaps in symbol and parable of local and temporary origin,—the meaning of which change of time and circumstance have made it difficult to discover?' This test is the application of what we shall call "a high moral criticism" to the four Gospels. If these records are not to be taken unquestioned and simply as they stand, this moral criticism will need to be applied even after all verbal and literary criticism has finished its work. And without disparaging literary and verbal criticism, let us say that he who faithfully applies a high moral criticism, and practically accepts its results, if not altogether independent of these other kinds, is still far removed from the arena of their present strife, and may calmly wait, unin-

jured in faith and unhindered in work, until they have agreed upon their results.

The first element in this moral criticism is a Generalization of the Character of Jesus; of his moral character as a man, his moral aims as a prophet and teacher, his moral influence as a religious reformer. We say, a generalization of his Character, as distinguished from a dogmatic opinion respecting his Person, which latter is too commonly insisted upon as an indispensable requisite to understanding his words or his work. Whatever Jesus was in himself as to his essential nature, whether "very God of very God," or "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," cannot alter a whit the value of his words. If they are true, all the limitations of human nature cannot make them false. If they are false, all the essential Deity dwelling in him could not make them true. So also of his works. If they were good and right, they were none the less so if he were man, none the more so if he were God. Not so of his example. If he were God, the power of his example over us is reduced to an almost unpractical minimum. If a man, we also are men, and it is no longer a mockery to bid us walk in his steps. But we are reminded that "it is by virtue of his Deity only that he has authority over us." This again is a mistake; for if we did but understand it, there is no real authority over men but that of "the beautiful, the true and the good;" and wheresoever these unfold themselves, though in the life of a little child, whosoever sees and understands is authoritatively commanded to worship and obey, by all the laws of the universe. We repeat, then, that it is a clear generalization of Christ's character, rather than a clear idea respecting his person, that is the first element of a high moral criticism.

For the materials necessary to such generalization we must turn to the Gospels, and we can do so with the fullest confidence that for this purpose they are sufficiently trustworthy. After setting aside all their differences, there remains so much that they possess in common—not in words merely, and the detailed statement of historical fact, which is but of secondary importance, but in spirit and tendency—that no room remains to question what the general character of Jesus must have been. He was deeply reverential toward God. His was an essentially religious nature; and the sense

of his own dependence upon God, and of the Divine presence as always with him, was unbroken. He was profoundly conscious of being divinely inspired, tracing his works no less than his words to the indwelling spirit of the Father. To God he acknowledged his responsibility, but to no other power, except in the most superficial manner to the political authority of his time; not at all to the religious authority of the ecclesiastical powers. His idea of God was not that of a mere local Deity, or an especial protector of the Jewish nation and inspirer of the Jewish faith; but as the Father in heaven of all the children of men on earth, and the Author of all true faith and goodness wherever found. His faith in God was deep as his own nature, and unshaken as it was deep. He conceived the government of the whole world as in the hand of God, the meanest things alike with the greatest working out His will. With these principles as the foundation-pillars of his soul, and surrounded by a decayed faith and degenerate men, it is no wonder that he heard the promptings of his own nature as —what they were indeed—a divine call to an especial mission. On this subject he had no doubt, or if he had it never appears. He believed in his work, and felt conscious of his capability to fulfil it; hence the self-containedness, the fearlessness and the dignity of all his life. He did not quail before the turbulence of the mob, nor lose his quiet sense of power and superiority amid the arrogance and scorn of Pharisees and lawyers and priests. Sustained by a conscious sense of authority, there was no hesitation in his manner, no doubt in his utterances. He opposed without qualification or apology his own dictum to the time-honoured law of his nation, saying, "It was said in the old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you;" thus putting, on his own authority, his clear intuitions of right and wrong before the acknowledged precepts of the Mosaic law. He was clear-sighted and far-seeing; it did not escape him that the principles upon which he proclaimed the coming "kingdom of God" were incompatible with the continuance of the Jewish religious conceptions and ecclesiastical polity. He saw the logical issues of what he taught, and did not disguise what he saw. Con-

sciously he laid down principles and a method of thinking which, if successful, could, in their ultimate development, only result in removing religion and religious sanctions from the domain of external authority altogether, and basing them upon the primary facts and instincts of the human soul. It was not by any logical or metaphysical path that he seemed to reach the truth; neither of these tendencies marked his mind: rather was he intuitional; he saw immediately into the calm, clear eyes of truth, and accepted what he saw. Hence his "I say unto you," expresses his clear sense of the relations of things, which in his mind was synonymous with direct divine revelation. And yet he is always simple-minded, single-eyed and pure of nature; he never descends to pretentiousness, or seeks influence by the assumption of false authority.

His relations toward his disciples were of the simplest kind. He was their Teacher and Master, but no less their brother and friend. He taught them as though they were children, and bore with their indocility and waywardness with a most marvellous patience and enduring love. Toward men in general he was kind, pitiful and forgiving; his whole public life was spent in going about doing good at the cost of a constant self-denial, often met only by derision, opposition and scorn. He was pure in life as in heart; no man could charge him with the prevalent vices and weaknesses of his time. All his sympathies were intensely human in themselves, and manifested in most gracious ways, and without respect to the social position of those he sought to bless; including even the most miserable, the victims of infectious and deadly disease, and the most degraded social outcasts. And when he could no longer live with truthfulness and honour, or without compromising the mission which it was the aim of his whole life to fulfil, he knew how to die without sacrificing either the dignity or the stainlessness of his character.

If the records do not teach these things, and such as these, respecting the character of Jesus, they teach nothing; and taking them all in all, no other character but this, and such as this, can be generalized from them. And there is no sufficient reason to doubt that such was the character of Jesus of Nazareth.

Having attained to such an idea of the character of Jesus,

we next inquire, "What have we a reasonable right to expect from such a character?" We are justified in expecting an average amount of consistency with itself; and the higher we estimate the character, the more of moral force and value we include in our generalization, the more perfect shall we expect that consistency to be. Whatever of word or deed in the record directly conflicts with this, will ask our grave attention to decide whether, all things considered, it is like Jesus, or probable from what we know of his character; or whether it is rendered questionable by being couched in some peculiarity of the national literature, or connected with some temporary or local allusion or incident which may tend to cloud its true meaning. Is it more likely to be a comment of the disciple, or a word of the Master? Does it belong rather to the point of departure in the past, or to the body and form of cotemporary civilization or opinion? or is it to be considered as a veritable part of the essential spirit of the Teacher? We know how inadequate all this will seem at first sight, but its inadequacy disappears when it is practically applied; for it settles at once the value of all quotations from the Old Testament, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, of the doctrines of demonology, exorcism, a personal Satan, everlasting punishment, and a future day of general judgment at the end of the world, with many other points equally belonging to the customs or conceptions of the age; leaving, in fact, very few difficulties unresolved. And even could anything be proved to be a veritable statement of Jesus which does not upon due investigation commend itself as the truth, but rather conflicts, not only with his general character and teachings, but with some fact of science, or the manifest nature of things, that thing must not be accepted as authoritative; must not for the truth's sake—nay, must not for Christ's sake—as being by its very error inconsistent with his character, and discordant with his aims.

To such reasoning as this it is easy to make the objection that "it is 'reasoning in a circle,' inasmuch as it generalizes the character from the record, and then uses the character as a means to test what in the record is to be considered as verified, and what to be rejected." But such an objection has only apparent force; for it is admitted that, as a whole, the Gospels are trustworthy, and sufficiently reliable to give

a general conception of what the character of Jesus really was. But, nevertheless, as opposed to any possible theory of the infallible inspiration of the Gospels, they contain much that is inconsistent and irreconcilable, and some things which conflict with the absolute moralities, and with the scientifically possible, and which, if they could be traced definitely to Jesus, would interfere with his authority as a divine revealer, and lessen his character and value as a religious teacher. And we are justified, by common sense and logic alike, in generalizing a character from the record as a whole, and then, by that character, testing the validity of those occasional particulars in the record which seem to conflict with historical, ethical, scientific, or spiritual possibilities.

If it be further objected that "the whole subject is a matter of testimony, and that if the writers of the Gospels were not trustworthy in all things they were not trustworthy in anything, and that they were surely competent to give evidence of what their eyes saw and their ears heard," we can only say that such objections are merely superficial, and betray great ignorance of the laws of evidence, of the effect of time upon the memory, and of the influence of prejudice, pre-conception and general opinions upon the recollections of even good men. Besides, they ignore entirely the literary disadvantages of the time; the low conception of literary morality which belonged to that and many subsequent ages; and the most noteworthy fact, that it is not yet by any means proven that our present Gospels were written, in their present form, by eye and ear witnesses of the life and words of Jesus. It is, indeed, all a question of evidence—evidence gathered from every possible source, and sifted and classified with the most religious care; but it is not all a question of the testimony of so many witnesses; there is yet remaining this other question, "Who is to vouch for the witnesses?"

Another element in this high moral criticism is, the Test of Practical Application. Jesus was no dreamy theosophist, no mystic theologian, no hair-splitting theorizer about God and man. In these respects he stood clearly distinct from the schools of his nation and age. His simple creed was practical goodness, evolved from the ideas of Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood. His life was practical bene-

volence. His influence was the practical elevation of those who gave themselves up to his guidance. Many things may be doubtful, but this bearing of the general spirit of his teachings and life upon the common conditions and daily experience of men is quite clear. We naturally expect his precepts to be of such a nature as to be practically realizable in life. Just such the great majority are; it is only very occasionally that we meet with an injunction which it would be impossible to carry out with safety even in the present state of society; as, "If a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also;" "Take no thought for the morrow what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink," and such like; which upon the face of them, in our English translation of the Gospels, present difficulties, arising in part, no doubt, from an oriental, hyperbolical manner of speech in which he occasionally indulged; in part also from the inadequate manner in which the English translation represents the original Greek, but the spirit of which is easy to discover by whomsoever has open eyes, and not difficult to apply to the exigencies of life. Of course, the impossibility of practical application would be fatal to any moral injunction, come from whom it might, and supported by whatsoever sanction. But this test is sometimes rather more difficult of application than it seems; for we often succeed in persuading ourselves that the perfect rules of ethics are very well for a perfect state of society, and only possible therein, and so excuse ourselves from fealty thereto, and charge the lawgiver with imposing an impracticable code, when the difficulty really lies only in our wilfulness and stupidity, forgetting, as we do, that it is only by striving after the perfect through imperfect conditions, that it can at length be realized. Besides, it is of the nature of law, both moral and physical, that it will not accommodate itself to the whims, or weaknesses, or wilfulnesses, of imperfect men; it only promulgates itself and declares its sanctions, and then goes right on, leaving us to obey or no as we will.

A further element in this criticism of which we speak, is the Test of our own Ideal of life and thought. Christ were nothing to the world, or to us, if his spiritual teachings were not far before our actual attainments. He would, in that case, cease to be a prophet and leader, and, in the plan of God, must be superseded by a new Redeemer, with a

new evangel of peace and strength and hope. So also of ourselves; we too have an ideal, ever far above the actual thing we are; the more manful and true we become, the more are we conscious of an "inner self" "moving about in worlds unrealized," worlds not of dream and phantasy, but of bright reality, awaiting only our "manifestation" as "sons of God," to dawn upon us with beauty wide as our hopes, strength deep as our energies, and life boundless as our divinest ambition. Not always is this consciousness of the "possible" and the "to be" with us; "the world is too much with us" for this; but when it is, then the springs of our life flow afresh, and we gird up our loins and tighten our sandal-girths for a higher ascent up the mount of God, feeling that every step brings us nearer to our inheritance. This ideal may not always be clear to us as to details; it becomes clearer only as we rise; but we can always see somewhat of the way above us, up the luminous track where the feet of God's elect ones have gone before us, and we have some general idea of the good land we are called to possess. Is it not reasonable to expect that the teachings of Jesus our brother, who realized so much, will find points of deep inner harmony with what we feel is possible to us, which our eyes see the more and our hearts yearn after the more, the more we become "filled with the fulness of God"? And if he should enjoin somewhat, or seem to do so, which clashes with our life's highest ideal, what remains for us but to say, "that is not like him who won so much and became so great;" rather it is like the gloss of one of those who "forsook him and fled," or who misinterpreted his thought, if not his word, than of the Master, who in pursuit of his life's highest ideal did not shrink from the cross.

But it may be said that "all this leads towards the conclusion that we are to judge for ourselves of what is Christly in these Gospels, and what is not." Precisely so; that is just what we are coming to; for we think the highest element in this moral criticism of which we speak, is emphatically the test of our own open nature, our enlightened reason, our matured judgment, our quickened conscience. And, after all, what deeper or higher test than this can there be? If it be said, "Inspiration; infallible records; a church-selected canon; or a common consent called Orthodoxy; or a 'decision' of the law officers of the Crown; or a

'Declaration' signed by twelve thousand clergymen, or a few scores of third-rate men of science;" we answer—No, no; none of these are higher or deeper. "Unto our own Master we stand or fall;" and respecting this and many other things, we must think for ourselves, and exercise our own faculties. We regard the four Gospels as singularly free from matter which is repulsive to the common sense of right and wrong with which God has gifted his children; perhaps they are not quite so free from what is irreconcilable with our reason and matured intelligence. God has given us all our faculties, not to be ignored or falsified, but to be used; and, in common with all our nature, they need saving and sanctifying; which can only be done by rightful use and free exercise, and not at all by their conspiring to call light darkness, and evil good, in the name of God and of his Christ. To the records of the words of Christ, then, we must bring these faculties in humility, and by their aid must strive to strip from his pure thought all the littlenesses and narrownesses of the past, and to see how far we can accept it as before God, and for the highest uses of life. Talk not to us of human pride, and the vain boastfulness of human reason! Where, if not here, should man be humbled in the dust, when he feels that he cannot be helped or saved by the word or deed of another at all, not even of the holy Christ, except in so far as his own reason accepts, his conscience approves, and his whole nature assimilates their power.

And now what remains to be said, further than to indicate the personal conditions which are needful that this task may be well and duly performed? We have spoken of it as the application of a high moral criticism to the four Gospels. It needs a high moral character, and lofty moral aims; needs these, not only to do justice to Jesus—that is no immediate concern of ours—but to do justice to ourselves; that we do not fail in our pursuit through fatal mistake as to the means. A blind man could better appreciate colours, or a deaf man music, than a bad man could understand Jesus. Doubtless we have found that many things in him which once, to say the least, seemed enigmatical to us, have grown clearer as we have grown more rational, more wise, more pure. We do not apply a high moral criticism to the Gospels in order to try Christ, that he may be acquitted or condemned at the bar of our judg-

ment; he has gone to his reward, and his works do follow him. Our purpose should be to unseal for ourselves fountains of heavenly wisdom and spiritual inspiration; and so our great incentive should be a pure and single-minded love of Truth, not with a mere æsthetic affection, as for a beautiful thing, but as a man woos a maid to be all his own, to bless all his days; so should we seek the Truth for a possession and a glory, as the constant material for character, the spiritual bread of life; should seek her, not only along the walks of meditative retirement, but in the busy ways of practical godliness; for Truth loves to gleam upon her votaries from grateful and loving eyes, and to arise with her soft, mild light upon the dark, dusty ways of daily life. In doing good to men, Christ's words will find many interpreters and many illustrations; and as we come to know more the human hearts of our fellows, we shall enter more deeply into that mighty heart, its joys and sorrows, its agonies and triumphs, which beat so truly for us all so long ago. If we would understand him, and be able to know his words when they fall on our ears, and distinguish them amid "the babel of old Jew-sounds and unbaptized heathenisms" which fill the churches called by his name, we must learn to trust our own highest nature in its highest moments; to trust, in the reverent use thereof, the faculties God has given us, knowing that thereby we trust the wisdom and goodness of the Father in heaven, Christ's Father and ours, whose light lightens every man that comes into the world, and in which light if we walk, we shall not stumble in the darkness, because our whole soul shall be full of light. Herein and hereby we shall attain to deliverance, a deliverance from all inner discord and anarchy; not crushing an enlightened intellect to satisfy a darkened conscience, nor agonizing ourselves to call darkness light, and light darkness. We shall be delivered from chronic fear, to which so many "through all their lifetime are subject to bondage,"—fear of man, which bringeth a snare; fear of inquiry, which "is the inner heart of unbelief," the essential soul of atheism; fear for the Truth—why, O men, should we fear that harm shall come to Truth? Cannot Truth look after herself? or rather, Does not God care for His own?

Such a philosophy as we have taught does this service to truth in the sight of all men. It places all truth upon

a common level, the level of its own merits. It does not sanction some truths by special supernaturalism, and leave others unsanctioned. It does not place some upon the pedestal of inspiration, and leave others to be trampled under foot of common men. There is not a heathen truth and a Christian truth, a natural truth and a revealed truth. All truth is God's, of God, and from God, and immortal as God. It leaves high ethics to stand upon their own truth and worth; they do not stand by any other thing, or fall with any other thing. The love of God does not depend upon the first chapter of Genesis, nor the grace of Christ upon the slaughter of the Canaanites, nor the happiness of the blessed upon the eternal torment of the wicked, nor the immortality of the soul upon the universality of the flood. Any given truth is true, whatsoever else is false, and would remain true if left to stand alone.

This higher moral criticism is comparatively easy of application, not to the Gospels alone, but to the whole biblical records, new and old; to all books and institutions; to all organizations and customs of life; and, what makes it of special value, it is not dependent upon scholastic lore and literary culture. It is within the reach of all honest and trustful souls. We are no longer the slaves of a critical apparatus, or of a special interpreter, and have no need to cling to theories of inspiration or interpretation with the blind energy of despair, lest some new or more trenchant criticism should cut away the foundation-pillars of our hope, and we should be left to say, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." We shall be ready for all progress, and shall welcome all assured results, for all will only make our prospect the clearer, and our assurance of faith the firmer.

We know that all this leaves much unsettled that many people like to have settled for them; but it is better to hesitate about a truth, than to believe a falsehood; better to feel and confess our ignorance, than to be self-conceited and dogmatic, with spurious and fallacious knowledge. If we trust in God, we can afford to leave many things unsettled, until He calls us to "come up higher," and to pass through that gate where the "shadow" stands "who keeps the keys of all the creeds," and who, it may be, will usher us into a higher and wider knowledge, as he assuredly will into a deeper and fuller life. T. W. F.

III.—RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ, Septimo sæculo antiquiores. Volumen primum. Romæ ex officina libraria Pontificia. 1862.

Roma Sotteranea Cristiana. Tomo I. con Atlante di XL Tavole. Descritta ed illustrata del Cavaliere G. B. de Rossi. Roma Cromo-Litographia Pontificia. 1864.

Fabiola, a Tale of the Roman Catacombs. London. 1854.

Letters from Rome to Friends in England. By the Rev. J. W. Burgon. 1862.

One of the characteristics of the present day is the passion for examining the repositories of the dead. The profession of the τυμβωρύχος (tomb-breaker), which anciently belonged to the lowest class of villains, combining burglary with sacrilege, is now exercised by grave F.S.A.s and graver divines. From Orkney to Cornwall, wherever a *houe* or a barrow varies the surface of the ground, the digger comes, armed with spade, pickaxe and crowbar, and rudely breaks the repose of countless centuries. If a skeleton is found, his skull is consigned to the ethnologist, who measures its contents and facial angle, estimates the amount of brain which its owner enjoyed, and as he finds him to have been macrocephalic or brachycephalic, assigns him his place among the ancient inhabitants of Britain. His weapons and his personal ornaments are exhibited in the cases of a museum, and according to their material he is referred to the stone, the bronze or the iron age. Carried on with a scientific object, and not for the gratification of an idle curiosity, these researches cannot be blamed. It is only from the contents of their sepulchres that we can gain any idea of races of men who have left us no written records of themselves, or guess at the events of prehistoric times. We do not expect very definite results from such a source, but these researches have already had one beneficial effect. They have compelled many, who clung to the notion that man's whole history on the earth was comprised within the limits of Hebrew chronology, to admit that a period of indefinite length must have preceded the earliest historical record.

While antiquaries north of the Alps have been busy with the surface of the soil, the Romans have been diligently exploring the wonderful labyrinth of subterranean sepulchres with which the neighbourhood of the Eternal City is undermined. It is to the credit of Pius IX. that, notwithstanding the loss of so large a portion of his territory, he has steadily pursued the work of exploring the Catacombs and the tombs on the Appian Way.* He has been fortunate in being able to employ the services of the Cavaliere Rossi, to whom we owe the two works which we have placed at the head of this article. To an immense erudition he joins a thorough practical knowledge of subterranean Rome, such as none of the former explorers, not even Bosio, Aringhi or Marchi, possessed. He has had free access to all the documents contained in the vast repositories of the Vatican library. And he has been aided by his brother, Michele Stefano Rossi, a geologist and an architect, in describing the construction of the Catacombs and their various internal arrangements, as well as the nature of the soil in which they have been formed. The Latin volume treats of the Christian inscriptions previous to the seventh century, according to the division into *subdialian* (those on the surface) and *subterranean*. The Italian contains the history of catacomb research from the earliest times, with a detailed account of the cemetery of St. Calixtus on the Appian Way. It is proposed to carry on, in volumes alternately published, the account of the inscriptions and the history of the explorations. Besides this, the indefatigable Cavaliere publishes a Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana, in which his most recent discoveries are from time to time made known. The whole work, in both its parts, will be very voluminous. The author's style is eminently Italian—that is, diffuse. The amplitude of sonorous phrase, which produces a grand effect from the lips of a Roman or Tuscan pulpit orator, is wearisome in a work from which the reader seeks instruction only. It would be a great gain if the Romans could learn from the French to write in a terse, compact and clear style. We fear this is not likely to be the effect of their recent acquaintance. During their former occupation of Rome, the French introduced the divi-

* The Emperor of the French has also employed a body of artists on the Catacombs, the results of which are exhibited in the splendid work of M. Perret, more showy, but less faithful, than that of the Cavaliere de Rossi.

sion of the day into twice twelve hours, but when they retired, the Romans destroyed the French clocks, and returned to their old method of reckoning twenty-four hours from sunset, according to which nobody in Rome knows exactly what o'clock it is.

As the first step towards a clear conception of subterranean Rome, M. S. de Rossi gives a geological sketch of the origin of the soil. Its lowest strata are the tranquil deposits of the Subappenine Sea; but while yet covered by the waters, these strata were disturbed and broken up by the eruptions of submarine volcanoes. The results of these eruptions appear under various forms, sometimes a light tufa, the *tophus* of the classics, of sufficient hardness for quarrying and building, sometimes a granular tufa, sometimes a congeries of grains, forming the *pozzolana*, which affords an excellent cement, and which the ancients designate as *arena*. It was long supposed that the Christians availed themselves, for shelter and for worship, of the excavations from which this sand had been removed for building purposes. There can be no doubt that long before the Christian era such excavations existed and lay open. Cicero* speaks of *arenariæ* beyond the Esquiline Gate, into one of which Asilius was led and murdered. Suetonius, in his Life of Nero (c. 48), mentions that Phaon, his freedman, suggesting he should save himself by taking refuge "in specum egestæ arenæ," the fugitive emperor "negavit se vivum sub terram iturum." These words have been thought to prove that the arenariæ were places of interment, but this they by no means imply. The bodies of the poor were thrown into pits on the Esquiline Hill, but these had no connection with the arenariæ; nor is there any reason to believe that the old sand-pits were used as burial-places by the Romans, with whom at this time cremation was the more common practice. Had they been used for interments, inscriptions and memorials, clearly Pagan, would have been found in them. From the circumstance that the entrance to the catacomb which adjoins the Church of St. Sebastian without the walls, on the Appian Way, was really an excavation in the pozzolana sand, arose the popular notion, that all the catacombs were of the same kind. But this is by

* Pro. Cluent. 13. al. 37.

no means the case; the majority are in the tufa, and these clearly cannot, from their dimensions and the intricacy of the passages, have been originally quarries. The discovery of the fallacy of this opinion led, as usual, to a reaction, and the Padre Marchi, an eminent Roman antiquary, maintained that none of the catacombs had been originally arenariæ, or even excavated in the pozzolana, an opinion contradicted by the fact, that in recent times many of them have been destroyed for the purpose of extracting the sand. Had they not in the first instance been of this kind, it is not probable that they would have been so frequently designated in the biographies of saints and martyrs as *cryptæ arenariæ* or *arenaria*.* The name *catacomb*, which suggests to the mind of one who has not visited them the idea of vast and lofty excavations, like those of Paris, is not their original designation. St. Jerome, where he describes his own Sunday wanderings among them,† calls them *cryptæ*, and it is said that the name *catacumbæ* is first found in a letter of Gregory the Great, and then not as descriptive of the excavation, but as a topographical name, Ad Catacumbas,‡ as other cemeteries are distinguished by the appellations, Ad Nymphas, &c.

It is not difficult to account for the adoption by the poorer Christians, in the first instance, of abandoned excavations from which the pozzolana had been worked out. Concealment was not probably the primary motive. It does not appear that till the close of the second century, and during the third, any necessity was imposed upon them to perform their funeral rites in obscurity, or guard their sepulchres from the fanaticism of persecutors. For some time they would pass for Jews, who were despised and insulted during their lifetime, but whose cemeteries do not appear to have been disturbed or their rites of sepulture interfered with.§

* Roma Sotteranea, Append. p. 15. Christian soldiers were condemned by Maximian to work at digging out the pozzolana, and carry it on their shoulders to the thermæ which were in course of erection.

† Theol. Review, Vol. I. p. 30.

‡ The etymology of the word is uncertain. It has been explained as if derived from the Greek, and denoting a station for boats, which is not probable (Du Cange ad voc.), as it is remote from the Tiber. It seems to be a hybrid word.

§ The Rev. C. Merivale (History of the Romans under the Empire, Vol VII. p. 358), says, "According to the most accredited theory of the present day,

There is no trace of any enactment restricting the claim which every subject of the Roman empire enjoyed, to bury the dead anywhere but within the limits of cities, and place a memorial over them. In the two first centuries, the burial-places of Christians were often not only as much exposed to public view as those of Pagans, but were made conspicuous by their ornamental structure. In a recent number of the Bulletino, the Cavaliere Rossi gives an account of the researches made in the sepulchre which tradition assigns to Flavia Domitilla. We may hesitate to believe that Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, after being banished to Ponza or Pandataria as a Christian,* was buried in this tomb; but it is evidently a Christian tomb, for in the vestibule are represented subjects of Bible history, Noah in the ark, Daniel in the den of lions, the miraculous draught of fishes, and the parable of the vine-yard. Bricks and fictile sarcophagi found in the galleries bear dates of the years 142, 150 and 157 A.D. So that at this time, the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Christians had no fear of exposing their sepulchres to the public gaze. It was probably poverty, rather than fear of molestation, which led first to their occupation of abandoned arenariæ, and subsequently to the enlargement of these by new excavations, till they formed that immense network, the extent of which has hardly yet been fully ascertained. In their case cremation was out of the question; they inherited from the Jews the abhorrence of this custom. The Christian doctrine of a bodily resurrection, which soon assumed the form of a resurrection of the body, would indispose them to the destruction of its elements, which they strove to preserve by

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the Catacombs at Rome were originally excavated or adopted by the Jews for their place of sepulture. Their feelings revolted against the Roman mode of burning the dead, and their old traditions would naturally suggest to them the disposal of their mortal remains in caves hewn in the rock. The Christians at Rome inherited the burying-places of their predecessors in the faith of Palestine." This is certainly not the theory accredited by De Rossi, nor are we aware that any of the catacombs contains evidence of having been inherited by the Christians from the Jews. Catacombs with Jewish inscriptions exist, but their age is doubtful. The Christian inscription, In Pace, corresponds with the שלם of the Jewish, and may have been borrowed from it.

* Hieron. Ep. 27, Epitaph. Paulæ. Dion Cassius (Domitian, c. 14), says that her husband had been condemned for atheism, like many others—ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες, by which no doubt Christianity is meant.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 14.

embalmment,* and the poorest of them would shrink from being confounded with the heathens in the *puticuli* of the Esquiline. What more natural, than that in these circumstances they should seek a cheap cemetery in an old mine of pozzolana, which had become valueless to its owners? The catacombs could never have been places for ordinary worship and celebration of Christian rites. A congregation would have been stifled in their low and narrow galleries, where air and light are admitted only at long intervals by *luminaria* reaching to the surface, and where artificial light would only more corrupt the atmosphere.† In times of persecution they would no doubt serve as places of refuge and the clandestine celebration of religious rites, as well as for conference between those who durst not be seen in open daylight together. But whatever may have been the motive of the Christians for adopting the arenariæ as places of sepulture, it is evident that it was only by Christians that they were so employed. There is no trace of their having been the burial-place of Pagans.

The earliest inscription in a catacomb which bears a date, is of the third consulship of Vespasian, A.D. 71, a memorable year, that in which, the Jewish war having been successfully terminated, Vespasian celebrated, along with his son, the triumph which is recorded on the Arch of Titus, and the temple of Janus was closed for the sixth time since the foundation of Rome. It has no Christian emblems, and is only presumed to be Christian from the absence of any mark of Paganism. A.D. 204 appears to be the earliest year to which any inscribed stone in the catacombs can be certainly referred.‡ When they begin to bear unquestionable traces of the faith of their occupants they are very simple, rude in idiom and with a frequent use of Greek. The mention of

* "Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ queruntur, scient Sabæi pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis," says Tertullian, Apologeticus, c. 42, with a little exaggeration, perhaps, as his manner is. But in his age the services of the heathen gods were much neglected.

† The terra cotta lamps found in such multitudes in the catacombs were kindled before the sepulchres by relations, especially on the anniversary of the death. This day is very generally noted in Christian inscriptions, but not those of the earliest times.

‡ In p. 186 of the Roma Sotteranea, De Rossi speaks of two inscriptions, one of A.D. 107, the other 110, which he thinks Christian.

the occupation is exceptional,* though there is a well-known inscription on a Fossor Diogenes, who is represented with the emblems of his craft. We should be wrong, however, in attributing to Diogenes quite so humble a rank as the *fossor* held in the estimation of Catullus, who classes him, in point of taste and refinement, with the goatherd (xxii. 10). His function seems to have had something of a religious character; it must have been confided only to trustworthy persons in critical times, and it appears to have been hereditary, in one case at least.†

The most common form of inscription is, IN PACE, or DEPOSITUS IN PACE, or with that mixture of Greek which we have remarked before, IN IRENE, in Roman characters. Laudatory phrases, such as Miræ sanctitatis vir; industria bonitate insignis, betray a later age. Death is variously expressed by De sæculo recessit—accersitus est ab angelis —absolutus de corpore—cujus spiritus in luce domini susceptus est. The following poetical inscription bears date of the consulship of Syagrius and Eucherius, A.D. 381:

> Presbyter hic situs est, Celerinus nomine dictus,
> Corporeos rumpens nexus qui gaudet in astris.

Short pious exclamations are sometimes added, as Vivas in Deo cum sanctis; Spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret; Pete pro nobis. The Christians did not always repudiate heathen forms of speech. We find occasionally D.M. on their tombs, which is much more probably to be read Dis Manibus, than Deo Maximo, as has been suggested. "Nec curant carmina Manes" occurs in a poetical inscription,‡ which "Depositus in Pace" shews to belong to a Christian. But De Rossi justly remarks, in reference to an inscription in which occurs, "Quos una Lachesis mersit acerba die," that the Christian poets, Prudentius and others, do not scruple to use Pagan imagery and language. The most remarkable instance of the conformity of Christians to Pagan usage is their calling a deceased emperor Divus. De Rossi mentions

* An inscription lately found in the cemetery of Callistus (or Calixtus) commemorates "Pollecla que ordeu vendet de bianoba," i.e. quæ hordeum vendidit de Via Nova. The dropping of the *m* in ordeum shews that it was faintly pronounced, and explains its suppression in prosody.

† Fabiola, P. ii. c. 1.

‡ Inscriptiones Christianæ, I. p. 221.

an instance in which a line of Lucan has been borrowed for a Christian tomb, and it is evident that in some cases Christians have been deposited in tombs sculptured by Pagans. Thus on a sarcophagus we find the story of Ulysses and the Sirens sculptured. The monogram shews that a Christian was laid in it; but it is not probable that it was originally designed for him, and that the sculpture was meant as an allegory of resistance to temptation. Sarcophagi were sold ready made. Some of the stereotyped phrases of the Roman sepulchral inscriptions are adopted by Christians. Parents who bury their children, husbands whose wives have preceded them to the grave, record that it has happened "contra votum," though they never indulge in those bold invectives against Providence with which, under such losses, the heathens sometimes assailed their gods. Christian husbands follow the example of the heathens in professing on the monuments of their wives, that they had lived together "sine querela." Like the heathens, too, the Christians purchased the site for their future interment, and even constructed their own grave, recording the fact, as the heathens themselves had done, in very bad Latin, such as *se vivis* or *se vivus*. The number of bodies which each might contain was denoted by the words *bisomum, trisomum, quadrisomum*, inscribed upon them. Instead of the direful imprecations of the heathen sepulchre, "Quisquis hoc sustulerit aut læserit ultimus suorum moriatur," or "Manes habeat iratos," we find on a Christian monument of the year 451, "Adjuro vos per Christum, ne mihi ab aliquo violentia fiat, et ne sepulcrum meum violetur." This belongs to the age when Christian sepulchres were no longer concealed from violence, but were exposed to the ordinary chances of violation and defilement. Pagan art was applied ingeniously to Christian purposes. The emblems of Bacchus and Ceres were easily assumed as representatives of the elements of the communion. Orpheus surrounded by the beasts, captivated by the sound of his lyre, became a type of Christ and his preaching.

From the Christian inscriptions we derive a confirmation of the fact, which we learn from other sources, that the new religion had made its way in the convictions of some of the higher classes, for a considerable time before they ventured to avow their conversion. They seem to have

kept open a door of retreat, if Paganism should ultimately triumph. Licentius was a friend of Augustine and Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who laboured much for his conversion, with what result was unknown, till the recent discovery of his tomb, which attests his being a Christian. On the tomb of Flavius Magnus, who died in 423, is an inscription setting forth his eloquence and the honours which it procured for him, without mention of his religion, which is disclosed only by the sacred monogram. De Rossi quotes an inscription of A.D. 217, on M. Aurelius Prosenes, who held several offices in the State, erected by his freedman. The tablet has a Pagan and aristocratic air, but under it is scratched in mean characters, "Prosenes receptus ad Deum, regrediens in Urbem ab expeditionibus. Scripsit Ampelius libertus." We think De Rossi justly concludes that Prosenes was at heart a Christian, and that this was known to his freedman Ampelius, who made this addition to his epitaph. The freedman was often the most confidential friend of his master. In the age of Constantine, the senators and chief men of Rome still outwardly adhered to Paganism, so as to lead him to meditate the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople.* An inscription on the tomb of Cajanus, an eminent jurisconsult, states that when the emperor came to Rome, Cajanus was the first to whom he had recourse. Now the sacred monogram on his tomb, and the words "quiescit in pace," shew him to have been a Christian, and De Rossi argues that the hostility of the highest classes to Christianity, led Constantine to take Cajanus into his confidence.

With the increase of Christians the number of the catacombs was increased, till they amounted to sixty. The same cause led to their adornment by paintings, and a more elaborate mode of construction. Many spots were specially hallowed, as the burial-places of martyrs, whose tombs served as altars on which the communion was celebrated. Chapels were hewn out in which religious services were performed, and anniversary commemorations of the dead, with prayers for them, were held—a practice, of all those which Protestantism brands as superstition, the most congenial to human feelings. The newly-explored cemetery of Calixtus in the

* Zosim. II. 10.

Appian Way, described and illustrated with engravings in the Roma Sotteranea, will give an idea of one of the most celebrated of the catacombs. The reader who studies it at ease in his library, has little idea of the labour and discomfort, by means of which the ichnography especially has been prepared. Bosio, whom de Rossi calls the Columbus of subterranean Rome, tells us that he lost his way, and was near leaving his bones among those of the old martyrs. The description which our author gives of his own operations reminds us of those of a coal-miner. The difficulty of taking levels and bearings in choked-up, dark and winding passages, may be easily conceived, and he may be congratulated on his brother's invention of an instrument by the aid of which these operations can be performed, provided only the surveyor can introduce the instrument in his hand.* The entrance is often, as at St. Sebastian's, from a church; in other cases, the remains of ancient basilicæ have been discovered over the now obstructed mouth. The walls of the narrow galleries, which just afford room to two persons to pass, exhibit, instead of the *columbaria*, in which urns were ranged, niches one above another, rightly named *cubicula*, as they closely resemble the berths in a steam-packet. An inscription was often placed on a stone which closed the opening, or the plaster with which the bricks and tiles were covered. Some of the tombs, called *arcosolia*, were arched over, and only walled up to part of the height of the excavation, the open part being plastered and containing an inscription or a painting.† At intervals larger chambers occur. The *luminaria*, shafts reaching to the surface, appear to be of later construction. But it would be vain to endeavour, without plates, to give an idea of the variety and extent of all that is included in the catacomb of Calixtus and its appendages. It comprehends four different levels.‡ The soil, as may be inferred from what has been said of its geological structure, is by no means uni-

* His invention, we are told, was exhibited in London in 1862.

† Coins were sometimes fixed in the mortar. In the Atlas (Tav. xvi.), one of Severina Augusta is given, marking a date not *before* the reign of Aurelian, A.D. 270—5.

‡ According to M. S. Rossi (p. 48), the lowest floor is 25 metres below the surface of the hill. The different floors are horizontal, the descent being made by steps.

form, and if, in the extension of a gallery, the excavator came upon a stratum of the friable earth, he had to descend in search of a more solid material. The roof is in some places vaulted with stone or brick, where the natural soil was loose, and the arch is supported by pillars at the side. It was a great object with the Christians to prevent their sepulchres being injured by damp. They carefully placed them above the level of the inundations to which Rome is subject, and never constructed them in a soil abounding with springs. The site of the original cemetery of the Vatican, now buried or destroyed in the erection of St. Peter's, was an exception. Pope Damasus, who did so much to preserve the catacombs, has recorded, in verses of his own composition, and in letters of an elegant form devised by himself, the pains which he took to drain them.

> Cingebant latices montem, teneroque meatu
> Corpora multorum cineres atque ossa rigabant.
> Non tulit hoc Damasus communi lege sepultos
> Post requiem tristes iterum persolvere pœnas.
> Intima sollicite scrutatus viscera terræ
> Siccavit totum quidquid madefecerat humor.

A notion has prevailed among the vulgar, that the catacombs have subterraneous communications with the churches of Rome. This is groundless. The area which they occupy is wholly exterior to the walls, even after their circuit had been extended by Aurelian and Honorius. Theodosius, by an edict, pointedly forbade the practice of intramural interment, which was gaining ground among the Christians, from the desire of being in the vicinity of the apostles and martyrs, whose remains had been removed from their original place of interment without the walls. It is very possible, however, that in times of popular excitement against the Christians, which often produced martyrdom when there was no State persecution, interments may have taken place in private houses and gardens, and tradition points to such. Our readers will hardly accept the legend of miracles wrought by the martyrs' remains, in proof of the tradition.

As it is difficult to fix the date of the first interment in a catacomb, so we cannot say precisely when the practice ceased. Previously to the time of Constantine, the great majority of the dated inscriptions are subterranean. From the middle of the fourth century the subdialian decidedly

preponderate, and in the beginning of the fifth, hardly any subterranean appear. From this time the catacombs must be regarded as objects of antiquarian curiosity and religious feeling. Miltiades, in whose popedom Constantine issued his edict in favour of Christianity, is the last pontiff who was buried (A.D. 314) in the catacomb of Calixtus. His successor, Silvester I., was buried in the basilica which preserved his name. We have seen how Jerome delighted to wander in these gloomy crypts. His friend Damasus, when he succeeded to the Papal chair, applied himself most zealously to collect the remains of the martyrs and facilitate access to their burial-places. There is hardly a catacomb in which an inscription does not remain recording his operations. But as the resort of pilgrims to them increased, their use as places of interment declined. Probably ordinary Christians might shrink from placing themselves among the remains of saints and martyrs. Damasus himself did so, and inscribed this distich in the crypt in which some of his predecessors had been deposited:

> Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra;
> Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.

The capture of Rome by Alaric, in A.D. 410, put a final stop to catacomb burial, which had greatly declined before, and in the subsequent ravages of the barbarians they were ransacked and fell into ruin. Still, throughout the middle ages, they were the resort of pilgrims from all parts of the Christian world, who were anxious not only to see the places in which the bodies of the martyrs had been deposited, but to carry away their relics. Happy was he who could obtain some of the oil from the lamp which burnt before a martyr's tomb; happier he who could possess himself of his bones; happiest of all, he who could shew the sponge or the phial in which his blood was preserved. Doubtless in this way many remains of ordinary Christians, as De Rossi candidly admits, have been passed off for those of martyrs, and zealous Protestant controversialists, like Burnet and Misson, have made the most of these mistakes or frauds. The catacomb of St. Sebastian was always open, and as the place in which the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul were supposed to have been originally deposited, drew to itself the largest share of veneration.

At the revival of letters, scholars were at first too much occupied with classical antiquities to bestow any thought on the catacombs. The tone of the circle of Lorenzo de' Medici and the palace of Leo X., was more Pagan than Christian. We first hear of them in connection with a mysterious history of a plan of some ardent admirers of antiquity and republicanism, to overthrow the Pope and place one of themselves in his chair. They were members of an academy founded by Pomponio Leto, one of the most accomplished men of the age. Like Charlemagne and his courtiers in a former age, and *gli Arcadi* in a later, they had amused themselves with assuming ancient names, and this innocent freak of classical enthusiasm had been interpreted as a formal renunciation of their baptism. Paul II. imprisoned them for a long time in the castle of St. Angelo, where some of them were put to the torture. Nothing, however, could be established against them, and it is the opinion of Tiraboschi, who relates the affair at great length, that the accusations of the Pope were groundless.* The inscriptions lately discovered in the catacombs may do something towards justifying his suspicions. The assumed names of many of these academicians have been found scrawled in charcoal on their walls. In one of these (dated 1475), after a long row of assumed names, follow the words, "Unanimes perscrutatores antiquitatis, regnante Pom. Pont. Max." If Paul II., an unprincipled and unpopular man, heard of these secret conclaves in the catacombs and of this inscription, he might well fancy treason was on foot. De Rossi is inclined to think it a proof that they designed to raise Pomponius to the pontificate. We cannot agree with him. They appear to have been merely following out the humour of classical imitation, and acknowledging his supreme pontifical authority among the "perscrutatores antiquitatis."

In the year 1578, an accident gave birth to that long series of researches, of which the Roma Sotteranea of De Rossi exhibits the last results. On the 31st of May in that year, some diggers of pozzolana came upon the opening of an ancient Christian cemetery, about two miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria, leading from the city towards Fidenæ. The fame of its paintings, sarcophagi and inscriptions, soon

* Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Vol. VI. P. i. p. 93.

spread; and among the curious visitors was the celebrated Baronius, who in his Annals has left a lively picture of the impression which its discovery made upon him. The operations of the diggers utterly destroyed the catacomb, but not till copies of the paintings and inscriptions had been made by lovers of antiquity, among whom two Flemings, De Winghe and l'Heureux (Macarius), are conspicuous. At the death of De Winghe in 1592, his papers fell into the hands of Bosio, then a youth of seventeen, who in the following year, abandoning the study of the law, devoted himself for the remainder of his life to catacomb research. He has left a description of the difficulties and dangers of his first adventure among them.

"Having passed along the exterior gallery, we found a small opening in the floor through which we could only enter with our chests to the ground. Having entered in this posture of reverence to the place, we found on raising ourselves up that we had on our right lofty grottoes, with sepulchres on both sides. The grottoes led to circular excavations, which again branched out in infinite byways to every point of the compass. We began therefore to apprehend that, urged on by our eager curiosity, and our lights failing, it might be our fate to die in this subterranean labyrinth. So we resolved to return, and though we had made marks on many of the turns, it was with the greatest difficulty that we found our way back to the opening by which we had entered. Warned by experience, we took care in future to be provided with a stock of lights which might on an emergency last us two or three days and nights."

Accordingly we find that he often spent whole days and nights in the catacombs, of which he explored thirty that had been unknown before. This was, however, only a part of his work. To produce his Roma Sotteranea, he had to consult an immense mass of MSS. in the Vatican, the libraries of Rome and the archives of the churches. His premature death in 1629, left the labour of thirty-six years still incomplete. It was not till 1636 that it was published, under the editorship of Severanus, who made some changes in the MS. of Bosius and some additions. A Latin version was published by Aringhi in 1651. It is unnecessary to pursue the history of the subsequent labours of Boldetti and Marchi. The last-mentioned author was led by his desire to claim the catacombs as originally and exclusively

places of Christian sepulture, to deny that they had ever been pozzolana-pits. We have seen with what modification this opinion must be maintained. De Rossi candidly admits that Marchi had made his statement too absolutely. The same author's estimate, that the Catacombs extend to a thousand miles, and that six millions of Christians have been deposited in them, must also be taken as vague from insufficiency of accurate data.

Although the catacombs were thus elaborately described and illustrated, little care was taken of their contents. The inscriptions were used as flagstones, or built into the walls of churches. Benedict XIV., in the middle of the last century, founded the Sacred Museum of the Vatican, which saved many of them from destruction. Pius VII. arranged them in the gallery *Delle Lapidi*, where, confronting the Pagan monuments on the opposite wall, they exhibit, in striking contrast, the memorials of the old and the new religion.

It was to be expected that the knowledge of Christian antiquity gained by the researches which we have described would give rise to theological controversy. All churches and sects are desirous to shew their conformity with primitive times in doctrine and discipline. From Scripture and the Fathers, the "Battle of the Churches" has been extended to the catacombs. Romanists and Anglicans are eager to interpret their evidence in favour of their respective tenets. We give precedence to the elder branch.

Fabiola, which, though anonymous, is well known to have been the work of the late Cardinal Wiseman,* is a tale written with the express object of shewing, that the Catholic Church of the present day faithfully represents the Church of the Catacombs. It derives its name from an inscription, FABIOLA DEPOSITA IN PACE, accompanied by a painting in which the offerings of the three Wise Men are represented. The scene of the tale is laid in Rome, A.D. 302, when the Diocletian persecution is about to begin. Fabiola, the daughter of a wealthy Roman, has been secretly converted to Christianity by Miriam, a Syrian slave, who not only reclaims her from idolatry, and opens to her the hope of immortality, but initiates her into the mysteries of

* A copy is before us, with the inscription, "Pray for the author of this little work, who sends a blessing in return. N. Card. Wiseman."

the Catholic faith. Incidentally the history of the Catacombs, the institutions of the Christians of the fourth century, their relations to the State, their persecutions and their martyrdoms, are introduced. The Cardinal's long residence in Rome, and his profound knowledge of Christian archæology, have enabled him to condense a vast amount of information into this little volume. But it has the fault which is inherent in all didactic fictions. Its characters are not men and women, but *marionettes;* the author pulls the strings, and we hear his voice behind the scenes in their supposed utterances. And this fault is naturally most prominent in fictions devised to recommend the peculiar religious opinions of the author. Fabiola has in our eyes a graver fault. We cannot share the writer's admiration of that morbid eagerness for martyrdom which his heroes display. One of them is Sebastian, whose death, by the arrows of the Moorish archers, has been represented in so many repulsive masterpieces of art. He is high in office and in the confidence of the emperor, but employing all his influence in propagating Christianity in the palace. Two youths had been condemned as Christians, and their friends are earnestly imploring them to apostatize. Sebastian goes to strengthen their wavering virtue. "Could he hope," says the author, "that he could escape being himself denounced as a Christian, and that this would involve his death? He knew it well, but what cared he? *If three victims would thus be offered to God instead of two, so much the better. All that he dreaded was that there should be none.*" Did it not occur to the writer, that this specious phrase of an offering to God, involves the commission, by some one or other, of three cruel murders? Pancratius, the future St. Pancras, whose father has been put to death, professes, when just out of his boyhood, his earnest desire to follow his example, and to encourage him, Lucina his mother takes the golden bulla from his neck and hangs around it a phial containing a sponge dipped in his father's blood. It is true, that this wild eagerness to wear the crown of martyrdom and enjoy its recompence, prevailed among the early Christians; but the author of Fabiola evidently regards it with intense admiration, and does not merely exhibit it as a trait of the times. With equal admiration he dwells on vows of virginity, and the raptures of

the maidens who believe themselves spouses of Christ, and have already received from him the betrothal ring.

To those Protestants who do not look to the fourth century as an authority for Christian doctrine, it can be of no importance what the catacombs reveal on this subject. Cardinal Wiseman sees in them confirmation of the rites and doctrines of his Church; but he has really very little to bring forward, and of this little some is obtained by ingenious commentary, as when he explains the frequent repetition of the Good Shepherd in the paintings, with the wandering sheep on his shoulders, as a rebuke to the Novatian heresy, which taught that apostates could never be re-admitted to the fold of Christ; while the doctrine of the Catholic Church is, that a repentant sinner, however great his crime, may receive forgiveness, *through the penitential remedy left in her hands.* The miracle of the loaves and fishes "shews how in the Eucharist Christ becomes the food of all." This is no very cogent proof of the doctrine of the Real Presence, and he has to supplement it by a poetical quotation from Prudentius. Nor have the recent excavations furnished any evidence of the worship of the Virgin, though the Cavaliere Rossi, in a separate publication, endeavours to confirm it from the pictures in the catacombs.*

Anglican divines of the High-church school are as anxious as Roman Catholics to claim the authority of Christian antiquity. The object of Mr. Burgon's Letters from Rome, originally published in the Guardian, is to shew that wherever the Church of Rome differs from the Church of England, the testimony of the catacombs is against the former. And in many points he is successful. It seems, however, to have escaped him, that the same negative testimony on which he condemns Catholic corruptions and superstitions, might be alleged against some articles of Anglican orthodoxy, the Trinity for example, of which they afford no confirmation.† He is so convinced that his own is the true "Catholic and Apostolic Church," that he believes if the sleepers in the catacombs could be awakened, they would be horror-struck at the corrupt

* Imagini scelte della Vergine, tratte dalle Romane Catacombe.

† De Rossi (Inscr. Christianæ, p. 222) quotes an inscription on Quintilianus, who is called "Homo Dei confirmans Trinitatem," which shews the existence of the opposite opinion.

practices of modern Rome, and would march away from her splendid churches, to join in the worship of the Anglican congregation beyond the walls. We will not answer for the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries; they had been spoiled with philosophy and well schooled into orthodoxy by councils and doctors. But if the "simplices" and "imprudentes," the "major pars credentium," who sleep in graves either nameless, or inscribed in rude characters and barbarous language, could be brought to the same place, we apprehend the result might be different. They might find nothing strange in the Apostles' Creed; they would be astounded and perplexed by the Nicene; but when they came to the Athanasian, and heard, "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet they are not three Gods but one God," they would exclaim,* "You are making two Gods and three Gods; we will have nothing to do with your Œconomy. We uphold the Monarchy.* To us there is one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ." K.

IV.—RELIGION IN SWEDEN.

Kirchliche Zustände in den Skandinavischen Ländern Dänemark, Norwegen, Schweden. Von Moritz Lüttke. Elberfeld. 1864. (Second Notice.)

THE Reformation can be said to have been purely a religious movement in very few countries. In most instances temporal considerations had a very large share in the changes made; at times the ambition of the sovereign, at times the desire of the people for independence from a foreign yoke, had more influence in their conversion than any recognition of the corruptions of the Papacy, or any desire for a truer Christian life than Romanism offered. Sweden forms no exception to this rule; and though no country has given us a better example of a pure Lutheranism, with all its advan-

* Tertullian Adv. Praxeam, c. 3. The Œconomy is the arrangement or distribution of the Divine nature and attributes among the three Persons of the Trinity.

tages and its many defects, none can be said to have entered upon the great theological change from more decidedly temporal motives, and with less religious zeal on the part of its leaders. The separation from Rome and from Roman influences was, however, more speedy and complete in the states where political reasons formed the first moving impulse, than in those where deeper questions of religious purity urged the change; and Sweden was an avowed Protestant community before the Northern States of Germany had finally freed themselves from the burdensome yoke of Papal supremacy.

The history of the Reformation in Sweden is to a great extent involved in the romantic history of Gustavus I., better known perhaps as Gustav Wasa. His struggle to obtain the throne for himself, involved the independence of his native country from the crown of Denmark, which with more or less success had maintained its influence over the Scandinavian peninsula since the union of Kalmar in 1397. Although by the conditions of the union the Swedish law was to remain in force, and the rights and privileges of each of the three powers—Denmark, Norway and Sweden—were to be respected by the king, yet, as might have been expected, the Danish rulers soon gave greater influence to their own countrymen than to their other subjects. The Swedes especially complained that offices and estates were conferred upon foreigners; and again and again rising in opposition to the union, appointed administrators who maintained an almost regal authority in opposition to Denmark. The chief ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of Upsala, the Bishops of Strengnas, Westeras, Linköping, were always appointed by the Danes, and having in addition to their Swedish dioceses possessions in Denmark, always acted in the Danish interest. The church was thus, before the struggle of the Reformation began, placed in opposition to the national party. Christian II., who ascended the throne of Denmark and Norway in 1513, had resolved to make good his claims to the Swedish throne in opposition to Sten Sture the younger, who at that time was administrator of Sweden. The election of Sture had not been a unanimous one; and the administrator was not without his enemies. Eric Trolle, a senator of high connections, the chief of the party which favoured the union of Kalmar, had been his rival, and in

order to gain him and his friends the newly-elected chief had appointed Gustav Trolle, the son of Eric, to the archiepiscopal see of Upsala. But the only result of this measure was to give power to an energetic enemy. All that Sture could do to heal the breach was in vain; he sent the Archbishop a considerable sum of money to defray his travelling expenses from Rome to his diocese, and in 1516 went to Upsala to congratulate him in person; but Gustav, fiery and inconsiderate in temper, received all the advances of the administrator with pride and insulting contempt. Christian II. of Denmark had gained the newly-appointed prelate, whose family traditions were all in favour of the Danish rule, by letters which met him on his journey from Rome, and which contained promises of important privileges if he would help the ambitious monarch in his plans for regaining supremacy in Sweden. The Archbishops of Upsala maintained an almost regal state, and exercised an influence in State affairs which was certainly more than any subject ought to possess. They held several important fortresses, kept up an armed force, and had a revenue which frequently was greater even than that upon which the administrator could reckon. Relying upon this power, Trolle refused to appear at the diet summoned by Sture in 1516 at Telje, for the purpose of receiving the oath of allegiance due to him in his official capacity. He even organized a conspiracy in favour of Christian, but the plot was discovered and some of the leaders of the intended revolt, including the archbishop's father, were arrested, while Sture, compelled to have resort to arms, besieged the prelate in his fortress, Stäke. The Pope excommunicated the daring leader who did not reverence the consecrated rebel; but his anathema had lost much of its power, and the Swedish diet assembled at Stockholm ventured to pronounce sentence of deprivation against the primate, and compelled all the bishops present to sign the act of deposition. King Christian, who did not desert his partizan, attacked Stockholm with a considerable fleet, but failing to seize it, was compelled by the approach of winter to enter into negotiations with the administrator. He offered to meet Sture in Stockholm, providing hostages were sent to the fleet for his safe return. Six Swedish nobles were accordingly sent, among them the future liberator, Gustav Wasa; but instead of keeping faith, these hostages

were immediately placed in irons, and the king returned to Denmark. The archbishop was, however, obliged to surrender, and was confined in the convent of Westera.

In the midst of these violent struggles, a Papal legate, John Angelus Arcimboldi, arrived in Sweden with the avowed aim of promoting the sale of indulgences. The king of Denmark had striven to gain him for his party, and succeeded in prejudicing him against Sten Sture; but though the administrator was under the ban of excommunication, the greed of the legate could not resist the influence exercised by the purchase of a large number of indulgences and the gift of a table of massive silver; and when in addition the friends of Sture shewed an equal munificence, and gave the legate to understand that he was to be made Archbishop of Upsala, he was completely convinced of the soundness of his benefactor's orthodoxy, and of the guilt of the rebel prelate Gustav Trolle. He confirmed the sentence of deprivation against the latter, and sent a most glowing account of the former's merits to Rome. But the Swedish gifts did not reach Rome, while those from Denmark did. The legate was recalled, and a Papal bull declared that Sture must remain under the curse of the Church until he should have paid 50,000 ducats to the Papal treasury, the same sum to the diocesan treasury at Upsala, and should have restored Gustav Trolle to his see, with full compensation for all injuries inflicted upon him.

Strengthened thus by ecclesiastical authority, Christian made another attack upon Sweden. This time fortune favoured him, for in the first skirmish his able opponent Sten Sture fell, and the Swedes, left without a leader, were compelled to make terms with the Danish monarch. With greater wisdom than his previous deeds would have led us to expect, king Christian offered a complete amnesty for the past, and promised to uphold the ancient privileges of the kingdom. But no sooner was he crowned at Upsala than he shewed himself treacherous as of old, and maintaining that his amnesty could not extend to crimes against the Church, encouraged Gustav Trolle publicly to accuse all who had acted in contravention of the Papal bull, and then with remorseless cruelty sentenced them to death. Although by this treacherous conduct he had deprived the national party of many of its leaders, he also raised so strong a hatred

against himself as to seal his own defeat. Gustav Wasa, who had escaped from his captivity, landed in Sweden, and, having gathered some of the discontented peasantry round him, gradually gained strength, defeated the Danes in several battles, and was elected administrator by the diet which met at Wadstene in 1521. The romantic incidents which attended this struggle remind the student of the dangers encountered, according to tradition, by our own king Alfred. Like him, Gustav Wasa was forced to avail himself of all manner of disguises before he could appear as the leader of the patriotic party, and had many hair-breadth escapes before at last he triumphed over his foreign enemies. But he had learned one important lesson during the years of his exile and of his trial; he had seen the dangerous influence of the Romanist clergy, and had heard the teaching of some of the Reformers. It did not seem politic to him to avow himself a Lutheran, but he determined gradually to make the change. One of his first measures was to support the two leading preachers of the Reformed doctrine in Sweden, Olaf and Lorenz Peterson, against the accusations brought against them by the Catholic prelates. These two brothers had studied at Wittenberg under Luther and Melancthon, and had been preaching against the mendicant friars, denouncing as unnecessary the worship of saints and several of the ceremonies of the Church. The Chancellor Anderson had publicly protected them in former dangers, and Gustav Wasa, now elected to the throne, declared that he was ready to abandon Olaf or any other teacher if he was convicted of heresy, but that he would insist upon a fair trial before he could adopt any such course. The bishops complained of the translation of the Scriptures into Swedish which the Reformers circulated, declaring that it was erroneous in many particulars and therefore calculated to do immense harm. The king quietly urged them to produce a more correct version, as both he and many of the nobles were desirous of knowing the truth in these religious matters; and at the same time expressed his fear that there was more selfishness than earnest zeal for true religiousness in the attempts of the Catholic clergy. The archbishop, who had been the mouthpiece of the clergy, was much annoyed at the gentle tone adopted by the king, and engaged to prove that the preaching of Olaf was erroneous and dangerous to

the souls of his hearers. A public meeting of the Protestant and Catholic leaders was determined upon, at which the conflicting opinions were to be stated and argued. Before the discussion began, an occurrence took place which threatened far greater injury to the cause of reform than the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy. Two fanatical Anabaptists, Melchior Ring and Knipperdolling, had successfully made many converts to their wild views, preaching an approaching millennium and destroying pictures and other ecclesiastical ornaments. Gustav Wasa quietened the threatening storm by driving these men into exile, and making their return to Sweden a capital offence. And now the first great public discussion was opened. In the presence of the king (at heart a Lutheran, though still conforming to the Catholic Church), of his Chancellor and the assembled Bishops, Peter Galle, Professor of Theology at the University of Upsala, opened the debate, which was to embrace the doctrine of justification by faith, the theory of indulgences, the influence of free-will in conversion, the authority of tradition, the adoration of the saints, and the other usual topics of controversy between the two churches. As usual, the debate was without effect as regards the disputants; the Protestant champion appealing to Scripture alone as the ultimate authority, while the Catholic professor referred to the Bible only as interpreted by tradition, the decisions of councils, and the statements of the leading fathers. Neither party acknowledged defeat; but Gustav was so far strengthened that he now ventured to touch the temporalities of the Church, claiming for secular uses the greater part of the tithes. Whilst he permitted the Roman jubilee to be celebrated in his dominions, he sanctioned the performance of the Church services in the vernacular, permitted Peterson to publish several works on the Reformed doctrines, and consented to his marriage, though he was in priest's orders. We have not space to describe the gradual progress which Gustav made towards attaining his great object, the weakening of the hierarchy. There were two specially important assemblies in which the pending theological and ecclesiastical controversies were discussed; the first, held in 1527 at Westeras, where full liberty was given to the Lutherans, while Catholicism was still recognized as legal. Large estates which had gradually

accumulated in the hands of the Church were confiscated; but Gustav was prudent enough to give a considerable share of the property of the Church to those members of the nobility who could prove that it had been alienated to ecclesiastical purposes without a corresponding equivalent. The Church was placed almost entirely under the authority of the king, who received power to appoint to vacant cures and to re-arrange the parishes as he should consider most advisable for the benefit of the people. This diet, it may be said, established the Reformed worship in Sweden; but the great Church council at Orebro went even farther, declaring many ceremonies unnecessary, abolishing most of the Romish sacraments, and receiving the Augsburg Confession as the authorized rule of faith. The Church had been weakened by these various decisions. 16,000 manors had been transferred to secular uses, two-thirds of her ancient revenue was gone; but Gustav found that ecclesiastical pretensions were not confined to Roman Catholic priests, and that he had to contend with the growing desire on the part of the Protestant clergy to encroach upon the civil power, and to obtain as far as possible the wealth which had belonged to the older hierarchy. He was, however, not so much interested in promoting the Reformation for the sake of the increased purity of the Church, as for the purpose of freeing the Crown from dangerous control, and even towards his old fellow-workers the two Petersons he used a needful severity, imprisoning the elder of the two brothers for keeping secret a confession which might have endangered the peace of the kingdom. Nor was it without much opposition that the peasantry adopted the new doctrines; they clung to their old usages, and with the prejudice of old associations loved the Latin service of the mass, which was unintelligible to them, more than the Protestant ministration in their own tongue. The prudent conduct of the king, however, combined with his persevering determination, gradually overcame all obstacles, and established the Lutheran Church on so firm a basis, that nowhere in Europe have the extremes of Lutheran orthodoxy been so thoroughly carried out as in Sweden. Gustav was indeed a man of great and rare powers; he has been blamed as a tyrant, and no doubt did in many instances rule without regard to the old traditions of Swedish freedom, or without that deference for natural rights

which is now looked for; but his work as a Church reformer was carried on with a rare combination of prudence and determination. He moderated the bitterness both of Catholic and Protestant, and gained for himself the honour of being the real leader of the change of religion in his native country. His foresight and his wisdom laid the foundation of Sweden's greatness, and prepared the way for the influence which she afterwards exerted over the destinies of Europe. His immediate successors, however, did not carry on the great work which he had begun; internal dissensions and even civil war prevented the growth of general prosperity, and the secret conversion of John III. to Catholicism for a time endangered the new faith. He availed himself of the great power which the crown possessed in ecclesiastical affairs to re-introduce into the Swedish establishment many Roman usages. Under pretence of trying to re-unite the divided sections of the Church by returning to the usages and forms of the early Christians, he restored the use of vestments, and re-established auricular confession, as well as something very nearly akin to the adoration of the host. Negotiations were opened with Pope Gregory XIII. to bring about a reconciliation between the churches, and the king proposed to recognize the Roman Pontiff as head of the Swedish Church, provided the sacrament were allowed to the laity in both forms, the services of the Church were conducted in the vernacular, celibacy not enforced upon bishops and clergy, and the nobles not disturbed in their possession of estates which formerly belonged to the Church. While these attempts were being made by the king, the Pope sent Antonius Possevin, the Secretary of the Order of Jesus, to complete the conversion, and re-unite the Swedes to the Catholic Church. But in order to conceal his real errand, Possevin was first despatched to Vienna, and was there publicly appointed Austrian ambassador to Sweden. He arrived at Stockholm, and soon gained great power over the king. He availed himself of the remorse of the monarch for his connivance at the murder of his brother, claiming for Rome alone the power of granting absolution, and so impressing the royal mind that he induced him, on the 16th of May, 1578, to abjure Protestantism and to declare himself again united for ever to the Roman Church. "Et ego te amplector et ecclesiam Romanam in æternum," were the

king's words. Mass was then secretly read in the palace. The king was, however, not of very stable mind, and when his ambassador returned from Rome with increased Papal demands, he publicly swore to maintain the Augsburg Confession in its entirety. His wife, who was a strong Catholic, was unable to prevail upon him to renew his communion with her Church, and to the end of his life he continued to warn his son Sigismund, the king of Poland, against Jesuit confessors. In 1592 he died, and the Catholic faith of his son immediately produced the direst confusion in Sweden. Sigismund promised, indeed, to do nothing to disturb Protestantism; but no sooner did he arrive in Sweden from his Polish dominions, than complaints began to rise on every hand against his conduct towards the State Church and the open favour he bestowed upon his Jesuit companions. The king brought Polish troops to support him in his plans for subverting the Protestant Church; but the nobles, under the leadership of Duke Charles, his uncle, successfully resisted his innovations; and finally, when all attempts at a peaceful solution of the difficulties failed, the diet deposed the Catholic monarch, and chose Charles IX. as his successor, prohibiting the exercise of any other than the Lutheran faith, and finally placing Protestantism in that absolute supremacy which it has ever since retained in Sweden (1604). The intolerant laws were now established which rendered a change of opinion on matters pertaining to religion an offence so criminal that banishment was the lightest punishment, and the loss of every civil right was the price which every one had to pay who could not conscientiously declare himself an adherent of the Lutheran Church. Not only was this narrow bigotry directed against Catholicism, but with true Lutheran intolerance the Calvinistic Reformers were treated with equal severity, and all attempts to soften the asperity of the Swedish Church were failures till within the last five years. An attempt was made, with the private sanction of the great Oxenstierna and with the approval of the celebrated Grotius, to bring about a mutual recognition of the Anglican and Swedish churches as the first step towards a complete union between the various Protestant churches in Europe. The mover in this well-meant enterprize was the Rev. J. Dury, a Scotchman, originally a Presbyterian minister, but

who, when he discovered the impossibility of moving Laud and his brother-bishops until he had received canonical ordination, proved his willingness to overlook minor differences in church discipline by taking orders in the Anglican Church. His sacrifices, his unremitted toil, were, however, all in vain; he failed to move the hard orthodoxy of the Swedish divines. He was favoured by one of the bishops, permitted to meet the theologians of the University of Upsala, and finally allowed to lay his plans before the Convocation of the clergy assembled in Stockholm. But it was in vain that he attempted to prove that the controverted points between Lutheranism and Calvinism were unessentials, while in essential matters the two churches were at one. His hearers could see only one mode of uniting the scattered churches—the adoption of the Augsburg Confession by the Calvinists—and all attempts to shake this opinion proved unavailing. Once again the most promising beginning disappointed the glowing faith of Dury. The grief which the enthusiastic apostle of church unity experienced may have produced the severe illness he suffered from in Stockholm. But his courage and perseverance was unshaken. When prostrated on his sick bed, he recorded in writing a vow never to cease from his labours to produce unity in the Church so long as life and strength were spared him, and from 1631 to 1674 his name is ever found connected with this truly Christian endeavour.

The firm Lutheranism of the Swedish Church had resisted every effort made by Dury, and was equally firm against the attempts of Mathiæ, Bishop of Strengnäs, and Professor Terserus, who with some friends of Calixtus tried in vain to introduce the spirit of the Helmstadt Professor into their native country. They were met with the same bigoted fanaticism as was characteristic of the German Lutherans; and although Terserus, who had been created Bishop of Abo by king Charles Gustav (1658), resisted the attempt of queen Christina, who was desirous of returning to Sweden, to obtain leave for Catholic worship in Sweden, and successfully prevented this privilege being granted to his royal pupil, yet this firm Protestantism did not save him in 1664 from deposition on the ground of Calixtinian, or, as they were then called, Syncretistic opinions. At the same diet, Bishop Mathiæ's "idea boni ordinis" and his "rami olivæ" were

prohibited, and the "liber concordiæ," including therefore the "formula concordiæ," were adopted as binding upon the Swedish Church. With this decided step all active theological life declined. The great points of interest in the Lutheran Church were almost as devoid of influence on practical life as the controversies of the declining days of Byzantine Christianity, and minute correctness of creed was regarded as more important than a scientific theology or spirituality and fervour of religious life. The clergy gradually sunk in learning and in piety; their position, mixed up as it is in Sweden far more with secular business than in other countries, led them into many temptations against which they had no power to stand, and the corruption of the Church extended far and wide. Only here and there men, touched by a deeper spirit, rose to protest against the evils which had encroached upon the purity of Christianity. In the beginning of the 18th century, Laurentius Ulstadius roused some popular feeling by the intense earnestness of his preaching against the scandalously unchristian character of clerical life. But it was in vain; he was condemned to imprisonment for life; and when on the death of Charles XII., Ulrica Leonora celebrated her accession to the throne (1719) by a universal amnesty, the old man preferred the quiet seclusion of his prison cell to the sinful turmoil of the world, against which he was not permitted to protest, and obtained leave to end his days in his old prison. The pietistic movement of Germany, founded by Spener and Thomasius towards the end of the 17th century, had but few friends in Sweden; Eric Tollstadius, rector of Sheppsholm, was its only noted defender; and his endeavours to rouse a more devout spirit were as fruitless as those of Ullstadius. His labours only called forth the Conventicle Act of 1713, made more severe in 1726, by which, under very severe penalties, all private meetings for religious worship were prohibited throughout the kingdom. Most effectually, too, all inquiry into theological subjects was prevented by the law, which inflicted banishment and the confiscation of all property upon persons guilty of leaving the Established Church. It is not surprising, with such antecedents, to find that Liebetrut, in Hengstenberg's Kirchen-Zeitung, is obliged to say, that "the Swedish Church is a church desolate!—dead!—lying under the anathema of God! The church unity

is the unity and peace of the churchyard." Mr. Lüttke confesses that he found this accusation only too true, though he does give, as we shall see, some symptoms of reviving life, some hopeful signs of an approaching resurrection. As to independent theological science, it may be said at once that it has no existence at all in Sweden. "The country which has produced poets like Tegnèr, Atterborn and Bellman, naturalists like Linnæus, Berzelius and Agardt, an historian like Geijer, and a theosophist like Swedenborg, has produced no one who has left a mark upon theological science." The Swedes have drawn all their theological knowledge from Germany, and still continue to receive it from no other source. Mr. Lüttke found that nearly one-half of all theological libraries consisted of German works, and the productions of the press—nay, even the review articles, are, generally speaking, translations from the German. But it must not be imagined that the highest theological knowledge is on that account known in Sweden or allowed to influence the convictions of the clergy; nothing which cannot be harmonized with the well-defined limits of Swedish orthodoxy is received with favour. Mr. Lüttke tells us how doubtfully a professor at Upsala spoke to him of Bleek's Introduction, seeming to think that even this great opponent of Tübingen theology had ventured upon very dangerous ground, and further how this same professor, half-jokingly, half-seriously, asserted his belief that there was no professor at any German university who, from a Swedish point of view, could be considered orthodox.* Mr. Lüttke names two men at the University of Upsala who are, however, opening a prospect of better things, Professors Torrèn and Beckman. The former, as Professor of Practical Theology, has directed his attention to the improvement of the schools, especially with respect to religious instruction. In so doing

* In the Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung, No. 37 (1865), there is an extract from the Swedish "Watchman," a Church Review, in which the Rev. Mr. Ekdale, a clergyman, is called upon to resign his clerical office because he has translated a Danish work in which the value of St. John's Gospel as an historical document is unfavourably compared with that of the Synoptics. The German editor asks what would happen to a clergyman who should dare to translate Schenkel's Characteristic of Jesus, not to say Strauss's Life of Christ. Perhaps, with the case of Bishop Colenso before our eyes, we ought not to speak too proudly of any superiority on the part of our own Established Church and its clergy.

he has, however, not gained much favour among the clergy, who are decidedly opposed to all attempts which call for increased labour on their part. Beckman, the Professor of Systematic Theology, has founded a Review, in which he has tried to meet the prevalent rationalism on the one hand, and on the other to defend the positive foundations of Christianity against the idealistic and pantheistic philosophy of Professor Boström, who with great ability inculcates principles which look down with complacent pity upon Christian doctrines, where they do not positively contradict them. These few statements, which contain the substance of Mr. Lüttke's description of these men, hardly give the reader a high impression of scientific activity; but our author apologizes for the meagre account by stating that the real scientific influence of professors in Sweden is confined to the lecture-room, as there is no encouragement given to literary labours, and each professor has, in addition to his university work, to attend to duties in the Consistory, and to fill the office of pastor to some church, which is no sinecure in Sweden.

One curious fact is also stated with reference to the mode in which alone works of a scientific character can be published in Sweden. The small circulation which books written in Swedish can calculate upon at best, is of course narrowed when they are treatises addressed to a limited circle of readers among scientifically-trained men. This prevents many persons appearing as authors who would otherwise give to the world the results of their studies. To meet this difficulty, the professors at the universities have availed themselves of what has been abolished in Germany as a bad practice, and always write the dissertation which the candidate for a doctor's degree has to defend in public discussion. By means of the publication of these dissertations, some of the most valuable contributions have been made to Swedish scientific literature. As might be expected, they appear in strange fragmentary forms, often ending in the middle of a sentence, and waiting the next undergraduate's promotion for the completion of a phrase. As many more persons graduate in Sweden than in most other countries, the standard of university learning not being very high, it does not take an over-long period to complete a work of moderate length. It is said that all the works of Linnæus first appeared in this form.

The general tone of Swedish society is anything but religious. The lethargy which obtains in the pulpit has very naturally extended to the congregations, and but little interest is taken in anything which refers to the religious life. A general spirit of indifferentism prevails. The attendance at church must, however, not be taken as a test of this, as the traveller will be surprised to see the people flocking every Sunday to their places of worship. Unfortunately, the attraction lies neither in the love of the devotional exercises, nor even in the intellectual pleasure of listening to a good sermon. There is a curious custom in Sweden of making the pulpit the means of communicating all manner of information to the people at large. "If a farmer wishes to announce a sale of grain or of cattle, he sends a notice of his intention to all the churches near, with a regular fee for the clergyman." Every Government announcement has to be published in this manner. Mr. Lüttke saw a change in postal arrangements, at the foot of which was printed, "to be read from the pulpit." Dr. Döllinger* reports, that "when, in an assembly of bishops, the abolition of this repulsive and troublesome custom was recently proposed, they almost all declared themselves favourable to its retention, for the reason, that if it were not for these announcements they would have only old women and children as their auditors." In conversation with an intelligent Swede, the writer of these pages was told, that to find any one really interested in religious matters among the more educated classes was a rare thing, and if any such were found they were always spoken of by society, with something very closely akin to contempt, as "Readers" (Læsare), a term which we will now proceed to explain.†

The general tone of indifference among the population

* The Church and the Churches, p. 257.

† "There appear to be no Dissenters: it is true there are a few Catholics and Jews in the country, and a class called 'Läsare,' or Readers, which seems to be much on the increase. These latter can hardly, however, be called Dissenters, because I never heard that they wish to interfere with the standard religion of the country. These Läsare, who are chiefly of the lower and middle classes, are simply rather stricter in their observance of their Christian duties than their neighbours—in fact rather more religious, and *consequently*, instead of being respected as they ought to be for setting a better example to their neighbours, they are universally sneered at, and 'Oh, he's a Læsar!' is used as a term of reproach." (Ten Years in Sweden, by an Old Bushman, p. 76. London, 1865.) For "Læsar" read "Methodist," and we are transported into the England of a century ago!

has been broken by one curious development of religious earnestness. About the year 1803, in the mountains of Norrland, a reaction against the dead formality of the Church and the clergy began. With no intention of separating themselves from the Establishment, many persons, generally speaking of the lower classes of society, met together for the purpose of encouraging religious earnestness, and especially for the study of the Scriptures—hence their name of "Readers." They manifested the greatest purity in life and conversation; but, as might be expected from their want of education, their zeal soon led to some fanatical excesses. They became ascetically puritan in their morality, and indulged, like most revivalists amongst ourselves, in eschatological fancies of the most extravagant nature. The power of the State was brought to bear against these people with little or no effect; many of them emigrated, many permitted themselves to be fined and ruined by repeated exactions, sooner than give up the rich spiritual pleasures which their new faith afforded. Mr. Lüttke, with the deep church feeling of a German theologian against sectarianism, has but little sympathy for the "Readers," though, with his usual fairness, he allows them the credit of earnest Christian faith and zeal. A very curious phenomenon made its appearance in connection with this movement, which deserves the attention of those who have noticed the presence, at the origin of a new spiritual activity among men, of manifestations which it is not easy to explain from ordinary experience. Like the Methodists and the Irvingites, some of the more enthusiastic "Readers" claimed a special inspiration from the Holy Ghost. In the province of Småland, preachers arose, the whole burden of whose teaching was the need of penitence.

"This preaching occurred, however, in a very peculiar manner; it was a direct seizure of the preachers by a mysterious power, whose involuntary instruments they seemed to be as long as they were speaking. Not only did the discourses seem to surpass the ordinary culture of the speakers, but generally speaking they knew nothing of what they had said when they had finished. Many persons, of both sexes and of every age, thus became preachers of repentance. Referring to the words in John i. 23 (φωνὴ βοῶντος), they were called 'voices' (röstar), and their sermon a 'cry' (rop). The preachers were seized with symptoms

of a morbid state of body and mind; they fell to the ground in convulsions and remained thus for a time; then becoming quiet, they began to speak, lying on the ground or standing up with closed eyes, continuing their discourse for hours together with unusual power of voice. They seemed to be in a condition of perfect mental abstraction, their senses being closed against all outward impressions. In their usual condition, these people shewed no signs of being in any way morbidly excited; and eye-witnesses describe them as simple, matter-of-fact and healthy men. Their preaching, too, manifested nothing unhealthy; they were full of earnestness in the endeavour to awaken penitence and faith in their hearers; they shewed great knowledge of the human heart, were full of holy horror of sin and of firm and enlightened faith, and remarkable for their choice and application of passages of Scripture."

Our author is obliged to confess that he sees no other explanation for the phenomenon than the direct influence of the Divine Spirit, and as a manifest proof of this he italicizes the fact that they did not preach against the Established Church!—a proof curious as regards these revivalists, and not less amusing as regards himself. He gives, however, an interesting instance of this unsectarian tone of preaching:

"A poor woman, after having pointed out in her cry all that God has done for the conversion of us Christians, and having spoken of the clergy as his 'ordained' messengers, continued, 'Are they not all his messengers, the faithful and the unfaithful? Did you ever hear one of them exhort you from the pulpit to continue your sinful life?' If the condition of the Swedish clergy is considered, and it be remembered that many of them deserve indeed no better praise than this, that from the pulpit they have not praised actual sin, and how near the temptation must have been to uncover the dark side of the picture and dwell upon the vices of the clergy, it must indeed astonish us to behold this considerate conduct, this charity which believeth all things, which hopeth all things, and thinketh no evil."

These mysterious accompaniments of the revival have passed away, and no doubt many of the errors which are to be expected among uneducated enthusiasts have since made their appearance. The doctrine of the perseverance of saints has been openly avowed in its most objectionable form, and, to Mr. Lüttke's great horror, many of the "Readers" have left the Establishment to join the religious societies of Baptists and Methodists which, amid great persecution, have

been of late years established in Stockholm by English and American missionaries. These persecutions have been anything but nominal. The administration of the Lord's Supper by unordained preachers has involved the minister and the recipients in severe fines and imprisonment. Colporteurs, who tried to teach as well as to sell the Scriptures, have been put in irons and imprisoned, no difference in this respect being made between Baptists and Lutherans.* The Baptists have, however, had several special grievances; marriages celebrated by their own ministers were not recognized by the State; and if the clergy refused to perform the service for Dissenters, there was no power to compel them in a country where for everything a certificate is needed proving conformity to the Established Church.† When Dr. Steane and the Rev. J. Howard Hinton visited Sweden in 1858 in behalf of their persecuted Baptist brethren, they found that their trials were not past; in order to administer the rite of baptism according to their ritual, they were obliged to meet at the dead of night or early dawn, and that all who joined in this secret service did so at the risk of penalties, if the facts became known to the authorities. And yet, notwithstanding these persecutions, there were at the close of 1857 no less than 2105 avowed Baptists, forming 45 churches. They had no meeting-houses; the majority of the people were poor, and from the description of some of the assemblies which these gentlemen attended, we think it must be concluded that they were uneducated as well. The number of these persecuted churches seems to increase, however, very rapidly under the slight modifications of the law in 1860, as at the close of the year 1862 the number of Baptists is said to be 5544, of whom 914 had been baptized in 1862. The number of churches had risen to 161, and of these 22 had meeting-houses. All Dissenters are still prohibited from holding religious meetings in any place but their own chapels or burying-grounds; they may not receive any children but those of their own members in their schools; no one may be accepted as a member of a Dissenting church who has not reached eighteen years; no Dissenter is admis-

* Faiths of the World, by the Rev. J. Gardner, M.A., Vol. II. p. 877.

† In order to permit a removal from one parish to another, a certificate is needed from a clergyman, containing not only the name of the applicant and of his parents, a record of his baptism, a statement as to his having had the small-pox or having been vaccinated, but also as to his ability to read, his knowledge of Luther's Catechism and its explanations.

sible to any public office or employment; and yet, when a petition signed by 4116 Baptists was presented to the king asking for increased freedom, he sternly refused to propose any alleviation in the Diet, asserting that the changes of the year 1860 were quite sufficient.

No Dissenting community may establish a new chapel without the express consent of the Crown, which may be withheld; if permission is granted, a special officer is appointed, who is personally held responsible for all irregularities of his fellow-worshipers, and whose duties are to present a yearly report of all transactions in his church, and to give notice to the Government if any one joins the congregation. We give in a note* an extract from the Manchester Examiner and Times, shewing how the intolerance of Swedish orthodoxy enters injuriously even into the most sacred relations of life, and close this part of our subject with the earnest hope that the power of public opinion will before long triumph in Sweden as it has done elsewhere, and remove from this most Protestant of countries the disgrace of being as intolerant as Rome.

The orthodoxy of the Church has not preserved Sweden from the grossest vices. No country, we believe, could a

* "It will perhaps be remembered that in 1858 six women were condemned to exile from Sweden on account of their having adopted the Roman Catholic religion. In consequence of the general outcry which was excited by this display of intolerance, an ordinance was passed in 1860 which to some extent modified the severity of the law. The first article of this ordinance enacts 'that whoever publicly announces or propagates in any manner, with a view to proselytism, doctrines in opposition to the pure evangelical creed, will be punished by fines of from 50 to 300 rixdalers, or from two months to one year of prison.' A severer punishment is inflicted upon those who, by threats or promises of temporal advantage, should endeavour to convert a Swede from the official religion. If the guilty person is not a Swede, he is requested to leave the kingdom. Half the fine is to belong to the person who gives information. This was all the advancement in toleration that could be obtained from the Swedish clergy, who form one of the four states of the realm. It now appears that M. Schutze, the husband of one of the women who was banished in 1858, applied last year for a divorce and obtained it. Madame Schutze was not heard before the tribunal, and her property was confiscated. The following is the official document in which the Consistory of Stockholm pronounced the divorce: 'Considering that Anne Schutze, the wife of Charles John Schutze, has been condemned to banishment from the kingdom of Sweden, for apostacy from the pure evangelical doctrine; that for this reason the civil tribunal of Stockholm, by decree of the 17th March last, declared the marriage tie dissolved; that the husband producing this decree before the Consistory, and asking to have it put in force, the Consistory, by virtue of this decree and the royal ordinance of the 27th April, 1810, declares the marriage tie between C. J. Schutze and Anne Schutze dissolved.' The signatures and seal of the Consistory are attached to this document."

few years ago have rivalled her in intemperance. It was not an uncommon thing to see proclamations against drunkenness in all the places of public resort, announcing that it would be regarded not as an extenuation, but as an aggravating circumstance, in all criminal cases, and fixing the penalty which should be borne by all clergymen who, by appearing in the pulpit when intoxicated, should give offence to their congregations. Twenty years ago, the distilleries in the country were no fewer than 170,000. The use of spirits was not confined to the lower classes, as we can imagine in view of the above-cited proclamations; and though dram-drinking is much on the decline, it is still the practice to begin dinner by drinking several glasses of spirit. Mr. Lüttke maintains that this practice, however much it may have lessened of late years, is still the chief cause of the moral degradation of whole districts and entire classes of the community; and we can readily believe him. But this evil has produced a strong temperance movement. Wieselgren, a clergyman who has taken the position in Sweden which Father Mathew occupied in Ireland, has devoted all his life and his energies to the great work. His writings, and above all his unrivalled eloquence, have produced most encouraging results. In his own parish, 61 of the 62 distilleries are closed, and the abstinence movement he began gained a convert even in the late King Oscar. The number of distilleries has been reduced to 200, though it must be remarked that this diminution has mostly occurred in the small establishments, so that production has not proportionately decreased. It is, however, no small thing to say that the consumption of spirits is now only one-fifth of what it was before Wieselgren began his philanthropic labours. The work of promoting temperance has led to the establishment of other truly Christian agencies: domestic missions are beginning their benevolent operations, and, by reacting upon the higher classes, are producing a more earnest interest in religious matters. Much has not yet been done, especially when present achievements are compared with what remains to be done; but in so apathetic a body as the Swedish Church, every new sign of life is full of interest. Several houses of refuge have been established, in which at first the children of those families who were ruined by indulgence in drink were received, but which have gradually extended their aims to the reception of those in danger of falling into

crime, or who have already come under the notice of the police. Some of these schools, founded in the first enthusiasm of the new temperance movement, have been closed, but others are still in active and useful operation. Mr. Lüttke reports the interesting visits he made to several of the schools, and gives a very favourable description of one of the largest of them in the neighbourhood of Lund, in which boys and girls are apparently being trained as useful members of society; though he complains that sufficient variety is not given in the employment of the children, agriculture being almost exclusively the occupation for which they are prepared. We are not quite convinced that very much might not be said in favour of this plan, as the hard work of tillage forms a most valuable corrective to the precocious cunning of too many of the destitute children trained in the vices and self-indulgence of city life. A deaconesses' institution has been founded on the model of the celebrated establishment at Kaiserswerth: unfortunately, the sisterhood rarely finds recruits from any class above that of the daughters of small farmers; and in a few cases, when ladies were desirous of consecrating themselves to this benevolent work, they have been prevented by the interference of their friends and connections, as nursing is still looked upon in Sweden, as perhaps it is also elsewhere, as a menial office. A girls' school and a penitentiary connected with the Home are doing a very useful work in a very efficient manner. A society for the care of women discharged from prison has also been founded, under the patronage of the Duchess of Ostgothland, but only so lately as to give as yet no evidence either of success or failure. One fact, however, which reflects a sad light upon the morality of Stockholm, where the institution has its home, appears in its last annual report—two-fifths of the women it received had been imprisoned for infanticide. Similar charities—amongst others, two Bible societies and various missionary societies—bear witness to the awakening of the Church to a new life. What form that life will take it is impossible to say, but any movement must be preferable to the dark stagnation of the last century and of the first quarter of the present. The breath seems to have come from the four winds upon the dry bones of the Swedish Church, and its members will perhaps soon shew that the life which has re-entered them is inspired by the spirit of the Lord. * * *.

V.—THEOLOGY IN ITS RELATION TO PROGRESSIVE KNOWLEDGE:

An Address at the Opening of the Session 1865-6 of Manchester New College, London, Oct. 9, 1865.

The College which resumes its work this day professes to impart a special training for the Christian Ministry: and the Christian Minister is one who, in discipleship to Jesus Christ, aims to guide the reverence, to ennoble the conscience, and sustain the piety, of men. To treat such an office as the object of a particular discipline, not simply for the character and affections, but for the intellect too, takes for granted, what has not always been admitted, that Theology is, in some sense, a Science and admits of being methodically taught. This assumption would be false, if religious truth were simply a natural intuition, or a supernatural inspiration, in each individual mind. Just as Aristotle, in order to save Ethics for scientific treatment, dismisses the hypotheses that virtue is either a native faculty or a given feeling, and insists that it is a formed quality and developed order of preferences in the mind;* so, if our "schools of the prophets" are to have any justification, we must be prepared to shew, that religion contains matter for teaching, and is neither inborn like eyesight, nor an arbitrary visitant like a trance or dream: for, in the one case, training would be superfluous, and, in the other, impossible. All teaching is communication from mind to mind: it implies that one mind may know more than another, and the same mind more at a later time than at an earlier. And, using the inequality as instrument for the progress, it further assumes that teacher and taught, instead of being abandoned to lonely inspiration,—"words that cannot be uttered,"—have a common medium of thought and mutual intelligence, and can meet, when they speak together, upon the same real objects. As every Medical school takes for granted, by its very existence, that the animal body is real, and its physiological constitution permanent and cognizable; as every Law school takes for granted that human society is constant, and throws its self-regulating forces into a machinery but

* Eth. Nic. II. v.

little variable; so does a Theological school assume that God and his relations to man are objective realities, perpetually there and approachable by human faculties. Two things therefore, with regard to the nature of religion, are denied by every such institution as this: (1) it is not a mere natural instinct; (2) it is not a mere supernatural grace. And two things about it are affirmed: (1) it presents something real and permanent for the intellect to hold by; (2) it has its undetermined and progressive lines, on which it is the business of the teacher to move and mark the fixed points as they emerge.

Without this mixed composition, of the constant and the variable, it may be doubted whether, intellectually, religion would retain its interest at all. Were it nothing but a scheme of shifting conceptions, unrelated to anything beyond our personality,—the mere shadow of ourselves flung on the universe without,—it might remain, like any other illusion, a curious object of psychological analysis, but would lose all serious place in human life. Were it, on the other hand, a scheme of absolute knowledge, so determined and rounded off as to be, like its Object, "without variableness or shadow of a turning," it might no doubt be recited afresh to each generation, like the alphabet or the numeration table, and so far be made the business of a school: but however new to the learner, it would be old to the teacher, and become wearisome as a routine, unquickened by the real life of his mind. So repugnant is this to both the intellectual and the spiritual nature, that no effort can render it possible for long. Thought is alive, and cannot rotate like a machine; and, in its eagerness for movement, carries every science with it, if not into advance, into aberration,—at any rate into change. Still more are reverence and affection alive; and, while faithful to the same object, they are unable to rest without transporting it into a new air and investing it with fresh lights: so that a religion forbidden to improve betakes itself to degeneracy, rather than become petrified, and, instead of growing upwards into statelier proportions, breaks into lateral deformities, as the only vent for its vitality. What, for instance, are all the outrages on sense and history committed by the prophetic or allegorical interpreter, but an attempt to adjust a fixed text to a moving world, to find room within the

narrow frame of the ancient letter for the grand lines and various groups of the modern picture? These cannot be left out of the scheme of faith, since they have found their way into the scheme of things: and those who seek for God, not in his own universe, but in a document about it, are obliged to stretch and distort the record to make room for what is not there. Even in the most stationary theologies, the real interest lies in the expansion of old truth to embrace and consecrate the newest births of time.

The mode, however, of dividing the constant from the variable elements in a religion is not always the same; and in the intellectual training of Christian teachers, it makes the greatest difference which of two principles we adopt as our rule.

The first assumes that the things to be taught are a determinate stock of truths given in perpetuity, susceptible of no increase, secured against all abatement. These are the divine *constants;* filling the whole sphere of religion; and throwing out all the variables into the secular sciences and arts; amid which religion is to find its application without any reaction upon its theory. Let us consider what direction is naturally impressed upon theological education by this assumption.

The primary aim will be to teach methodically the fixed scheme of positive religion, and secure on every side its hold on the student's mind. Nor is it by any means a scanty intellectual culture that may subserve this end. For the Protestant (to whom we must limit our view) the scheme is embodied in Scripture. Now to be master of Scripture is to be at home in two languages, most unlike each other, and long silent upon the earth; to have an eye and ear for their dialectic variations in time and place; to trace the literary life of the Hebrew people from its dawn to its decline, and of Christendom in its obscure beginnings; to be familiar with the history of the Eastern world till it became a province of the West. These resources are needed for entering into the interior of Scripture. But no ancient book is rightly appreciated, unless its external history is surveyed, and the witnesses examined to its origin, its travels, its transmission, the uncertainties of its text, and worth of its translations:—researches, the extent and complexity of which are sufficiently attested by the immense

critical apparatus they have placed at our disposal. From the moment when the Scriptures were snatched from sacerdotal keeping and delivered over, as the new-found oracles of God, to the venerating scrutiny of reading men, the development of sacred learning was large and rapid; and, though for a time suspended by the excitement and desolation of religious wars, still shewed, in Limborch and Le Clerc, how little the intellectual impulse given by Calvin and Beza had spent its force. The refinement and security which modern scholarship has gradually attained, and the compendious form into which the results of vast research are now reduced, are unfavourable to the reputation of those earlier masters of sacred criticism: the light handbook gives us what we want at a glance, and their heavy folios are left to gather the dust upon our shelves. But whoever has occasion to consult them will be disposed to wonder at the vast strides of approach already made towards the standard of learning in our own day; especially when he remembers to how great an extent the scholar of the sixteenth and even the seventeenth century had to be his own lexicographer and grammarian, to make his own index and concordance, to work out his own archæology, to construct his own maps and tables of dates, and go to the sources of history for himself. These disadvantages, which would excuse a much greater inaccuracy than we actually find, drove the man of learning out over an immense field, and gave him a range of erudition and a grasp of judgment which may well astonish the more special students of later times.

The proportions in which the religious and the simply intellectual impulse contributed to the great works of Protestant erudition, it is impossible to determine. Were it not that, at the revival of learning, precisely similar phenomena appeared on the field of secular literature, and Joseph Scaliger and Henry Stephens rivalled the greatest prodigies of theological industry, we might be tempted to say that nothing short of an overpowering reverence for the Bible as the word of God, could sustain the laborious patience of the old divines, or invest with any living interest their verbal criticisms and technical disputes. Perhaps the spell put upon the imagination in the two cases, by the undiscovered wisdom and beauty of Pagan literature, and

by the spiritual depth of the sacred books, was not so dissimilar as we might suppose, and would stir the mind to the same efforts, and produce analogous results. But, when the first flush of wondering impulse had passed away, secular and sacred learning were doomed, by a single cause, to take different directions, and acquire a character ever more distinct. The Scriptures were assumed to be a continuous oracle, an unbroken authoritative record, homogeneous for all the purposes of religious guidance, a divine book in which the ever-living Author, wielding the human secretaries as his organs of communication, discloses all that is known of his will and moral government. If a critic were to treat the Iliad of Homer, the Cyropædeia of Xenophon, and the history of Thucydides, as belonging to one another, and all as components of the philosophy of Aristotle, the results could scarcely be more fatally grotesque. No doubt, the sanctity attributed to every line secured an eager and prolonged scrutiny of the text, word by word: but the gaze was too close, and the imaginary light was too intense, for clear and comprehensive vision. An exaggerated significance was seen in the simplest phrase; narrative was construed into type, and myth mistaken for history; a Hebrew ode was made to yield evangelic dogma; and whether the Elohist or the Jehovist told the story of Creation, whether Job affirmed of God or his friends denied, whether the Preacher taught Epicureanism or the later Isaiah the law of humiliation, whether Matthew presented Christ as miraculously conceived, or Paul as the pre-existing spiritual Adam, or John the evangelist as the Incarnate Logos,—it was all alike authoritative:—the various elements fused into one uniform alloy, and re-issued, as shekels of gold, to serve for coin of the temple. In the presence of such preconceptions, it is evident that all historical method, all recognition of natural growth of religious ideas, all critical appreciation of contrasted doctrines, all discharge of local and personal errors from the imperishable essence of divine truth, must remain impossible: and scholarship, kindled at first, but dizzied at last, with the monotonous glory it sees upon the page, settles into blindness and distinguishes nothing. There is an immense accumulation of theological erudition; but, under this spell, it lies dead and dark, and yields none of the brilliant results of

the corresponding secular learning. There is not within it the free, sincere and healthy movement on which elsewhere the veracious instinct of the intellect insists; it is held in hand and marched about, as if to check an enemy. Are there weak places exposed and threatened? its masses are ordered up to close and hide them. Can an impression be made of reserved strength? its ranks are opened to shew it and scare assault away. This is not the spirit of the true scholar; who, knowing no enemy, can leave unguarded any holy places already held, and go forth, as pilgrim and explorer, to find new ones that shall enlarge his homage and consecrate fresh points upon the world.

Not even the most rigid theologian, however, can live exclusively with what he regards as the *constants* of religion. Fix these as he may, he finds himself in a changing scene, with the *variables* of which he is in immediate contact; and the relations between the immutable data of his creed and the shifting conditions of human life have to be re-adjusted, as new ideas and wants arise. To qualify himself for this, and become a proficient in *applied religion*, he must know how the world is going on, follow in the track of the advancing sciences, listen to the tones of the younger literature, and breathe the air of other men's thought. He cannot act as trustee of the deposit committed to him, unless he looks around him and sees how it is to be administered in the altered temper of the generations as they rise; what doubts it has to meet, what repugnance to encounter; by what fresh paths of approach it must reach minds now transported into uncalculated latitudes. Theological education, therefore, however severely conservative, is far from deserving the reproach of indifference to the march of the phenomenal sciences. Its own purpose can never be fulfilled without a comprehensive knowledge, revised and filled in from time to time, of whatever the historical critic, and the inductive philosopher, and the speculative thinker, may profess to have achieved. But, under such an inflexible system, the student's specialty is this; through his wide range he sees nothing in its simply natural light, judges nothing by its own proper evidence, but carries with him a criterion foreign to the field; his stock of *constants* he uses as *regulative*, determining without appeal what shall be taken and what be left; all that falls in with them he appropriates and works

in to modernize his creed; all that conflicts with them he discards and blackens as profane. By thus importing the postulates of a divinity-school as the measure of inductive truth, a hopeless breach is created between the logic of theology and that of science, and a war begun which is the more miserable, because the parties to it, always within reach of irritating challenge, move upon different lines and can never fairly meet. It is needless to say how this method spoils everything it touches, scholarship, natural knowledge, religion, and produces the temper most alien to the genius of them all. Is it not a melancholy fact that every modern science has had to make good its footing, not only against sluggish incredulity and prejudice, but against misguided piety? that the very Sun could not find his right place in the heavens, or Man prove, by bits of pottery and flint, his long tenancy of this earth, without a clamour of devout fear and futile contradiction? Is it right that we should always know beforehand, irrespective of the evidence, what reception every physical or ethnological theory which makes large demands on time, every critical verdict which lowers the date or re-names the author of a Hebrew book, will meet with from the clergy? There must be something wrong in a system which disturbs the quiet of eternal truth by dissolving in it a fermenting mass of decaying opinion; and whoever can precipitate the precarious foreign admixtures, and leave the fountains of faith pure and clear, brings the truest healing to the moral and spiritual life of men.

In order to provide for this function, and escape the evils just described, the College for which I speak to-day follows a different rule in drawing its line between the constants and the variables in religion. The principle is this: the things *about which we teach* are given in perpetuity; but the things *to be taught about them* are open to revision in every age. God, in his relations to the universe and to ourselves; Man, his individual and social nature, his responsible position, his history, his destination,—are the ultimate objects which we here aspire to know; and, as media of this knowledge, on the philosophical side, the intellectual, ethical and spiritual phenomena of the mind; and, on the historical, the manifestations of Divine Life in the past of our humanity, and primarily in the person and work of Jesus Christ, with whom it culminates, and from whom dates a new birth of inextinguishable faith and aspiration, a new

glow, unexhausted yet, of pity and of hope. The form and spirit of an intellectual training conducted on this principle it is not difficult to trace.

It is sometimes supposed, that where so much is left open to revision, the continuity of belief must be broken, and no permanent roots be struck to feed the growth and mature the fruits of religious character. Each teacher, it is imagined, relying on his lonely fancies, and dignifying them with the name of intuitions, will begin his quest *de novo*, and think out his scheme of doctrine, as if he were floating by himself in space; owning no authority, and deriving no strength from his partnership in the heritage of humanity. Nothing can be more erroneous. No doubt it must always rest with the individual reason and conscience to pronounce the personal verdict of true or false; but the pleadings on which they decide are fetched from the gathered stores of Christian and heathen wisdom, and epitomize the thought expended on the oldest and deepest problems; and, when seeming to flow immediately from a single mind, are rendered possible there only by a traceless myriad of influences infiltrating into it from earlier time. The whole Past must rain upon the uplands, and the clouds hang on the invisible peaks, of history, to make the smallest rill of thought that winds through our own day. Even in the philosophical treatment of natural Ethics and Religion, where, as in all deductive reasoning, we seem to be independent of what predecessors have found, and to draw conclusions that would be at home in any age, the appearance is illusory; for that very human nature from whose phenomena we reason and whose affections we interpret, has expanded into new and richer forms, and presents, in its circle of Christian experience, data unknown before. And in historical theology, the very semblance of any breach with the past is simply impossible. No man can extemporize, or spin out of himself, a critical knowledge of ancient languages, literature and life; he is here absolutely dependent on forerunners for his whole outfit of original assumptions and beliefs, and must start on his own explorings from the point at which they have deposited him. The slow and gentle way in which alone the shadows can ever break from off the ancient world, and a little light steal in, now from the pages of a recovered book, now through the propylæum of a dug-up temple, and then from some happy flash of philological

combination, sufficiently secures us, so long as we are simple and trustful, without fear and without guile, from any but silent and insensible changes of historical conviction. In such matters, the shocks all come from our insincerities and delays on the one hand, and from the reaction of irreverent extravagance provoked upon the other; feverish paroxysms being the inevitable retribution of long reticence and suppression.

In order to fall in with the peaceful course of theological change, to hold by what is undisturbed, and detach it from the doom of the rest, the student must be well brought up to the point already reached, the point at which he pitches his tent and raises his altar, till he is ordered to move on. This involves the whole apparatus of knowledge required, in the former case, by the stationary defender of the faith; together with an important addition, viz. an acquaintance with the *history* of theology, in the largest sense; not only with the ecclesiastical stages by which accepted dogma was formed, but with the inverse critical processes by which it has been partially dissolved, and removed from the faith of scholarly men. One who is pledged to hold a compacted scheme of belief as divine, can never recognize it as growing or declining with the changing seasons of our nature, at one time the creation, at another the victim, of human reason. He is obliged, therefore, to ignore its history, however indisputable it may be; to treat as an image fallen from heaven, some idol of doctrine which, if you are familiar with its first age, you may see gradually moulded under the pressure of the time; and to insist that it still stands as adamant, though in the dry intellectual air all its tenacity is gone, and observers wonder when the clay is to crumble into dust. Even within the memory of our own generation, how many are the determinate points of change, which it would be simply stupid not to register as past events in the history of opinion! What has become of the date which stood in our school-tables, "Creation of the World, B.C. 4004"? and what of the next, "The Universal Deluge, B.C. 2348"? Into what undreamt-of distance has Egyptian chronology retreated! yet how many such steps must we repeat, ere we alight upon the first vestiges of man! and how many more, to exhaust the relics of life and death upon this world! We have learned to recognize the composite structure and comparatively low date of the Pentateuch; the

progression of religious doctrine through the Old Testament; its variety in the New; the mixture of unhistorical elements in both, and of human opinions long ago corrected, and expectations never fulfilled. In what state of mind would the scholar be who did not know these things? or the reasoner who should suppose that they left all as it was before? All that is *real*, indeed, all that is *Divine*,—God in his perfection, Christ in his filial sanctity, and for humanity the eternal law of Duty and Self-sacrifice,—they and similar changes without end, sweep past and leave more majestic than before. But he only can feel the serenity of this assurance, to whose trust no constants are essential beyond the irremovable realities.

Even he, however, must, from time to time, take careful account of the course of discovery in its bearings on the common heritage of faith, with a view to guide and re-settle the piety of others. For this end, something more is needed than a knowledge of what has already been done, affecting theological belief: he must know what is *still doing*,—the inquiries that are hovering and preparing to alight,—the thoughts that are in the air,—the weather-signs that drift upon the clouds: for these, interpreted by the law of the past, will often give a serviceable presage of the future, and prevent the misplacement of sympathy and effort. If he have the tact of a tender and pious heart, he will use this foresight of the probable direction of thought, not loudly to prejudge what is yet on trial, or to hurt a reverence which time, if it does not entirely spare, may gently train another way; but to avoid lingering too long upon a precarious spot, and silently to withdraw men's worship to ground for ever sacred. But, beyond this noiseless preparation for changes that may not be far, he will guard his mind against any interest of religious partizanship in the pending problems of science or criticism. Removed alike from boastful elation at their progress and from blind repugnance to it, he will give his religion no regulative power over his scientific judgment: so that, from the tone of his devotion and the cast of his affections, you shall not be able to tell beforehand what he thinks of the origin of species, or the antiquity of man, or the date of Daniel, or the authenticity of the fourth Gospel; but he will surrender himself simply to the facts as they appear in evidence; frankly going with every conclusion fairly won; pausing in every suspense; resting on

what is undisturbed; deeming it the office at once of reason and of faith, not to bespeak the universe that ought to be, but humbly to accept the universe that is, and find room in it for reverence and trust.

That this enlargement of the variables in theology, so as to include the whole sphere of phenomenal knowledge, is alone consistent with the true temper of the philosopher and the scholar, will hardly be questioned. But how will it affect our religion? Does it not put Revelation at hazard? Is piety safe, when so much to which it clings is set afloat?

I reply, our rule sets nothing afloat, but only provides how we shall demean ourselves towards that which, by the decree of nature and of God, *is afloat:* and the rule is simply, not to deal with it, whilst it is in motion, as if it were fixed. Certainty is not ours to create or to annihilate; we cannot make it, by pretending it; we do not destroy it, by letting its absence speak for itself. If piety has been brought, as is too probable, to cling to many doubtful and perishable things, so far it is assuredly unsafe: but will you remedy this by declaring the doubtful to be sure, and the perishable immortal? or, by giving the affection its true Object, and carrying it to an eternal rest? If Christendom, sickly and feeble with its long disease of dogma, has got to put its trust, not so much in the living God and his own real ways, as in certain opinions about him and reports of his acts, it is a healing process to disengage its soul from the detaining veil of human notions and propositions, and deliver it straight into personal divine relations. An unreserved repose upon reality, an acceptance of it as better than any semblance and having absolute right over our ideas, is the genuine piety of the intellect, without which there is no sacredness in its exercise, no struggling refractions, no tender tints of trust and sacrifice, to mellow its dry light.

All "Revelation," by the very force of the term, must be a disclosure of *things as they are.* Every corrected conception of things as they are, sustained by scientific evidence, either concurs with the presumed revelation, or it does not. If it does not, a human error is eliminated from an aggregate which we had charged entirely on God, and what is his own stands purified: the natural has gained a light, and the supernatural has lost a darkness. If it *does* concur, then what was before known as revealed is now also known as natural: we see for ourselves what had been taken on the

testimony of those who knew better; and our apprehension is unspeakably cleared and deepened. The truth no longer hangs detached, plainly seen indeed, but apart from its tissue of relations; it has found its footing and settled upon its own ground. Revealed religion, so far as it is not fancied but real, must always be undergoing this conversion into natural: if it gives us the master-thought of God, the true key to which the unopened recesses of the inner and the outer world will yield, it can hardly fail to find, or by developing to add, the experiences which conform to it and evidence it. Whatever, being found in Scripture, is re-found in nature and in life, becomes an independent possession of humanity; and, except that the *history* of truth is only second in importance to truth itself, the very Scriptures might so far suffer again their medieval disappearance, without loss of the treasure they had given to the world.

And, if the theologians could but look with a calm eye upon the past, they must see that, wherever the strife is over and the field is still, every advance of knowledge has been a gain to religion, won at the expense only of deforming fictions. As our petty schemes of the world break in pieces and fall away, diviner ones construct themselves and make us ashamed of our regrets. Who would now, in the interests of piety, wish to have back the childish little kosmos of the Hebrew legends, or the three stories of the Pauline heaven? or dare to say, that, in superseding them, Copernicus and Newton blasphemed? Who would choose to have no kosmos at all till six thousand years ago, or fling a stone at a Herschel or a Lyell for letting in light and shewing life within that dark immensity? The age of the world, as it deepens, does but prolong its testimony to God, and make it worthier of his eternity: its scale, as it expands, does but place us in a temple more august, and nearer to his Infinity. Does any one, whose mind has been enlarged by ancient history and whose heart has listened to the old mythologies, want to have his sympathies reduced again to the "chosen people," and the divine communion with our race, so various and pathetic in its early struggling tones, restricted to that only channel? And if from the person of Jesus Christ the artificial dress of Messianic investiture, and some disguising shreds of Jewish fable, drop away, who that can fix an appreciating eye on the emerging form, will not say that it is diviner far, embodying in its grand and touching linea-

ments the essence and spirit of a new life of God in our humanity? This experience, this removal to a higher point of faith, is from the first the invariable result with the scholar who works most freely, because quite trustfully, at these problems: as, after long delay, it comes to be the result with all at last. The intermediate disturbance of religious calm,—the pious dismay on the one hand, the petulant irreverence on the other,—befall chiefly those who do not intimately commune with such researches, but, looking on, judge them by external and inapplicable standards, and not by their inner and essential relations. Whoever, in these things, has gone deep and touched ground, is not afraid of falling into a bottomless abyss: and hence the moral importance of that thoroughness of study which we strive to cultivate here. For, may we not say, the essence of the large and liberal spirit lies in the absence of fear and the promptness of love?

Before quitting this desk it is my pleasant duty to make up our annual register of honours obtained at Midsummer in the classes of University College by students of Manchester New College. In Professor Seeley's Latin classes, three of our students were honourably distinguished; in the Lower Senior, the second certificate being awarded to Mr. Higginson; and in the Junior class, Mr. J. C. Odgers receiving the prize, and Mr. Hulme the third certificate; in the Higher Division of the Senior, Mr. Jones and Mr. Higginson both receiving seventh certificates: whilst, in the Lower Junior, the fourth certificate was awarded to Mr. J. C. Odgers, and the seventh to Mr. Hulme. In Professor De Morgan's mathematical classes, three of the same names occur again; Mr. Higginson, in the Lower Senior, taking the fifth certificate; Mr. Jones, in the Higher Junior, taking the fifth; and in the Lower Junior, Mr. Odgers, the second; completing his honours in Professor Masson's English class, where he received the first certificate. Associates on the same roll, it is pleasant to see the names of Lee, Lamport, Paget and Williams; a partnership at once gratifying to the friendships of the class-room, and marking the parallel and harmonious working of the two institutions combined within these walls. Year by year, as I read or hear this list, I thank God that, when our working-day is over, the provision is secure for service in advance of ours, on both the great fields, of civil and religious life.

JAMES MARTINEAU.

VI.—TRISTRAM'S LAND OF ISRAEL.

The Land of Israel: a Journal of Travels in Palestine, undertaken with special Reference to its Physical Character. By H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S., &c. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1865.

THERE must always be a respect, profounder than that either paid or due to the simple charm of travel, rendered to every fresh account of the Land of Israel. In vain we may plead that the Severn is as holy as the Jordan, and Helvellyn as sacred as Lebanon, since God is everywhere equally present to the soul open for the reception of His spirit; in spite of the strictest rationalism, haunting sanctities will cling to the spots hallowed by Jewish legend, history and faith. The land where patriarchs kept their flocks and prophets prophesied, and the peculiar physical features of which so manifestly touched the heart of Christ, and gave their tone and colour to his speech, will ever be the Holy Land; and the name of every well and village, valley and mountain, be laden with a reverential regard.

We cannot but hold the fact, that the historical records of our religion are inextricably entwined with Eastern forms of life and scenery, as of spiritual advantage. The most diverse forms of civilization are thus brought within the hallowing influence of one faith; and the result is that peculiar quickening of the imagination which involves the sympathetic action of our higher spiritual nature. In the climate, scenery and productions of Palestine, the familiar and the unfamiliar are most strangely blended. From sweet English meadows, the traveller plunges into the desert; now he hears the cheery notes of the little waterouzel as on Cheviot-side, and now shoots the African sand-grouse; in the heat of noonday he rests beneath the palm, in the evening encamps under an oak such as he climbed in boyhood in the home field; while within the same quire of botanical paper he preserves an Indian and an almost Arctic plant. We do not doubt that our Christian prayers are unconsciously influenced by this characteristic of the Land of Israel, pervading as it does so deeply the scriptural phraseology in which they are clothed. Illustrations drawn from known plants and scenes being blended with unknown

names, at once render the familiar more unfamiliar, and the unfamiliar more familiar; thus giving the sanctity of holy association to varied forms of thought and feeling.

"When Solomon spoke of trees, from the 'cedar tree that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall,' his botanical range extended from the hardy pine under northern snows to the plants of the sultry deserts of Arabia. No land could be found more capable of providing illustrations for a Book which was to be read and understood by the men of north and south alike—which was to teach the lessons of truth equally to the dweller in the tropics and under the poles—than this, in which the palm, the vine, and the oak flourish almost side by side."*

As a traveller, Mr. Tristram takes high rank, uniting within himself many qualifications. A clergyman, as yet unperplexed with any doubt touching the ancient record, he lingers over each detail of scriptural name and locality with loving reverence. To determine a doubtful site, is to him almost a religious exercise, discharged with the loyal care of a worshipful faith. At the same time, as a naturalist of repute, he possesses an educated power of observation united with more regard for the discernment of facts than for the establishment even of Biblical theories. He has none of that strong desire to see exactly what is wanted, for the sake of a preconceived interpretation of Scripture, which has led some observers, for example, to describe flint strongly impregnated with oxide of iron as basalt, simply because a volcano was required in a particular locality for the destruction of Sodom.

The spirit of a true and honest lover of nature, and of a healthful personal courage, pervades the book. Certainly a traveller might be excused some expression of feverish anxiety when, encamped near a desolated village, the slaughtered bodies of women and children scattered around, he is told by the old sheikh in charge to go to bed and "be happy," but at the same time not to undress and to be sure to keep all arms ready by his side; but throughout this and several other nerve-trying experiences, Mr. Tristram and his party carry themselves with a manliness which approaches to the chivalry of travel. The primary object of the expedition was scientific. A period of ten months (1863-64)

* Preface, pp. vi, vii.

was spent in the examination chiefly of the geology and natural history of the country, attention being particularly directed to the basin of the Dead Sea and districts east of Jordan, as least accessible to travellers, and of which our knowledge is least complete. The book published by Mr. Tristram is, for the most part, a transcript of letters written on the spot, and very graphically conveys the observations and impressions of each day as to the scenery, features and products of the district through which the party was passing. We shall not attempt to follow the route in detail, but select a few points of interest, giving the precedence to those scientific researches which it was the avowed purpose of the journey to institute.

The most valuable part of the book as a contribution to science is undoubtedly the collection of observations it contains regarding the peculiar distribution of the flora and fauna of Palestine. Plants, birds and animals, native to perfectly distinct climates, and which would be individually connected with entirely different centres of distribution in the classification of the naturalist, dwell together in a district not larger than the three northern counties of England. It is not merely as upon the flanks of the Himalayas and other mountainous regions within the tropics, that difference of height above the sea level involves variation of species, but that actual inhabitants of the tropical, temperate, and even almost arctic zones, are found perching on the same trees and among the same marshes, rocks and woods. At Wady Kurn, on the very shores of the Mediterranean, the great fish-eating owl *(Ketupa Ceylonensis)* was captured; now discovered for the first time beyond the limits of Southern India, although its westward range extends to China. At the same place also, the fox-headed bat *(Xantharpyia ægyptiaca)* marked the westward extension of an Indian fauna. Birds hitherto deemed exclusively African were not unfrequently collected; among others, the striolated bunting *(Emberiza striolata)*, an inhabitant of the Sahara and the Nubian desert, and never yet noted as occurring in Asia; and the bush chat *(Saxicola philothamna)*, first discovered by Mr. Tristram in the Sahara. The grakle *(Amydrus tristrami)*, a bird exclusively confined to the rocky gorges round the Dead Sea and the gorge of Kedron at Marsaba, is of peculiar interest, since the

group to which it belongs is exclusively African, and has not even a representative in Europe or Asia. To complete a contrast with India and Africa, a wild swan, shot at Solomon's Pool, near Bethlehem, was brought into market by a countryman,—a bird never before recognized so far south; while the field-fare, water-ouzel and other well-known British species, were not unfrequently observed in various districts. At the Wady Sudeir, on the Dead Sea, a solitary lapwing of the common English species was obtained, almost destitute of flesh and well-nigh starved to death; while by the same sea a new species of sparrow was discovered *(Passer moabiticus)*, which appears to be no straggler either from Europe, Asia or Africa, but to be native and peculiar to this restricted locality. Evidently, in this collection of birds, we have indications of large geological changes since the period of the creation of the fauna now existing upon the earth. It cannot be explained by any theory of the chance wanderings of species from different climates; the whole details of the phenomenon in question are far too delicate and too accurately proportioned for such a supposition. We have not only species from several zones, but some are dying out and others are localized within marked limits. We have not merely the occurrence of one or two stray specimens, but the systematic crossing of distinct lines from several specific centres. Another explanation may possibly even at this day be suggested by those who harden their hearts against the influence of modern scientific research. It may be urged, that since "out of the ground in the Garden of Eden, the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them," it is not surprising that species of various kinds should be found lingering near the original centre of all creation, especially since the Ark, preserving examples of every living thing, rested upon Ararat. The original creation and subsequent preservation of all creatures at one centre is, however, an utterly helpless supposition: not only are the difficulties of travel for bird and insect and fresh-water fish insuperable, but in various widely separated regions the tertiary fossils bear a special and peculiar relationship to a locally existing fauna, indicative of the existence of specific centres in long-vanished ages. One or two further facts collected by Mr.

Tristram coincide with those already noted, and force us to look in the direction of geographical changes, occurring in comparatively recent geological time, for solution of the problem. The mixture of butterflies is as curious as that of birds. In the plain of Gennesaret,

"While the flowers of the plain, with the exception of the anemone, differed from those of the hills, the butterflies, which now for the first time in our travels were abundant, curiously enough were for the most part identical with those of England; *many of which re-appear here after being supplanted by cognate species in Eastern and Southern Europe.* Thus the painted lady *(Cynthia cardui)*, the large and small cabbage whites *(Pontia brassica* and *P. rapi)*, swallow-tail *(Papilio machaon)*, clouded orange *(Colias edusa)*, were mingled with several Nubian and Egyptian species; and our own orange tip *(Anthocharis cardaminis)* takes the place of the South European *A. eupheno.*"*

Not only do we thus find the mingling of species, native to climates as different as Nubia and England, upon a kind of neutral territory, but the reappearance of species which have disappeared in the connecting continent. The observation is curiously indicative of the delicacy of climatic changes, the probable extent of which we shall immediately examine. It is well known that species of molluscs common in the British seas during the crag epoch, disappeared with the descent of the glacier and the iceberg, returning with the renewal of the warmth of our waters: in such facts as those regarding the connection between the butterflies of Palestine and Britain, we have a kindred illustration of the principle, that the centre from which a fauna radiates, perpetually shifts with variation of climatic condition.

We approach more nearly to zoological proof of geological changes, in the most extraordinary collection of fish made by Mr. Tristram from the Lake of Gennesaret.

"Of the ten species obtained by us, *all* were African; three were new to science; no less than four belonged to the genus *Chromis*, an African tropical genus, and of which the Sea of Galilee is by far the most northerly known limit. It is most unusual to find any genus so richly represented in its most outlying provinces. Again, one *(Hemichromis sacer)* belongs to a genus first established on a species from the Gaboon, and of which

* P. 434.

seven species have been brought by Dr. Kirk, Dr. Livingstone's companion, from South-Eastern Africa. No *geographically intermediate species are known.* Do not these most interesting and unexpected discoveries point to some ancient geological epoch, when the long chain of fresh-water lakes extended from Hermon to the Zambesi, and the Jordan was an African river flowing into the Dead Sea, then a lake connected with the African lakes by the Red Sea, also a lake?"*

There can be little doubt that this suggestion is correct. It is not the only instance on record of fish being left behind by geographical alteration of their habitat. In the lakes of South Sweden, an occasional arctic species may be found—left behind by the last upheaval of the land, and unable to escape to more congenial intensity of cold. The existence of ten African species in an isolated lake in Palestine, involves a conclusion far more curious and important than can be expressed by the mere remark that there happen to be the same species in two localities. Physically, the Gaboon River is remarkably distinct from the Sea of Galilee. The species common to both are not only identical, but peculiar and richly represented, and no geographical connection can be traced through intermediate forms. The whole circumstances, therefore, demand for their explanation a far closer approximation of geographical conditions than exists at the present day.

Generally speaking, indeed, the facts we have grouped together regarding the peculiar geographical distribution of various Palestinian species, both of insects, birds and fish, compel us to search for geological evidences of alterations in the relative position of land and water, shiftings of level, and variations of climate, as having taken place since the world was peopled with its existing fauna.

With respect to the geology of Palestine, however, he would be a bold man who would attempt more than to form a general conception of the various questions involved. It is greatly to be desired that the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund should direct a systematic survey, in the absence of which no satisfactory solution can be offered to some of the most curious problems in the whole range of geological study. The unreliable character of the various

* P. 575.

geological notes scattered through the works of Robinson, Porter, De Saulcy, is such as to render them practically useless. When we discover that the face of the bold steep brow on which stands the ancient Bethshean, described by Robinson as "black and apparently volcanic," and by Porter as "probably once a crater," is in reality simply a limestone bluff, although there are blocks of basalt lying about, and that a short walk to find a clean facing on the hill-side would have settled the question; and when we are further assured that lava torrents and extinct craters have been described (as, for example, by M. de Saulcy) upon the shores of the Dead Sea, of which there does not exist a trace, although there is plenty of silex and nodules of ironstone (which perhaps had been taken for lava), and a few morsels of scoriæ evidently floated down from the upper waters;—we are compelled to look suspiciously upon every colour we may have put upon our geological sketch-map of the country. Mr. Tristram's notes, as far as they go, are evidently those of a reliable naturalist, although he names a rock upon his route very much as he shoots a passing bird, without being able to follow, over any large area, the systematic development of the strata. Many of his observations, however, are new and full of interest.

If our former argument be correct, and vast geological changes have taken place in Palestine, as elsewhere, since the appearance of our existing fauna, the first question is, Can we trace any of these changes within the historic era? At Tyre, Mr. Tristram examined the shore with a view to this question, but found no signs of any subsidence of land in historic times, although shattered masses of columns corroborate the records of earthquakes. It would appear certain, however, from the succession of terraces, that the level of water in the Dead Sea has altered within a comparatively recent period. At the fortress of Masada, it would be now so impossible to fill the cisterns, that the supposition naturally arises that there must have been, even since the days of the Crusaders, a considerable diminution in the rainfall of these regions;* while upon the north-east, near Lake Phiala, masses of half-decomposed lava testify to the existence of an enormous volcano at a period long subsequent

* P. 315.

to the deposition of the sedimentary rocks. The actual formation of new strata appears to be going on with remarkable rapidity. We quote a passage illustrating the formation of bone-breccia, as bearing upon some controverted questions in European geology:

"These caverns [at Es Sumrah] are now the den of wild beasts, and the excrement of the hyæna covered the floor. Vast heaps of bones of camels, oxen and sheep, had been collected by these animals, in some places to the depth of 2 or 3 ft.; and on one spot I counted the skulls of seven camels. There were no traces whatever of any human remains. We had here a beautiful illustration of the mode of formation of the old bone caverns, so valuable to the geologist. These bones must all have been brought in by the hyænas, as no camel or sheep could possibly have entered the caverns alive, nor could any floods have washed them in. Near the entrance where the water percolates, they were already forming a soft breccia."*

Those of our readers who may be studying the antiquity of man will do well to mark this passage. Every clause in it will help to give reality to the argument from the bone caverns of England and the Continent, and we have no doubt it will be quoted by Sir Charles Lyell in the next edition of his great work.

Near Jericho, the modernness of some changes is well illustrated. The plain is fringed with huge hillocks, and generally covered with a coating of mud containing land-shells of existing species. Of one genus *(Melanopsis)* there are three species common to the country—one abounding everywhere in the Ghor; another found living only in the upper waters of the Jordan and the Lake of Galilee; and the third only near Ain Sultan.

"Almost all the semi-fossil shells in the deposit of the Jordan plain are of the second species, and we could not discover any of the third. . . . . The general inference appears irresistible that within a comparatively recent geological period the whole lower valley has been exposed to fresh-water floodings from the Upper Jordan; and that the great mounds and hillocks which stud the sides of the valleys under the hills are the result of sudden freshets and torrents from the wadys to the west, which have brought down enormous masses of soil in which the shells that lived on its surface have been mingled."†

* P. 237. † P. 219.

However faint may be the indications yet observed of changes during any period of which we have historic record, we have to thank Mr. Tristram for a remarkable discovery which gives at least one definite epoch as a starting-point for our investigations. *Man co-existed in the Lebanon with the rein-deer and the elk.* Of this fact, it would seem, no reasonable doubt can be entertained.

The travellers were exploring the valley of the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout.

"On one occasion we rode by the shore for six miles, skirting the Bay of St. George, up to the point where a little headland pushes into the sea at the height of about 100 ft., on the very edge of which is hewn the ancient road so often traversed for the last 3000 years by the invaders of Syria,—Egyptian, Assyrian, Roman or Turkoman. . . . . On the N. side of the pass we could clearly trace the remains of an ancient road, rather higher and a little further back than the present one, which a Roman inscription tells us was constructed by Antoninus Pius."*

At this point Mr. Tristram discovered that the hard crystalline limestone was a mass of bone-breccia, with fragments of flint chips mingled in the stalagmite.

"The position of this mass of bone was several feet above the height of the present roadway and below the level of the more ancient Egyptian track. The remains extend perhaps for 120 ft., and it has probably formed the flooring of an ancient cavern, the roof of which must have been cut away by Rameses to form his road or to obtain a surface for his tablet. . . . . Among the cliffs, lashed by the waves and covered with seaweed, we discovered several large blocks, corresponding with the stalagmite above, and containing both bones, teeth and flints, which have perhaps lain there for 2000 or 3000 years.

"With the kind assistance of the Rev. H. H. Jessup, the American missionary at Beyrout, we were enabled afterwards to obtain a more extensive series of bones and flints. The latter consist almost entirely of elongated chips, with very sharp edges, and I may remark that I am not aware of any natural deposit of flint within three miles of this spot. One remarkable character of this mass of breccia is the extreme hardness of the crystalline limestone or stalagmite which forms it. Probably under the conditions of a Syrian climate, it would crystallize more rapidly than in our northern regions, and the hard limewater still oozing from

* Pp. 8, 9.

all the fissures around, tells how abundantly it must have streamed from the old cavern's roof. Yet from the existence of the fragments in the sea below, we may conclude that when Rameses or his Roman successors constructed their military road, the stone was as compact and crystalline as it is to-day; and that many ages must have intervened between the time of the tablets and the days when some rude savage fabricated his weapons on the soft floor of that cavern. The bones are all in fragments, the remains in all probability of the feasts of the makers of the rude implements. Four of the teeth have belonged to an ox, somewhat resembling the ox of our peat mosses, and one of them probably to a bison. Of the others, some may probably be assigned to the red-deer or rein-deer, and another to an elk. If, as Mr. Dawkins considers, these teeth are referable to those now exclusively northern quadrupeds, we have evidence of the *rein-deer and elk having been the food of man in the Lebanon*, not long before the historic period; for there is no necessity to put back to any date of immeasurable antiquity the deposition of those remains in a limestone cavern. Still there is nothing more extraordinary in this occurrence than in the discovery of the bones of the tail-less hare of Siberia in the breccias of Sardinia and Corsica; and though it brings the ancient range of these animals to a point more southerly than any previously ascertained, yet it throws light on the traditions of the bison, now almost as exclusively a northern form as the others."*

We must decidedly join issue with the remark, in the latter part of this most interesting extract, that we have evidence of the rein-deer and the elk having been the food of man *not long before the historic period.* The period in which the tail-less hare of Siberia could exist in Sardinia, and the rein-deer and elk in Palestine, would most undoubtedly be an epoch of considerable cold. It involves the existence not only of one or two quadrupeds, but of arctic, or, at the very least, semi-arctic, molluscs in the sea and birds in the air. There is an absolute necessity, therefore, for the allowance of an antiquity far beyond the measure of our ordinary historical calculations. The entire change of temperature from a climate in which a rein-deer could live to an atmosphere congenial to the birds of the Sahara and Eastern India—the northward retreat of a fauna both from land and water, and its replacement by forms appertaining to distinct and widely different centres—the subsequent

* Pp. 9—11.

elevation of the land—the accumulation of bones, teeth and flints, with their compact embedding in the midst of a crystalline limestone,—are the terms of a strange physical history, which could not be compressed within a few passing centuries, and which had been long accomplished before Rameses constructed his military road over the compact stone containing the record of the vanished past. During the same period, man was advancing from the savage, breaking out the marrow of bones with elongated chips of sharp flint, to the possession of the learning of Egypt. So far as science yet tells us, the rude savage fabricating his weapon of flint was the first inhabitant of the district not far removed from the Eden Garden of Jewish legend.

With respect to the existence of an epoch of cold more or less extreme, unmistakeably proved by the rein-deer's teeth in the breccia, we would venture to urge upon geologists visiting Palestine, careful search for those physical signs of its presence which may probably remain. If we are correctly informed, glacial markings occur in the passes of Horeb and Sinai. Mr. Tristram speaks of boulders upon hill-sides—are they transported or striated? Hollows are described, "enormous circular basins or craters in the cliffs," which bear a most remarkable likeness to the corries and basins known to be the work of ice. This peculiar scooping out of the solid mountain of rock must have been, Mr. Tristram thinks, the work of some mighty waterfall: is it, however, absolutely certain that a climate suitable for the rein-deer in the north, might not have been accompanied by the elevation of the southward ranges, and the curious "erosion and scooping" have resulted from the hollowing power of masses of glacier ice when accumulated upon a vantage-ground and moving slowly? At any rate, glacial striæ are worth looking for in a region, the peculiarity of which at present is the juxtaposition of northern and southern forms of life, and in which, since the existence of man, a more extreme cold certainly has had at least a partial prevalence.

The period when the early inhabitant of Palestine fed upon the red-deer, the elk and the bison, must (we would venture to submit) have been anterior to the existence of the fish of the Gaboon in Jordan, and the Indian owl on the shores of the Mediterranean. It would appear, at any rate,

that vast physical changes have occurred in this region subsequent to the creation of man. The climate, during the human period, was sufficiently cold to necessitate a very different geography from the present, and there are evidences also of the wider extension of a tropical vegetation, most luxuriant outlying patches of which now occur in favourable situations. At one spot, for example, south of the Dead Sea, within an hour, sixteen plants of Indian or Nubian genera were collected, all in blossom. At the same time, on the north shore, where the Jordan falls into the Dead Sea, vast numbers of palm trees, many with their roots entire, are tossed about in every conceivable position.

"It is difficult to conceive whence such vast numbers of Palms can have been brought, unless we imagine them to be the collected wrecks of many centuries. Certainly in the present state of the vegetation on its banks, but few can have been brought down the Jordan, for there is no place there where more than a rare straggler could be found. The Zerka or the Arnon may supply more, but we should scarcely expect their trees to be washed into the back-water of the Jordan. It seems more reasonable to conjecture them, the wrecks of centuries past, accumulating here from the days when the City of Palm Trees extended its groves to the edge of the river."*

Indications thus exist of oscillations of climate in the Land of Israel (taken generally) between the zone of tropical and the pole of almost arctic conditions; and if there be any truth in the remark that the fish of the Gaboon could not have inhabited the Sea of Galilee when the rein-deer wandered on the shores of the Mediterranean, these oscillations must, in large measure, have taken place since the creation of man.

Intimately connected with oscillations of climate are those records of movements of elevation and subsidence so peculiar to this country, extending from the close of the secondary epoch in the geologic scale to the periods of which we have been hitherto speaking. The precise epoch to which these movements must be assigned awaits more accurate survey. When Mr. Tristram asserts that the whole region surrounding the Dead Sea must have become dry land before the close of the Eocene period,

* P. 244.

there being no fossils of a subsequent date anywhere detected in the country, although the conclusion is in itself not improbable, we can only remember how many statements have been based upon the supposed non-occurrence of fossils, which have afterwards yielded themselves to some happy discoverer. The most recent measurement makes the depression of the Dead Sea, 1812 feet beneath the level of the Mediterranean. Its banks are marked by a succession of terraces, indicating a gradual and continuous subsidence, extending over a considerable period of time. The highest level of the water does not appear to be more than 320 feet above the present. The subsidence, therefore, being 1812 feet, and the greatest height of the water above the present level 320 feet, the conclusion of Mr. Tristram appears clear, that the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea have been formed quite independently of oceanic influences, and never had any connection with the Mediterranean.

Modern researches have declared the Sahara to be the sea-bed of a great post-tertiary ocean, which also covered parts of Asia. A remarkable similarity is noted between the phenomena of Jebel Usdum, on the Dead Sea, and of the Sebkhas and salt hills of the African Sahara; and from various circumstances it is inferred with great probability,

"— that the reduction of the Dead Sea to its present limits was synchronous with the desiccation of the post-tertiary ocean of the Sahara, and with the increasing temperature which marked the close of the glacial epoch; and that it is in fact only one (the last) in a chain of salt pools stretching across north Africa; and for this there is very strong ichthyological evidence in the genera and species of fishes inhabiting the Jordan basin." *

While the Dead Sea represents a fracture or line of great weakness on the surface of the earth, the district (possibly for this very reason) appears subject to the action of elevatory forces within limited local areas.

The great ridge of salt (Jebel Usdum) is nearly 400 feet above the level of the Dead Sea, which washes its foot, and sustains on its summit a similar deposit to that of the wadys around, indicating an upheaval subsequent to those undulations of the earth's crust, which interrupted, with the ridge of Akabah, the continuity of the sea; depressed the en-

* P. 328.

closing ridges of the Ghor; and caused a continuous synclinal stratification of the district.*

Let our readers now recall to mind the great series of changes which we have briefly noted.

Zoologically, we have traced three great epochs—the epoch of the rein-deer, the elk and the bison; the epoch of more tropical conditions, now inclining toward India and now towards Nubia and Abyssinia; and the existing epoch of the intermingling of the denizens of every zone.

Physically, we have traced indications of the flow of a great tertiary or (as it may possibly prove) post-tertiary ocean, and the final retreat of its waters; the existence of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea as connected lakes, part of a long chain extending from Hermon to the Zambesi; movements of elevation and depression going on simultaneously, and recurring at intervals more or less distinct; together with volcanic eruptions on the north-east, the lava from which is even yet only partially decomposed. This series of physical changes appears to correspond most remarkably with the series of zoological changes, and enables us to form some slight conception as to the causes from which have proceeded the mingling of species so various in a locality so restricted. To put into exact order the various terms of this marvellous geological history is beyond our power through the scanty and isolated character of existing observations. We have no doubt, however, that the expedition soon to be despatched will succeed in this task, and the geology of Palestine prove as extraordinary as the history of its people.

Upon many matters involving scientific observation, Mr. Tristram solves warm disputes by happy appeals to fact.

Strong language (upon what will not Biblical critics use strong language!) has been used since the time of Jerome and Augustine, as to what plant is the gourd of Jonah, and "a wilderness of plants" introduced to provide the prophet with shade. The chief rivals to the post of honour are the castor-oil plant (*Ricinus Communis*) and the gourd; and the debate has been carried on upon high etymological grounds. The names of the two plants being almost identical

* Pp. 326, 327.

(Kurah and *Khurwah)*, there has been ample scope for discussion. Mr. Tristram reads the disputants a lesson—of large application to many scriptural commentators.

"No doubt both of these plants are common in Palestine, but it seems strange that none of the disputants should have *thought of inquiring which would provide the best shade, or whether either were ever used for the purpose.* To my own mind, the claims of the familiar gourd are incontrovertible. It is used *universally* in the East on trellises for shading arbours and summer-houses; and a most effectual screen it is; while as to the Ricinus, large though its leaves may be, its straggling open growth renders it perfectly useless as a protection against the rays of the sun."*

The species of molluscs from which the Tyrian dye was obtained seems fixed beyond future dispute by the fact, that among the rubbish thrown out in the excavations at Tyre, were whole "kitchen middens" of crushed and broken shells belonging to the most plentiful species on the coast *(Murex brandaris)*.

It is interesting to know that the apple of Scripture is probably the apricot, which is everywhere abundant, and with its golden colour and setting of bright yet pale foliage, answers to the epithet of Solomon, "apples of gold in pictures of silver;" and that the flower most likely to have caught the eye of our Lord in spring-time, as he spake of the lilies of the field, is the scarlet anemone. With illustrations of scriptural expressions, indeed, the work is crowded, and no commentator can well neglect its pages. The difficulties raised by modern scholarship with respect to the scientific accuracy of the Old Testament, are seldom touched upon; in one instance an expression, however, is used which we cannot pass over without remark. Mr. Tristram had the good fortune to see a coney, the size of a well-grown rabbit, feeding in the gorge of the Kedron; and watched it as it sat at the mouth of its hole, ruminating, metaphorically if not literally, while waiting for sunset.

"A childish difficulty has been lately raised on account of the classification in Deuteronomy of the coney among unclean animals, although it is said to chew the cud, while it is well known that it has not a ruminant's stomach. It is quite sufficient to watch the creature working and moving its jaws, as it sits in a

* Pp. 38, 39.

chink of the rocks, to understand how any one writing as an ordinary observer, and not as a comparative anatomist, would naturally thus speak of it;—and this apart from the question whether the Hebrew word signifies anything more than to re-chew."*

But in what sense can this be called a *childish difficulty*? The assertion on the one hand is, that the Bible, as the word of God, is entirely free from scientific error; and a classification of animals dictated by the Maker of them all, should surely not be incorrect in its comparative anatomy. On the other hand, it is believed that the writers of the Bible were not supernaturally protected from the mistakes natural to men living in an age when there was no such thing as natural science. To decide between these assertions, what better test-question can there be than the nature of a creature which any one writing as an ordinary observer would describe in one way, but which most assuredly the Great Maker thereof would out of His absolute wisdom describe in another?

The case of the coney thus appears to us a crucial test of the ordinary theory regarding the Bible. When it is admitted that the coney is classified as it would naturally be by an "ordinary observer" who knew nothing of its anatomy, it is, we submit, inferentially but very plainly denied that it is classified as it would have been, did the Spirit of Him by whom its inward parts were fashioned vouchsafe unto the lawgiver His infallible wisdom. At any rate, in the conduct of such an argument, a man of science like Mr. Tristram should hesitate to apply the term "childish" to an opponent. It is as unworthy of himself as of the learned and upright man at whom it is aimed. One other criticism: What is meant when it is stated† that on matters of science the inspired writers speak in the ordinary language of their times, and the only language which could have been understood? Is it meant that the writers knew better; and, although perfectly well acquainted with scientific facts, used language conveying an entirely different meaning, for the sake of being "understood"? If so, they lose in moral honesty far more than they gain in scientific repute. Is it meant that there is any value whatever in what people at large would "understand" from the use of incorrect ex-

* P. 251. † P. 635.

pressions? The advantages to an ignorant man of being addressed in those phrases of his ordinary speech which are directly associated with his errors, for the sake of his understanding the speaker, are surely of a character neither to be sanctioned or encouraged by a simple-hearted lover of the truth. We are speaking of scientific teaching and those parts of the Bible which directly trench upon scientific ground, and we regret that any expressions used by Christian divines (and such expressions are not uncommon) should represent the employment of the mistaken phrases of an uneducated people as consistent with the plenary inspiration of the writer. It seems to us to weaken the simple obligation of truthful speech; and we submit that the authors of the Old Testament are much more honoured by the belief that they wrote as accurately as they could observe, than by the belief that they knew better, but adapted their language to the ignorance of their age. Mr. Tristram's own book is happily written in a very different spirit, and is singularly free from any forced reconciliations between texts and facts. His own faith is undoubting, but he has a healthful dread of preconceived notions, and of seeking forced corroborations of scriptural statements from questionable physical evidence. The following rebuke of many preceding writers is an instance of this spirit:

"I think there can be no question but that the old notions of volcanic agencies about the Dead Sea were erroneous; and that many writers, like De Saulcy, have been misled by endeavouring to square their preconceived interpretations of Scripture with the facts they saw around them. The preceding pages have shewn that such traces are not to be found; that the whole region has been slowly and gradually formed through a succession of ages; and that its peculiar phenomena are similar to those of other salt lakes in Africa, or referable to its unique and depressed position."*

Mr. Tristram bears strong testimony to the minute truth of innumerable incidental allusions in the Bible to the facts of nature, climate and geographical position; he finds no discrepancies between its physical statements and the evidence of present facts, and can allow no stand-point here for the keenest advocate against the full inspiration of the scriptural record. This expression of confidence, however,

* P. 358.

must surely be qualified by the preceding assertion (on which we have just commented), that on matters of science the inspired writers speak in the ordinary language of their times; and it must, we submit, be still further qualified by the questions suggested by the physical history of Palestine. If our previous arguments have any truth, the land of Israel was inhabited by a race using flint instruments and feeding on the elk and deer, for which there is no place in the genealogies of the Old Testament. The occurrence of a universal flood at the date required by the text, would have rendered impossible any geological argument from the peculiar distribution of the fish in the lakes and rivers; confused together the molluscs of the different waters; obliterated the well-marked terraces indicating successive steps of subsidence in the Dead Sea; obscured the manifest remains of the great tertiary ocean of the Sahara, and left the scoria of extinct volcanoes buried beneath its diluvial mud.

The physical history of Palestine substantiates most distinctly the geological demand for time. It shews a course of operations extending over uncounted ages, and rejects the poor sum of years granted by the accepted chronology of Genesis as utterly insufficient, not only for the creation of the world, but as any measure of the time which has elapsed since the creation of man. We have curious and complete illustrations of the distribution of plants and animals from specific centres, varying according to the shifting of climatic conditions, and requiring countless ages for those delicate but complete changes of species consequent thereupon. No one, we believe, therefore, writing the history of the world, with the geology of Palestine revealed to his mind, could have produced those narratives of the six days, the Eden Garden and the Deluge, which are still unfortunately taught in our schools as adequate records of the creative glories of our God.

The corroborations of Scripture contained in books of travel certainly substantiate, what no one doubts, namely, that the Bible is a collection of works written in the East; that its authors lived among the recorded mountains and valleys, and knew the rivers and the wells, the birds and the beasts, met with in the course of their daily lives. But the existence of Mount Olympus does not prove the sovereignty of Jove, and a determination of Homeric localities does not vouch for the infallibility of the Iliad.

There is little doubt that future investigations will shew more and more completely that every fibre of the wide-spreading roots from which the Bible has grown, is entwined in Eastern soil. A locality may be found for each legend as well as for historic fact; but the great physical problems awaiting scientific criticism must be freely examined apart from the influence of theological hopes and fears, and receive an entirely independent solution.

The facts of nature are simply the sanctities of God, and will prove sufficiently sublime to bow down the soul of the Christian worshiper in holier faith and nobler hope.

H. W. C.

VII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

We have to acknowledge the receipt of the second volume of Mr. Sharpe's "Hebrew Scriptures,"* and are glad to welcome the early continuation of a work which promises to be one of much popular usefulness. In a recent No. we pointed out some of the particulars in which we consider the work open to criticism. The frequent introduction of capital letters does not strike us so much in this volume as in the first, perhaps because we have grown a little more accustomed to it. In the poetical books, we suppose, they will hardly be so much in use as in the historical, but now and then they seem to come in with awkward effect. Nor do the capitals, with the other devices of rendering peculiar to this version, tend to the removal of obscurities and difficulties in the poetical books, so much as we had hoped to see. On the other hand, we come upon cases in which this revision seems to have introduced new difficulty into the text. For example, Job xxvi. 5,

> "Spiritual beings are born beneath the waters,
> And are the inhabitants thereof."

We do not see either meaning or suitableness to the context in this rendering. The following translation gives both:

> "The departed tremble beneath,
> The waters [tremble], and their inhabitants."

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* The Hebrew Scriptures, translated by Samuel Sharpe, &c. Vol. II. London: Whitfield, Green & Son. 1865.

Bildad had just spoken of the terrible power of Jehovah, and Job replies by shewing that he is as well aware of it as his friend, and able to describe it in still more impressive terms. The very dead, he says, lifeless as they are, tremble beneath (in Hades) at Jehovah's power. We greatly doubt, again, the representation of Job xlii. 1—5. It is wholly unnecessary to suppose that Jehovah and Job answer each other in the way suggested,—too much in the fashion of a couple of performers in a modern opera.

The present revision of Job is manifestly a great improvement on the Common Version. As an instance to this effect, we may refer to xxvii. 11, and following verses. The improvement here consists in putting the word "[saying]" as introductory to ver. 13, and marking this verse and the remainder of the chapter as a quotation by Job of what his friends have said. This is an old way of evading the difficulty involved in the passage, consisting in this, that Job appears to assert the very positions which he has previously combatted in opposition to his friends. Mr. Wellbeloved* regards the words as a quotation; and so they are given in the Revised Version, though, for want of the "[saying]" which Mr. Sharpe has so happily introduced, the intention is not so clearly indicated to the reader as it might have been. It is to be doubted, however, whether the words should be treated as in substance a *quotation*, or whether they are not rather of the nature of a *concession;* Job allowing some degree of truth to the arguments of his friends. We have not space for the development of this statement, and must leave the matter to the reader's own investigation.

In dividing the parallelisms of the Psalms and other poetical books, opinions and tastes will inevitably differ. Of course we only express an individual judgment when we say that Mr. Sharpe's division is occasionally faulty—e. g., Psalm ciii. 6. But, on the whole, the Psalms in this version are probably as little offensive to the common ear as they can be made, in any version in which "Jehovah" is substituted for "the Lord," and a few other familiar words are displaced from the position which they have so long been allowed to hold. We suppose that every revised version of this book will be disliked in proportion as it

* See his excellent note on the passage, Holy Bible, *in loc.*

deviates from the common text,—especially by those who, like the monk of old, prefer the *mumpsimus* to which they have been accustomed, to the *sumpsimus* which ought to stand in its stead, even though the one has sense and the other has none.

The difficult question of "the Relation of Miracles to Christianity" has been ably and eloquently treated by Mr. Madge,* in a Lecture which, in the early summer, he delivered at Essex Street and Hackney chapels, and has since committed to the press. It is a real pleasure to receive this proof of the vigorous old age of one who has so long and so well served the cause of liberal Christianity: the argument of the Lecture is as clear and forcible as Mr. Madge's arguments are wont to be, and the words in which it is conveyed full of a natural and manly eloquence. In our brief analysis of Mr. Madge's reasoning, we shall follow as closely as possible his own arrangement of evidence and argument.

He begins by adducing some of the proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels, which, on patristic authority, he unhesitatingly ascribes to the authors whose names they bear. This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration that it was of the highest importance to the Christians of the first centuries to discern between true and fictitious accounts of the life of Christ, and by the fact that certain books now included in the canon of the New Testament were regarded by the early church (we must suppose for want of the evidence which was forthcoming in regard to the Gospels) as of suspicious authenticity. Mr. Madge then proceeds to set aside the supposition that the evangelists were guilty of wilful fraud, and to consider the objection that the narratives of miracle which the Gospels contain "are of a nature to deprive them of all claims to credit." He denies that a miracle can properly be considered as "a violation of a law of nature." "It is simply a new effect introduced by a new cause. That cause, we say, is the will of God." If this be so, the à-priori incredibility of miracle is disposed of, and a miracle is an event, the reality of which may be proved by testimony. In the case of Christ's miracles, we have the sufficient testimony of the evangelists. The supernatural is inwrought with the whole texture of their work, and cannot be separated from it

* The Relation of Miracles to Christianity: a Lecture, &c. By Thomas Madge. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1865.

without entirely destroying their historical credibility. And the artless way in which the miracles are narrated, and their general connection with the purpose of Christ's life as attestations of his heavenly mission, are fresh evidence of the genuineness and worth of the apostolic testimony.

But, in addition to this, our belief in miracles may be rested "upon the language used by Christ in respect to the authority which he claimed as a messenger from God." There is a tone of positive injunction, of direct moral command about Jesus, which would be inexplicable if he "had not an authority from heaven essentially different from that which is possessed by any other wise and good man." He uses language which even he would not have dared to use "had he not been fully convinced of being able to do that which no other man could have done unless God were with him; that is, unless he had the power of working miracles." The possession of this power was Christ's own guarantee to himself "that he was not labouring under some kind of self-deception or mental hallucination," as well as the single sufficient proof which he could offer to others of the fact that he was indeed "the bearer of a special communication from God." Still more, he appealed to the evidence of his own works in support of his claims to divine authority. "Christianity rests on the ground of miracles. What is new and distinctive in it, is not so much the moral truths it embodies, for these, in their elements at least, had existed long before the preaching of Christ. It derives its authority from its supernatural character. We know not from what other source it could be derived. We can conceive of nothing, besides the display of power strictly miraculous, which would justify any human being in claiming for himself the religious faith and homage of mankind. This, however, Jesus did; and he rests his claim on the fact that the works he had done, were done by no one else."* The crown is put upon this argument by the resurrection of Christ, which, vouched for by Paul, no less by the evangelists, is necessary to furnish an adequate explanation of the history of Christianity. Excise, then, the supernatural from the Christian records, and what remains? "Apart from these facts, Christianity is reduced to a mere system of morality, and Christ is simply a mere human teacher, instead of being

* Pp. 20, 21.

that beloved Son of God to whom the Spirit was given without measure."*

We have thus analyzed Mr. Madge's argument, leaving it to make its own impression upon the mind of the reader, because it would be impossible for us in this place to even indicate the points of so large and complex a controversy, in regard to which we are compelled to differ from him. He will admit, that even if miracles be admitted to be credible *per se*, they are events of such a kind as to justify one who is asked to receive them as the sole foundation of his faith, in demanding a peculiar fullness and stringency of evidence. And we cannot think that the proofs adduced by Mr. Madge of the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels are strong enough to bear the weight of argument erected upon them, or that the external testimony of the Fathers can be admitted to outweigh difficulties which are suggested by the internal structure of the books themselves. But our chief difference with Mr. Madge is as to the function and value of the miracles as evidence to believers of the present day. We are at one with him in accepting as credible the supernatural element in the life of Christ: we acknowledge the impossibility, as it seems to us, of separating that element so as to leave a residuum which the fair historical critic could still receive. But Mr. Madge, probably looking more exclusively to one side of the question than he might do but for the exigencies of controversy, seems to us entirely to neglect the evidence of Christ's relation to man and God afforded, quite apart from miracle, by his words and character. Evidence, as a matter of fact, is to each man that which in his individual case proves or tends to proof. So long as minds are variously constituted, all moral evidence will come with varying force to different men. Mathematical demonstration alone possesses the same power of producing conviction in all minds capable of comprehending it. And there are sincere Christians, men whose souls' stay is on the hopes and promises of the gospel, and who accept Christ as the consummate type of man's relation to God, to whom Mr. Madge's argument represents no conscious or unconscious process of reasoning that has ever taken place in their own minds. They simply accept Christ as he is, and for what he is. No miracle could make him

* P. 32.

to them more, no lack of miraculous attestation less, than Teacher, Example, Saviour. They want no higher evidence to his moral authority than the echo with which their own consciences ring in answer to his words; having this evidence, all other appears superficial and unreal. To some theologians all this may seem very dreamy and mystical, while others may see in it the witness of God's spirit to our spirits—the supreme evidence of all spiritual facts and truths. But if it be a simple statement of fact, that some men, and those not the least penetrated with the Christian spirit, come to Christ in this way, may it not be an indication that we are mistaken in laying down one only path of conviction by which it is lawful and right to come to him? Not whether we believe in Christ for his words' or his works' sake is the essential thing, but whether we believe in him honestly, humbly, heartily: whether our souls are full of the spirit that was in him, and our feet ready to walk in the footsteps of his self-sacrifice. And in the desire to share his likeness, we are persuaded that not only Mr. Madge and his critics, but controversialists whose differences cover a far wider range of divergent doctrine, are truly at one.

We may mention in this connection Dr. Vance Smith's admirable sermon,* preached before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at its last annual meeting. It revolves round the statement, "that Christianity is offered to us in the New Testament, not in any final or complete form, but rather in general principles, which it has been left to successive generations to receive and appropriate according to their respective needs or capacities, and thus to carry out to their fuller development and application in life;" and is accordingly an adaptation to Protestant and philosophical methods of thought, of the theory of development. There may be particular statements in this very thoughtful and suggestive sermon open to criticism, but the general tenor of its reasoning appears to us quite unimpeachable, while it is hardly possible to praise too highly the careful moderation of its tone, itself a lesson in the neglected art of Christian controversy. We extract a passage which has an important reference to the disputed question of which we have just spoken:

"I would urge that it is not for us, not for any man, or any

* Providential Lessons in Christian Doctrine: a Sermon, &c. By G. Vance Smith, B.A., Ph.D. London: Whitfield. 1865.

church, in any way to define and settle what Christ himself has manifestly left to us undefined, and, in a certain sense, open to question and interpretation. A man, we must admit, may receive and reverence the Master himself, for his own sake; for the sake, I mean, of his moral and religious teaching, and the spirit of his life, as recorded for us; while yet he is unable to do so for the mere sake of those wonderful works which stand, indeed, in close connection with his memory, but which, nevertheless, fail to touch many readers as actual facts of his history; nay even, shall I not say? repel many from that history as for them incredible.

"A man may, in short, as I submit, receive Jesus Christ as the Great Spiritual Teacher, the well-beloved Son of the Almighty Father, the appointed Agent of a benevolent Providence manifestly working by and through him in the past ages of the world; he may receive him as one now in heaven, the actual Founder, and also the Head, of the visible church on earth, and may, therefore, rightly call himself by his name, even though he does not regard him as having ever been the Hebrew Messiah, or look upon the belief in him in that character as anything else than a popular error of his time.

"And let us consider this, too: if the question of miracles, by the lapse of ages and the nature of the case, has been left in what may appear the undecided and doubtful position of which I have spoken, no man is to blame for this. Shall we not rather say that it is even the will of Divine Providence that so it should be; that we, of this later age, should depend less than our predecessors have done upon external authority, and that we should rather give ourselves up to a higher witness, even the witness of God's own Spirit, through devout reason and conscience, within the heart? And if the Almighty Ruler should thus speak to us, or thus invite us to do, shall we refuse to listen to His voice? We may depend upon it that here, too, the lapse of centuries, with the altered feelings and the increased knowledge which they have brought the world, are designed to speak to us and to teach us. Our part must be, humbly and gratefully to admit that teaching too; and to welcome the better light which, from any quarter, may be thrown even upon our established principles or long-cherished beliefs.

"Whatever, then, may have been the character and value of those marvellous events of early Christian history to those who actually saw them, we who have not seen them cannot be intended to be moved by them as they were. The nature of the case forbids this. The Great Master whom we serve would leave us freer men;—freer to serve Him, not from any outward constraint, but from the love and obedience which we owe Him; would make us depend upon our spiritual nature, the religious hopes

and fears within us; and so warn us that it is not into the past that we are to look for the most potent evidences of His divine power in the world, but much rather to the immediate present, and the living contact of His Spirit with ours."

The Actonian Prize Essays are a series of dissertations on some scientific subject "illustrative of the Wisdom and Beneficence of the Almighty," which owe their origin to the liberality of Mrs. Hannah Acton, who in 1838 left a sum of money, the interest of which, after accumulating for a period of seven years, is devoted to this purpose. The managers of the Royal Institution select the subject and award the prize. The last "ouvrage couronné" is an essay by Mr. G. Warrington, on the "Phenomena of Radiation,"* which now lies before us. Mr. Warrington both sensibly and modestly disclaims either scientific or theological originality. His facts are taken from recent specified works on physical science, and his religious object is rather to justify and strengthen belief, than to convince unbelief. These honest admissions to a large extent disarm criticism, and we can confidently recommend his little book as a well-written popular exposition of recent discoveries in a very interesting field of investigation. But whether it was worth Mrs. Acton's while to provide for the septennial production of such amplifications of the design argument as the present essay, or whether such essays would not have been produced in sufficient abundance without the help of her bequest, are questions on which it is possible to have more than one opinion.—"Philosophy of Religion"† is a great and deep subject, yet one which Dr. Hugh Doherty exhausts in less than fifty octavo pages. We must confess that his method is somewhat too rapid for our lagging intellect, and that we cannot follow him when he settles in a paragraph questions about which men's minds have been perplexed and divided since speculation first began.—A pamphlet of a very different and perfectly intelligible kind‡ examines the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus Christ as given by the four evangelists, and comes to a conclusion which has at

* The Phenomena of Radiation, as exemplifying the Wisdom and Beneficence of God. By George Warrington, F.C.S. London: Skeffington. 1865.

† Philosophy of Religion. By Hugh Doherty, M.D. London: Trübner. 1865.

‡ The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, as given by the Four Evangelists, critically examined. London. 1865.

least the merit of being unusual. The author, who in his manner of writing is quite free from the common vices of believing or unbelieving controversialists, has no faith either in the resurrection or in any other miracle, and yet is firmly convinced that Jesus, after the crucifixion, was seen *alive* by the disciples. The only method of reconciling this seeming contradiction, is by the belief that the death of Christ was only apparent. The anonymous critic states clearly and forcibly enough the difficulties which attend the attempt to harmonize the narratives as they stand; but he prudently abstains from considering the greater difficulties which are involved in the reception of his own hypothesis. When rationalistic inquirers ask of believers in the ascension, what became of the body of the risen Christ—the question is not altogether easy to answer; but surely far less difficult than to account for the disappearance from history of a Christ who, with powers of mind and body unimpaired, had escaped from the cross.

We have received the two first volumes of the Memorial Edition of the Collected Works of W. J. Fox.* The first contains "Lectures, Sermons, &c., prior to 1829;" the second, the well-known series of sermons, entitled, "Christ and Christianity." We hope, on a future occasion, to return to these interesting volumes, in an attempt to estimate the whole character and religious influence of their author.

E.

NOTE.

A correspondent requests us to correct a slight misstatement of fact in the note appended to the article on "Woman's Work in the Church" in our September No., p. 521. We give the correction in the words in which we have received it.

"The writer says, 'The funds for such assistance (meat, wine, tea, &c.) are supplied to the ladies (managing the district) by the Society, and are duly accounted for by them at the end of the year.' This is not correct. The wages of the nurses are paid by the Institution; but for their lodgings, and for the entire expense of the relief given to the patients, the Lady Superintendents are responsible. These must be furnished by herself, or friends, or, as in the case of the district managed by members of the Hope-Street Church, by congregational subscription."

* Memorial Edition of Collected Works of W. J. Fox. Vols. I., II. London: Fox: Trübner. 1865.

INDEX TO VOL. II.

AIKIN: LUCY AIKIN'S LETTERS, 92. Miss Aikin's powers of conversation, 93. Birth and early training, 93. Literary life and works, 94. Connection with the English Presbyterians, 95. Letters to Dr. Channing, 97. Extract on the characteristics of the English Presbyterians, 98. On Priestley and Price, 99. More about Priestley, 100. Conclusion, 102.
Allsop, T., "Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge," 343.
America—Unitarian Convention at New York, 352, 470. Propositions for new Theological Chairs at Harvard, 473.

BARMBY, Rev. Goodwyn, "Aids to Devotion," 342.
Beard, Dr., "Christ the Interpreter of Scripture," 453.
Beke, Mrs., "Jacob's Flight, or a Pilgrimage to Harran," 297.
Burgon, J. W., "Letters from Rome to Friends in England," 628.

CAMPBELL, Douglas, "New Religious Thoughts," 459.
Candlish, Dr. R. S., Lectures on "The Fatherhood of God," 551.
Carpenter, Rev. R. L., "Farewell Lecture to the Friends of Temperance," 345.
CATACOMBS, RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ROMAN, 628. Modern "tomb-breakers," 628. Explorations at Rome by De Rossi under Pius IX., 629. Description of strata underlying Rome, 630. Adoption by the poorer early Christians of disused sand-pits for the purpose of burial, 631. Their doctrine of a bodily resurrection their motive for such adoption, 632. Their inscriptions in the catacombs, 633. Their use of Pagan imagery and language, 634. Similarity of Christian to Pagan inscriptions proof of the caution with which the upper classes avowed their faith, 635. Increase of the number of catacombs, 636. Description of the catacomb of Calixtus, 637. The catacombs wholly outside the walls of Rome, 638. Final cessation of burials in them, 639. Discovery of ancient Christian cemetery, 1578, 640. Researches of Baronius and Bosio, 641. Cardinal Wiseman's "Fabiola, a Tale of the Catacombs," 642. His descriptions of the catacombs, 643. His claim of their testimony to the Catholic Church, 644. Anglican High-church claims to the authority of Christian antiquity, 644. Real testimony of the catacombs, 645.
Chenevière, Professor, of Geneva, resigns his chair of theology, 352.
Church-rates, Mr. Newdegate's Bill rejected, 463.
Cobbe, Miss F. P., "Studies, Ethical and Social," 457.
Colani, T., "Jesus Christ, ou les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps," 241.

COLENSO ON THE PENTATEUCH, Part V., 583. Analysis of the volume, 583. Elohistic and Jehovistic authors, 585. Levitical office in Israel, 585. Character of Dr. Colenso's investigations, 586. His bearing under provocation, 587.

Colenso, Dr. J. W. (Bishop of Natal). Case heard before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, 126. Question of jurisdiction first to be decided, 127. Relation of the case to the position of the Crown in regard to the Colonial Church, 128. Decision of the Privy Council, 346. General effect of the decision upon colonial bishops, 347. Refusal to pay arrears of Dr. Colenso's salary, 348. Dr. Gray's application to Government for costs of Dr. Colenso's trial, 587. Address of Convocation to Dr. Gray, 587. Testimonial to Dr. Colenso, who sails for Natal, 588.

Conscience clause—controversy between the clergy and the Privy Council, 461.

Court of Final Appeal, agitation to change the constitution of, 122. Association formed, 123. Mr. Disraeli's speech at Oxford, 123. Controversy between Anglicanus and Mr. Keble, 124. Theory of "the common law of the Church," 124. Growing coolness between High and Low Church, 125. Subject dropped for the present, 462.

DALE ON THE HEBREWS. "The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church, by R. W. Dale." Mr. Dale representative of a younger generation of Independent ministers, 305. Practical part of his book valuable, 306. Mr. Dale assumes the Trinitarian doctrine as the basis of his criticism, 307. Examination of his treatment of passages relating to the person of Christ, 307 et seq. His views on Jewish sacrifices and their relation to the sacrifices of Christ, 313. Criticism of them, 314 et seq. True philosophy of retribution and forgiveness, 319.

DANIEL, THE BOOK OF, I., 172. Uncritical spirit of Dr. Pusey's lectures, 173. Is the book written by Daniel or about him? 179. Question historical and apocalyptic: the former alone to be here treated, 179. Summary of the historical contents of the book, 180. Date of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judæa, 185. Nebuchadnezzar's insanity, 187. The fall of Babylon: was Belshazzar son of Nebuchadnezzar? 190. Table of Babylonian kings from Ptolemy, Berosus and the monuments, 193. Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, 194. Who was Belshazzar and who Darius? 195. Story of Gobryas, 196. Discovery of Belsharezar on the monuments, 197. Difficulties as to Darius and Cyrus, 197. Were there two conquests of Babylon? M. Niebuhr's theory, 199. Darius the Mede a fabulous personage, 201. Late origin of the book of Daniel, 201.

DANIEL, THE BOOK OF, II., 477. Considered from the apocalyptic point of view, 478. Nebuchadnezzar's dream, 479. Daniel's dream identical, 481. Interpretation to be based upon the fourth kingdom, 481. Second vision of Daniel, 482. Prophecy in the 11th chapter, 485. Antiochus Epiphanes a central figure, 490. Return to Nebuchadnezzar's dream, 491. To Daniel's in chap. vii., 492. Myth of the world's four ages, 494. Historical inconsistencies of the book, 497. Who was Daniel? 500. A patriarch of the class of Noah and Job, 501. Literary character of the book, 502. Quality of Mr. Fuller's work, 503.

Darwin, Charles, "On the Origin of Species," 150.

Davidson, Dr., Translation of Fuerst's "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament," 460.

DENMARK, RELIGION IN. Society of theological students in Bonn and its travelling scholarships, 322. Mr. Lüttke's orthodox point of view, 323. The Reformation in Denmark, 324. Less a theological than a social movement, 327. Barrenness of subsequent history, 327. Refusal of an asylum to Polish Socinians, 328. Danish missions in Tranquebar, 328. Professor

Clausen's work, 329. Grundtvig, 329. His reply to Clausen, 330. Secedes from the National Church, 331. Succeeds in liberating the Danish Church and re-enters it, 332. Subsequent reforms, 333.
Dissenters: Mr. Hadfield's Bill for their relief rejected, 464. Mr. Göschen's Bill for relieving them from disabilities at Oxford, 464. The various types of, 591.
Doherty, Hugh, M.D., "Philosophy of Religion," 703.
Donaldson on Early Christian Literature and Doctrine, 543. Qualities of Mr. Donaldson's work, 544. His impartality, 545. His treatment of the Tübingen school, 546. Epistle of Clement, 547. Of Polycarp, 548. Of Barnabas, 548. The Shepherd, 549. Papias, 550.
Drummond, Rev. R. B., "President Lincoln and the American War," 460.

Ecclesiastical Chronicle, 120, 346.
England, Church of: its Influence on Society. Changes taking place in the spirit of the Church, 277. How far does it represent the religious life of the country? High and Low Church answers to this question, 278. Different positions of the Church in the north and south of England, 279. Influence of the Church traced back to the Universities, 280. Tractarian and Evangelical schools at Oxford and Cambridge, 281. Tractarianism at Oxford after Mr. Newman's secession, 282. Influence of four younger Oxford tutors: Stanley, Congreve, Jowett, Powles, 285—Maurice, Kingsley, Wilson, 286. Newer High-church party, 288. Conservatism of the laity, 289. Effect upon the minds of the clergy, 289. Clergymen and women, 290. Clergymen and bishops, 290. Changes in clerical life, 291. The clergy and the poor, 292. Possibility of a larger comprehensiveness in the Church, 294.
England, Church of: its Influence on Theology, 522. Paper restricted to the influence of the clergy, 522. Two books representing the Church's mind: 1, the Authorized Version of the Bible, 523. Beauties of the translation, 524. Comment insinuated in the headings of the chapters, 525. 2, the Prayer Book, 527. Church of England Trinitarian, 528. The Incarnation, 529. The Resurrection, 530. Both accepted explicitly and implicitly, 531. The Sacraments, 531. Low-church party, 532. High-church party, 537. Liberal party, 538. Future of the Church, 541.
Essays and Reviews, controversy arising out of, 120. Debate in the House of Lords as to the synodical condemnation of the book by Convocation, 121. Declaration of the students of the Natural Sciences, 121. Address of thanks to the Archbishops for their Pastorals, 121. Dean of Westminster and others' protest in Convocation against the synodical condemnation, 351.
"Eternal Punishment," by a B.D., 344.

"Fabiola, a Tale of the Roman Catacombs," 628. Attributed to Cardinal Wiseman, 642.
Fatherhood of God, the, 551. Character of Dr. Candlish, 521. Theory of the Lectures, 552. Fatherhood of God inconsistent with his character as Creator, 553. This theory brought to the test of facts, 554. Dr. Candlish's conception of God based upon his knowledge of men, 558. The Fatherhood of God constituted by the Sonship of Christ, 560. Assumption of the Eternal Sonship, 561. This argument a series of fictions, 563. Scriptural evidence of God's limited Fatherhood, 566. Interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal, 567. Alleged distinction in Christ's teaching of his disciples and the multitude, 569. True spirit of the New Testament, 573.
Fitzgerald, Dr. William (Bishop of Killaloe), article on Miracles in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," 45.
Fox, W. J., "Memorial Edition of the Collected Works of," 704.

FRANCE, PROTESTANTISM IN, 1559—1598, 1. Element of worldliness introduced into the French Reformation, 2. Conspiracy of Amboise, 2. Persecutions, 3. L'Hopital advocates toleration, 3. Edict of toleration, 4. Contrast between the French and the Scotch and Swiss Reformations, 5. The St. Bartholomew of 1562, 7. Coligny heads the Protestants, 8. The St. Bartholomew of 1572, 9. Republican principles shew themselves, 10. Accession of Henry IV., 12. Edict of Nantes, 13. Clerical influence within the Church, 14. Morely and his democratic opinions, 14. Similar opinions maintained by Ramus, 17. Censorship of books, 18. Royal grant for the support of Protestant churches, a first step towards the union of Church and State, 20.

FRANCE, PROTESTANTISM IN, 1598—1789. Revival of persecution, 129. Violation of the Edict of Nantes under Louis XIII., 129. Defection of the nobility and appeal to arms, 130. Fall of Rochelle, 131. Policy of Richelieu, 131. Persecution under Louis XIV., 133. The Dragonnades, 136. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 138. Emigration, 138. Fresh devices of persecution, 140. The Churches of the Desert, 141. War in the Cevennes, 142. Protestant Synods revived, 143. The Regency, 144. Persecution under Louis XV., 144. Outbreak in the Cevennes, 145. Protestantism and the philosophers, 146. Executions of Rochette, Calas, Sirven, Labarre, 147. The *Conciliateur* of Turgot, 148. Reign of Louis XVI., 149. The Revolution, 150.

FRANCE, PROTESTANTISM IN, 1789—1864. Reign of terror, 353. Decree for liberty of worship, 353. Concordat of the year X., 354. Protestant churches gather strength, 356. Return of the Bourbons and of persecution, 357. Renewed life, 358. Protestantism and the Charter of 1830, 359. Decree of March 1852, 360. Churches of the Confession of Augsburg, 361. Protestantism and the Second Empire, 362. Present condition, 363. Religious revival from England, 365. Samuel Vincent, 367. Albert Stapfer, 369. Daniel Encontre, 370. Alexandre Vinet, 371. Ed. Scherer, 373. Revue de Theologie, 377.

Freckelton, Rev. T. W., "The Church and the Drama," 345.

"French Protestant Church." M. Colani elected professor at Strasburg, M. J. Monod at Montauban, 237. M. Réville prevented from preaching at Paris and Geneva, 238. M. Ath. Coquerel fils, an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Pastor at Paris: M. Ath. Coquerel père, request for an assistant again refused, 238. Election of new Presbyteral Council and Conistory at Paris, 239. Alleged informality in forming the register, 239. Result of the election, 240. Second election for one vacant seat, 352. Further proceedings, 474.

Fuerst, Dr., "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament," translated by Dr. Davidson, 460.

Fuller, Rev. J. M., "An Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel," 477.

GERMANY, ecclesiastical affairs of (Eccl. Chron.), 218. Three great German churches, 219. Romanist tendencies of Lutheranism, 220. Controversy with the Swiss Reformers, 221. Continued dissensions in the German churches, 222. King Frederic William III. of Prussia attempts to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, 223. The Evangelical Union, 224. Imposition of the Union Liturgy, 225. Doctrinal symbols of the Evangelical Church, 226. Church government in Prussia, 228—in Baden, 229. Effects of the admission of the laity to a participation in church government, 230. Dr. Schenkel, of Heidelberg, 231. His Life of Jesus, 232. Resolution of the clerical meeting at Carlsruhe, 233. Final decision of the Ober Kirchenrath, 233. Church diet of Germany, its meeting at Altenburg and discussion upon "recent works on the Life of Jesus," 235.

Ginsburg, Dr. C. D., "Jacob ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible," 342.

Gospels, Moral Criticism of the, 608. Necessity of a common starting-point and method of inquiry, 609. Three possible theories as to the origin of the first three Gospels, 610. Their diversities fatal to any theory of verbal inspiration, 611. Assumption that Jesus lived at the time and place indicated, 612. And that his nature was essentially and purely human, 613. General principles to be premised, 613. No human character in all points perfectly consistent with itself, 613. Imperfect comprehension of great men by their followers, 613. The character of Jesus greater than the records paint it, 614. Jesus a reformer, but no revolutionist, 614. His debt to the Past for his starting-point and method, 615. His adoption of the ideas and phraseology current in his day, 616. His genuine utterances to be detected by the test of a "high moral criticism," 617. A generalisation of Christ's character the first element of such criticism, 618. Materials for this generalisation, 619. What may be reasonably expected from a character thus generalized, 621. Objections to this method of procedure answered, 622. The test of practical application the second element of moral criticism, 622. The test of our own ideal of life and thought its third constituent, 623. Each man must judge for himself what is or is not Christly in the Gospels, 624. Personal conditions needful for this task, 625. Service to truth rendered by this method of criticism, 626. Its universality of application, 627.

Griffith, Rev. D., "Christ the sole Master of Christians," 345.

Grove, C., "The Correlation of Physical Forces," 150.

Harland, John, "Ballads and Songs of Lancashire," 459.

"Henry Holbeach, Student in Life and Philosophy," 458.

Holland: National Synod of the Protestant Church maintains the liberty of the pulpit, 475.

Hook, Dr. W. F., "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," Vols. III., IV., 338.

Howson, J. S., "Deaconesses," 505.

Hunter, Dr. H. J., "Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers," 406.

Huxley, T. H., "Lectures on Comparative Anatomy," 151.

Independents: their attitude towards prevailing controversies, 125. Model trust-deed and its doctrinal clauses, 126. Their place in Nonconformity, 595.

"Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ, Septimo sæculo antiquiores. Volumen primum. Romæ ex officina libraria Pontificia," 628.

Irish Church: Mr. Dillwyn's motion in the House of Commons and Mr. Gladstone's speech, 351.

Israel, Land of, 678. Interest which travels in the Holy Land must always command, 678. Value of Mr. Tristram's researches, 691. Flora and fauna of Palestine, 680. Its geological features, 683. Bone caverns of Es Sumrah, 685. Co-existence of man with the rein-deer and the elk, 686. Argument founded on this fact, 687. Traces of "erosion and scooping" which point to glacial action, 688. Causes of the elevation and subsidence of the land, 689. Jonah's gourd, 691. The Tyrian dye, 692. Apple of Scripture probably the apricot, 692. The coney as observed by Mr. Tristram, 692. Remark of Mr. Tristram on objections to its classification in Deuteronomy, 693. Strictures on this remark, 693. Mr. Tristram's rebuke of forced corroborations of scriptural statements, 694. What his investigations really substantiate, 695.

JACOB'S FLIGHT. Prominent position of Abraham in theology and history, 297. Identification by Dr. Beke of Harran-el-Awamid with Haran, 298. Difficulties in the way of the common hypothesis, 298. Dr. Beke's pilgrimage to Harran, 299. Dr. Stanley's arguments in favour of Mesopotamia, 301. Details of Dr. Beke's journey, 302.
Jowett, Professor, and the salary of the Greek Chair at Oxford, 122, 346.

KELL, Rev. E., "God is One," 345.
Kirchhoff, G., "Researches on the Solar Spectrum," &c., 151.
Kirkus, Rev. W., "Orthodoxy, Scripture and Reason," 339.

LE BRETON, P. H., editor of "Lucy Aikin's Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters," 92.
Lecky, W. E. H., "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," 429.
Lowndes, Richard, "An Introduction to the Philosophy of Primary Beliefs," 378.
Ludlow, J. M., "Woman's Work in the Church," 505.
Lüttke, Moritz, "On the Ecclesiastical Condition of the Scandinavian Countries," 322. Second notice of "Religion in Sweden," 645.
Lyell, Sir Charles, "On the Antiquity of Man," 150.

MADGE, Rev. T., "The Relation of Miracles to Christianity," 697. Analysis of Mr. Madge's argument, 698. Remarks upon the difficulties of this argument, 699.
Manchester New College, London. Opening address of the session 1865-6, 665. Honours gained by students of, 677.
Manning, H. E., D.D., "Essays on Religion and Literature, by various Writers," 202.
Mansel, Rev. H. L., article on Miracles in "Aids to Faith," 45.
Martineau, Rev. James, "The God of the Living," 344. Address at the opening of the session 1865-6 of Manchester New College, London, 665.
Maurice, Rev. F. D., "The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven"—Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke, 335.
Merivale, Rev. C., "The Conversion of the Roman Empire, Boyle Lectures, 1864," 336.
MESSIAH, JEWISH CONCEPTIONS OF THE. What was Christ's own idea of his character and office? 241. Theories of Strauss and Renan, 241. Jewish conceptions of the Messiah as described by M. Colani, 243. Book of Daniel, 244. Of Enoch, 245. Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, 245. When did Jesus declare himself to be the Messiah?—M. Colani's answer to the question, 247. Solution of difficulties, 248. In what sense did Jesus claim the character? 249. The title, Son of Man, 250. Passages relative to Christ's second coming regarded as interpolations, 253.
Methodist type of Nonconformity, 592.
MIRACLES, THE QUESTION OF, 45. Relation of the question to Theism, 46. Miracles to be proved incredible must be either impossible to God or unworthy of God, 46. Statement of the case by J. S. Mill, 47. Miracles not unworthy of God, 49. Revelation of God's ways the essential part of a miracle, 50. Relation of men to the material universe, 51. God uses nature for two purposes towards men, 52. The constancy of God's ways the foundation of science, miracle the revelation of God's free personality, 52. Conformity of Christ's miracles to this idea, 53. The supernatural in Jesus Christ, 55. The ideal of humanity in Christ the ground for accepting the miracles, 57. Marks of the supernatural in Christ inseparable from the history, 59. The long preparation for him in Jewish religion, 59. The means by which his

disciples were converted after his death, 60. How did Christ become a nucleus for legend? Miracles designed to draw attention to Christ's intrinsic claims to be heard, 62. Revealing the supernatural under the natural, 63. Christ manifesting the spirit of a Son under the conditions of the supernatural, 65. Miracles may win attention, but not faith, and can authenticate nothing, 66. Have no force of external evidence, 67. Quotation in this sense from Trench, 69. Question of miracles rather historical and philosophical than religious, 70. Change in the mode of viewing the evidences of Christianity, 71. Quotation from Christian Teacher, 1841, 72—including quotation from Schleiermacher, 73.

"Modern Prophecies," 344.

Müller, Max, "Lectures upon the Science of Language," 151.

Nicolas: Études sur la Bible, 21. Theological reading no longer the business of a class, 21. Advantages of the change, 22. Books which give results of theological investigation, 23. M. Nicolas' first essay on the Pentateuch, 24. Elohistic and Jehovistic documents, 26. Second and third essays, 27. Fourth essay on Prophecy, 28. Antagonism between prophets and priests, 29. Second series of essays on the New Testament, 30. Difficulties arising from the differences and agreement of the Gospels, 32. Origin and interdependence of the Synoptical Gospels, 34. St. John's Gospel, 35. Two schools of theology among the apostles, 36. Ideas of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, 38. Position of the Church of England, 39. Terms of communion imposed by her, 40. Mode of looking upon the Creeds, 41. Relation of the English clergy to Scripture, 42. To miracles, 43. Duties of the clergy, 45.

Nonconformity, Types of, 589. High-church view of "Dissent," 589. Nonconformity as described by social superciliousness, 590. Importance of a true estimate of Nonconformity, 591. Its three main types, 591. Origin and enforced dissent of the Methodist type, 592. Its doctrinal and political sympathy with the Established Church, 593. Its complex and stringent ecclesiastical discipline, 594. Its present relation to the Established Church, 595. The Independent type, 595. The Anabaptists and Independents of 1662, 596. Their relations to Church and State, 596. Their bond of union, 597. Their freedom ecclesiastical, not religious, 598. Their antagonism to the Church mainly political, 599. The Presbyterians of 1662 and 1689, 600. Their unwilling Nonconformity, 601. Extract from sermon preached at Chester by Matthew Henry, 1700, 602. Rise from the Presbyterians of the third type of Nonconformity, 602. Its distinctive features, 603. The grounds upon which it admits the name "Unitarian," 604. Its essential element ecclesiastical, not theological, 605. Its position towards a truly Catholic Church, 606.

Notices of Books, 335, 696.

Open Churches: A Correspondence, 103. Letter I. against, 103. Statement of the presumed object of the system, 104. Objection to the introduction of a collection into every service, 105. Collecting from pew to pew involves a moral compulsion to give, 105. Domestic character of public worship likely to be weakened, 106. Possible effect of the new system on the mind of the minister, 107. Does the pew system really keep the poor out? 108. No material arrangements, but the character of the ministrations, determines the quality of a congregation, 109. Effect of the new system on those who have nothing to give, 109. The real difficulty not to get but to keep the poor in our churches, 110. Claims of the educated, 111. Letter II. for, 111. All Christian churches ought to be public temples, 112. Existing and especially Nonconforming churches proprietary institutions, 113. Consequent reluctance of the poor to intrude, 114. Movement in favour of an

open-church system, 115. Worship as truly domestic on this method, 116. Provision for all special cases, 117. Method of raising funds, 117. No moral compulsion to give, 118. Ministers not tempted to smooth prophesying, 119. Conclusion, 120.

"Papers read at the British Association, October, 1864," 151.

Pecaut, Felix, the Writings of: "Le Christ et la Conscience;" "De l'Avenir du Théisme Chrétien considéré comme Religion." Difficulty of understanding the religious manifestations of other races, 262. The special case of France and England, 263. M. Pécaut and his writings, 265. The relation of Christ to the consciousness of humanity, 265. Discussion between a Theist and a Broad-churchman, 266. Loose ideas of "consciousness" generally prevalent, 267. Proposed use of the phrase "religious sense" and its advantages, 268. Discussion in M. Pécaut's first work of the inner evidences of Broad-church Christianity, 269. His second work: What is the future of religion in France? 270. Actual condition of religion in that country, 271. Ultimate prevalence of Christian theism, 272. Application of M. Pécaut's views to the state of religious parties in England, 273.

Pius IX., Pope, "Encyclical Letter," 202.

Poor, Homes of the Agricultural: Poetical view of country cottages not always borne out by fact, 406. Ancient English cottages, 409. Decrease of cottages of late years in agricultural districts, 410. Contrast of manufacturing districts, 411. Close and open villages, 411. Frightful overcrowding, 414. Long journeys to work, 416. Colliery cottages, 419. Cottages of a better sort, 421. Model cottages often too expensive, 422. Moral aspect of the question, 424. Physical must precede moral reforms, 427.

Presbyterians, the English, 600. Type of Nonconformity derived from them, 602.

Primary Beliefs, the Philosophy of. Relations of philosophy and religion, 378. The school of Locke and the Christian evidences, 379. German schools of speculation and Christianity, 381. Are there such things as primary beliefs? 383. French and Scotch schools, 383. Primary beliefs not identical with innate ideas, 384. Origin of Mr. Lowndes' work, 386. Distinction between self and not-self—denied by Hume and J. Mill, 388. Theory of causation, 391. Origin of religious belief, 393. Of the feeling of moral obligation, 394. Of belief in the moral nature of God, 398. The testimony of great prophetic minds, 401. Application by Mr. Lowndes of his theory to man's religious needs, 403. Special pleading in defence of the Athanasian Creed, 405.

Pusey, Dr. E. B., Lectures on "Daniel the Prophet," 172.

Rationalism, Lecky's History of, 429. Associations connected with the word rationalism, 430. Mr. Lecky's statement of his object, 431. Manner in which he has performed his task, 435. His theory, if unqualified, unsatisfactory, 436. His book itself repugnant to the spirit of the age, 437. No definition of "the spirit of rationalism," 439. Attempt at a definition of it, 440. Struggle between reason and authority far from wholly theological, 442. Conscious and unconscious rationalism, 443. Rationalism as applied to the Bible, 444. Dogmatic theology, 445. Is there a slow religious progress from age to age? 448. Tendencies of rationalism, 450.

Renan, Ernest, "Vie de Jesus," 46.

"Resurrection of Jesus Christ, Evidences for, as given by the Four Evangelists, critically examined," 703.

"Roma, Cromo-Litographia pontificia," 628.

"Roma, Sotteranea Cristiana. Tomo I. con Atlante di XL," 628.

Roman Catholics, the Position of English, 202. Catholic reaction to

the Conservative side in politics, 202. Position of Catholics in England from the Reformation to 1829, 203. From 1829 to 1863, 204. Cardinal Wiseman thanks not English Liberals but Belgian Bishops, 206. Pliancy of Catholic policy, 207. Cis and Ultra-montane types of Catholicism, 208. Causes which have strengthened the Ultramontane party, 209. The Encyclical Letter, 211. The Catholic Church essentially Conservative, 211. The real question between Protestant and Catholic in England political, 212. But argued as if it were religious, 213. Difficulties in the position of a Catholic citizen of a Protestant State, 214. The Church asks not toleration but supremacy, 214. Question of marriage, 215. Of education, 216. Of mortmain, 216. Of auricular confession, 216. Of conventual establishments, 217. Conclusion, 218.

Roman Catholics: Mr. Mansel's Bill for modifying oaths, 464.

Roscoe, H. E., translation of "Kirchhoff's Researches on the Solar Spectrum," 151.

Rossi, "Tavole: descritta ed illustrata del Cavaliere G. B. de," 628.

Science, the Tendencies of, 151. The law of parsimony, 151. As stated by Aristotle, Occam, Bacon, Newton, 152. Application to the theory of the spectrum, 153. To the science of language, 154. To theology, 156. Especially to its relations with physical science, 158. To geology, 160. Discovery of flint instruments, 161. Aboriginal human remains, 162. Inferences from these discoveries, 164. Origin of species, 168. General results of the law of parsimony, 171.

Scotland: Proceedings of General Assembly, 464. Of the Free Church Assembly, 468. Prospect of union among Dissenting bodies, 469.

Sharpe's Hebrew Scriptures, 574. Mr. Sharpe's aims as a reviser, 575. Liberal use of capitals and quotation marks, 576. Special criticisms, 579 et seq. Second volume, 696.

Smith, Dr. Vance, "Eternal Punishment," 344. "Providential Lessons in Christian Doctrine," 701.

Spurgeon, Rev. C., controversy with the Evangelical clergy, 125.

Steinthal, Rev. S. A., "Address on the Assassination of President Lincoln," 460.

Subscription: Report of the Royal Commission, 349. Dr. Milman's paper read before the Commission, 350. Use of the Liturgy the strongest bond, 350. Mr. Göschen's Bill for relieving M.A.'s at Oxford from subscription, 351. Proceedings in Parliament and Convocation, 463.

Sunday-Schools, 74. Increasing in influence and value, 75. Shortcomings of teachers, 76. Careless teachers, 76. Silent teachers, 77. Legal teachers, 78. Is Sunday-school teaching to be secular or religious? 79. Life teaching what is needed, 81. Sunday not to take the place of Day schools, 82. Infant classes, 84. Scholars should be encouraged to pecuniary contribution, 87. Should be allowed some measure of self-government, 88. Connection of school with congregation, 88. Average attendance of scholars, 90. Conclusion, 91.

"Sunday-Schools," reprint of article upon, 344.

Sweden, Religion in, 645. The Reformation in Sweden mainly a political movement, 646. Its history involved in that of Gustav Wasa, 646. Accession of Christian II. to the Danish throne, 1513, 646. His struggles with the Swedes for supremacy, 647. Death of his great rival, the "administrator," Sten Sture, 648. Gustav Wasa made administrator, and afterwards king of Sweden, 649. Public discussion between the Catholic and Protestant advocates, 650. Secret sympathy of Gustav Wasa with Lutheranism, 650. Reformed Church established by the Diet of Westeras, 651. Prudence of Gustav Wasa, 652. Re-establishment of Catholicism by his successors, and